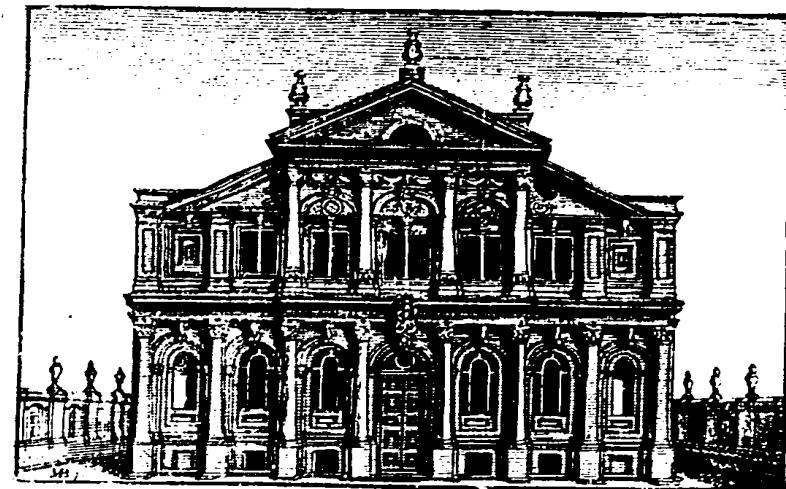


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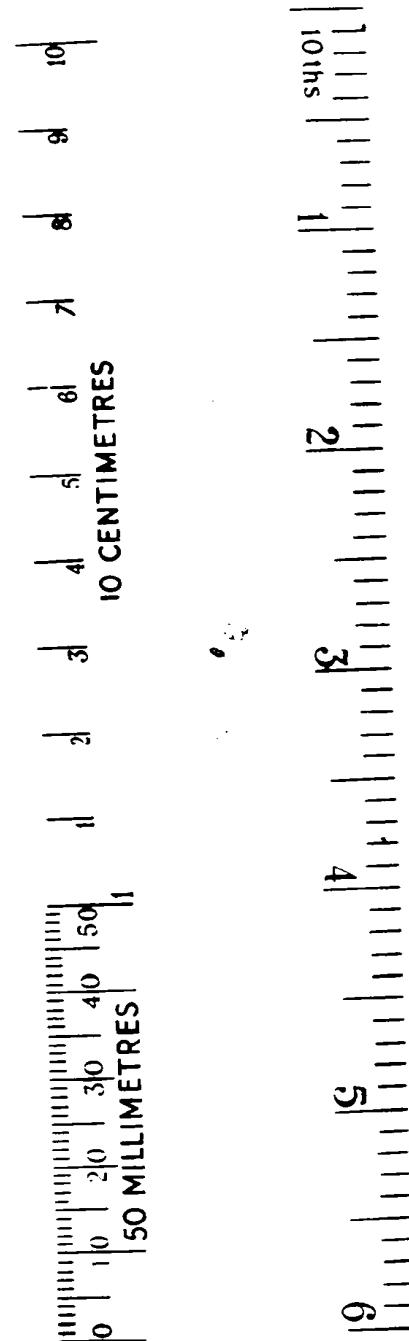
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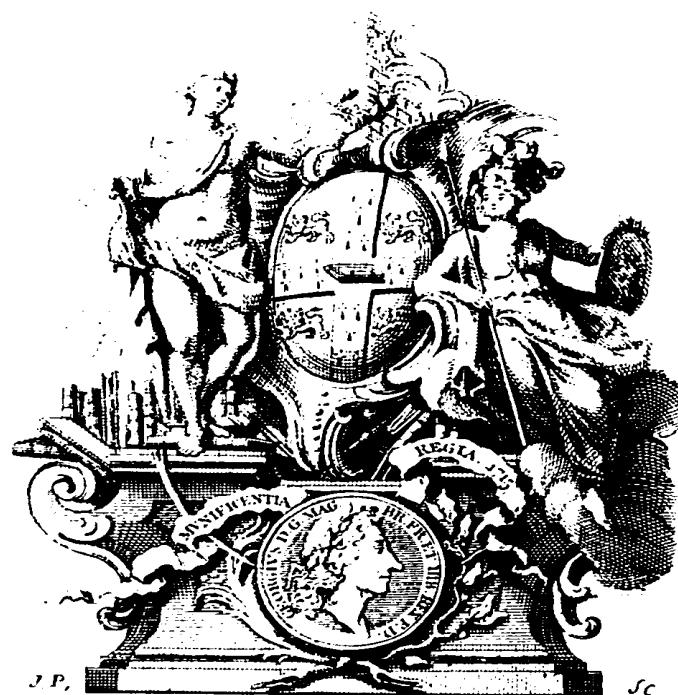
*By JOHN POTTER, M. A. and Fellow
of Lincoln College, OXON.*



O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, for ABEL SWALL,
at the *Unicorn*, in St. Pauls Church-yard,
L O N D O N. MDCXCVII.





Archæologiæ Græcæ:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
G R E E C E.

VOLUME THE FIRST:

CONTAINING

- I. The Civil Government of ATHENS.
 - II. The Religion of GREECE.
-

— *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* Ovid.

— *Vos exemplaria Graeca
Nocturna versate manus, versate diurna.* Horat.

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LONDON. MDCXCVII.

Imprimatur,

FITZHERBERT ADAMS,
Vice-Can. Oxon.

May 15.
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Archæo-

Archæologie Græca, OR, THE ANTIQUITIES OF G R E E C E.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the State of Athens till Cecrops.

A LL Ages have had a great esteem and veneration for *Aniquity*; and not only of Men, but of Families, Cities, and Countries, the most Ancient have always been accounted the most Honourable. Hence arose one of the first and most Universal Disputes that ever troubled Mankind; almost every Nation, whose first Original was not very Manifest, pretending to have been of an equal Duration with the Earth it self. Thus the *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and *Phrygians* phanted themselves to be the first race of Mankind, and the *Arcadians* boasted that they were *μετερίων*, or before the Moon. The want of Letters did not a little contribute to these Opinions, for almost every Colony and Plantation, wanting means whereby to preserve the memory of their Ancestors, and deliver them down to Posterity, in a few Generations forgot their Mother-Nation, and thought they had inhabited their own Country from the beginning of the World.

A

Out

Our *Athenians* too had their share in this Vanity, and made as great and loud pretensions to Antiquity, as the best of their Neighbours; they gave out that they were produc'd at the same time with the Sun (a), and assumed to themselves the Honourable Name (for so they thought it) of *Autochtones*, which word signifies Persons produc'd out of the same soil, that they inhabit: For it was an old Opinion, and almost every where receiv'd among the Vulgar, that in the beginning of the World, Men, like Plants, were by some strange Prolifick Virtue produc'd out of the Fertile Womb of one common Mother, Earth; and therefore the Ancients generally called themselves *Gnyesis*, Sons of the Earth, as *Hesychius* informs us (b). Alluding to the same Original, the *Athenians* would sometimes stile themselves *tettigæ*, *Graſhoppers*; and some of them wore *Graſhoppers* of Gold, binding them in their Hair as Badges of Honour, and marks to distinguish them from others of later Duration, and less Noble extraction, because those Insects were believ'd to be generated out of the Ground (c): *Virgil* has mention'd this custom in his Poem entitul'd *Ciris*,

*Ergo omnis caro residuebat cura capillo,
Aurea ſolemni comptum quem fibula ritu
Cecropiae tereti necebat dente cicade.*

Wherefore ſhe did, as was her constant Care,
With *Graſhoppers* adorn her comely Hair,
Brac'd with a Golden Buckle *Attick*-wife.

Mt. Jo. *Abell* of Linc. Coll.

Without doubt the *Athenians* were a very ancient Nation, and it may be the first and only one that ever inhabited that Country; for when *Thessaly*, and *Peloponnesus*, and almost all the fertile Regions of *Greece* chang'd their old Masters every Year, the barrenness of their Soil ſecur'd them from Forreign Invasions. *Greece* at that time had no conſtant and ſettl'd Inhabitants, but there were continual Removes, the stronger always diſpoſefing the weaker; and therefore they liv'd, as we ſay, from Hand to Mouth, and provided no more than what was neceſſary for preſent Sustenance, expecting every Day when ſome more powerfull Nation ſhould come and diſplace them, as they had lately done their Predeceſſors (d). Amidſt all these troublous and tumults, *At-rica* lay ſecure and unmoleded, being protected from Forreign Enemisies by means of a craggy and unfruitful Soil, that could not afford Fuel for contention; and ſecur'd from intestine and civil Broils, by the quiet and peaceable Diſpoſitions of it's Inhabitants; for in thofe *Golden-Days* no affectation of Supremacy, nor any Sparks of Ambition had fired Men's minds, but every one liv'd full of content and ſatisfaction in the enjoyment of an equal ſhare of Land, and other Necessaries with the reſt of his Neighbours.

(a) *Menander rhetor.* (b) *In voce Εγγεις.* (c) *Thucydides lib. i. Eufathius ad Iliad. γ'. (d) Thucyd. ibid.*

The uſual Attendants of a long and uninterrupted Peace are Riches and Plenty, but in thofe Days when Men liv'd upon the products of their own Soil, and had not found out the way of ſupplying their wants by Traffick, the caſe was quite contrary, and Peace was only the Mother of Poverty and Scarcenes, producing a great many new Mouths to conſume, but affording no new Supplies to ſatisfie them. This was ſoon experienc'd by the *Athenians*, for in a few Ages they were increas'd to ſuch a number, that their Country being not only unfruitfull, but confin'd within very narrow bounds, was no longer able to furniſh them with neceſſary Proviſions. This forced them to contrive ſome means to diſburthen it, and therefore they ſent out Colonies to provide new Habitations, which ſpread themſelves in the ſeveral parts of *Greece*.

This ſending forth of Colonies was very frequent in the firſt Ages of the World, and ſeveral instances there are of it in later Times, eſpecially amongst the *Gauls*, and *Scythians*, who often left their Native-Countries in vast Bodies, and, like general inundations, overturn'd all before them. *Meursius* reckons to the number of forty Plantations peopl'd by *Athenians*; but amongst them all, there was none ſo remarkable as that in *Asia* the *Lesse*, which they call'd by the Name of their Native-Country, *Ionia*. For the primitive *Athenians* were nam'd *Iones*, and *Iaones* (a); and hence it came to pafs, that there was a very near Affinity between the *Attick*, and old *Ionick* Dialect, as *Eufathius* obſerves (b). And tho' the *Athenians* thought fit to lay aside their Ancient Name, yet it was not altogether out of uſe in *Theseus*'s Reign, as appears from the Pillar erected by him in the *Iſthmus*, to ſhew the Bounds of the *Athenians* on the one ſide, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the East-side of which was this Inſcription (c),

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia.

And on the South-side this,

This is not Ionia, but Peloponnesus.

This Name is thought to have been given them by *Iavan*, which bears a near reſemblance to *Iāw*, and much the nearer, if (as Grammarians tell us) the Ancient *Greeks* pronounc'd the letter *α* broad, like the Dipthong *aw*, as in our *English* word *All*, and ſo Mr. *George Wheeler* reports the Modern *Greeks* do at this Day. This *Iavan* was the fourth Son of *Iapheth*, and is ſaid to have come into *Greece* after the conuſion of *Babel*, and ſeated himſelf in *Attica*. And this Report receiveth no ſmall confirmation from the Divine Writings, where the Name of *Iavan* is in ſeveral places put for *Greece*. Two instances we have in *Daniel* (d); *And when I am gone forth, behold the Prince of Græcia ſhall come.* And again (e); *He ſhall stir up all againſt the Realm of Græcia.* Where tho' the Vulgar Translations render it not *Iavan*, yet (as Mr. *Ross* hath obſerv'd) that is the Word in the Original. And

(a) *Herodot. lib. I. Straio Geogr. lib. IX. Aeschylus Persis.* (b) *Iliad. α.*
(c) *Plutarch. Theseo.* (d) *Cap. X. v. XX* (e) *Cap. XI. v. II.*

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again in *Isaiah* ; And I will send those that escape of them to the Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. Where Sr. Walter Raleigh hath taken notice, that the *Tigurine Version*, with that of *Geneva*, retains the Hebrew words, and useth the Names of *Tubal* and *Lavan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*. But the *Grecians* themselves having no knowledge of their true Ancestor, make this Name to be of much later date, and derive it from *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*. This *Xuthus* (as *Pausanias* reports) having robb'd his Father *Deucalion* of his Treasure, convey'd himself together with his ill-gotten Wealth into *Attica*, which was at that time govern'd by *Erechtheus*, who Courteously entertain'd him, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, *Ion* and *Achaeus*, the former of which gave his Name to the *Ionians*, the latter to the *Acheans*. It is not improbable that *Ion* himself might receive his Name from *Lavan*; it being a Custom observable in the Histories of all Times, to keep up the Ancient Name of a Fore-Father, especially such as had been eminent in the Times he liv'd in, by reviving it in some of the Posteriority of his Posterity.

From the first Peopling of *Attica* till the time of King *Ogyges*, we have no Account of any thing remarkable there; only *Hesychius* (a) reports, they had a Tradition, that the *Athenian* Power and Glory were very great in those Days; that they were excellently skill'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, were govern'd by the Justest and most Equitable Laws, and liv'd in far greater Splendor, than they had arriv'd to in his Time. But of the Transactions of these, and the following Ages, till *Theseus*, or the *Trojan War*, little or nothing of Certainty must be expected; partly, because of the want of Records, in such and illiterate Ages; partly, by reason of the vast distance of Time, wherein those Records they had (if they had any) were lost and destroy'd; and partly, thro' the Pride and Vain-glory of the Ancient Greeks, that out of an affectation of being thought to have been descended from some Divine Original, industriously conceal'd their Pedigrees, and obseur'd their Ancient Histories with idle Tales, and Poetical Fictions. And to use the words of *Pharetrich* (b); As Historians in their Geographical Descriptions of Countries, cloud into the farthest part of their Maps those things they have no knowledge of, with some such remarks in the Margin, as these; All beyond is nothing but dry and desart Sands, or *Scythian* Cold, or a Frozen Sea; so it may very well be said of those things that are so far remov'd from our Age; All beyond is nothing but Monstrous and Tragical Fictions, there the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there to be expected any thing that deserves credit, or that carries in it any appearance of Truth.

However I must not omit what is reported concerning *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, whom some will have, to have been King of *Thebes*, some of *Egypt*, some of *Arcadia*, but others of *Attica*, which is said to have been call'd after his Name, *Ogygia* (c). He is reported to have been a very Potent Prince, and the Founder of several Cities, particularly

(a) *Timæo*. (b) *Ilio*. (c) *Stephanus Byzantin. de Urb. & Pop.*

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of *Eleusis*, and *Pausanias* tells us farther, that he was Father to the Heroe *Eleusis*, from whom that City receiv'd its Name. He is said to have been Contemporary with the Patriarch *Jacob*; about the Sixty-seventh Year of whose Age he is suppos'd to have been Born (a), others bring him as low as *Moses* (b). His Reign is the utmost Period that the *Grecian Stories*, or *Traditions* ever pretended to reach to, and therefore when they would express the great Antiquity of any thing, they call it Ωγύγος, of which we have a great many instances in several of the Ancient Writers, but I shall only give you one out of *Nicander's Theriaca*,

Ωγύγος δ' ἄρε πῦθος iv αἰτησίος φορεῖται.

And in allusion to the great Power, he is suppos'd to have been possest of, they call any thing Great or Potent, Ωγύγος, as two Learned Grammarians inform us. *Hesychius*, Ωγύγικ, παλαιός, ἀρχαῖος, μεγάλος τάχιν. *Suidas*, Ωγύγος, παλαιός, ή ωγυγεμέτες. And therefore Ωγύγικα are great and insupportable Evils; and Ωγύγος *ludibria* in *Philo*, extreme Folly and Stupidity. He reign'd two and thirty Years (for so *Cedrenus* computes them) in full Power and Prosperity, and Bless'd with the Affluence of all Things, that Fortune can bestow upon her greatest Favourites; but the conclusion of his Life was no less deplorable, than the former part of it had been prosperous, for in the midst of all his Enjoyments he was surpriz'd with a sudden and terrible Inundation, that overwhelm'd not *Attica* only, but all *Achaia* too, in one Common Destruction.

There is frequent mention made in Ancient Authors of several Kings, that Reign'd in *Attica*, between the *Ogygian Flood* and *Cecrops* the first. As of *Porphyriion*, concerning whom the *Athmonians*, a People in *Attica*, have a Tradition, that he Erected a Temple to *Venus Ovaria* in their Burrough (c). Also of *Colemus* (d); and of *Periphas*, who is describ'd by *Antoninus Liberalis*, (e) to have been a very Virtuous Prince, and at last Metamorphos'd into an *Eagle*. *Isaac Tzetzes* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* speaks of one *Draco*, out of whose Teeth he tells us, it was reported that *Cecrops* sprung, and this reason some give for his being call'd Δρόψις. Lastly, to mention no more, *Pausanias* and *Stephanus* speak of *Acteus*, or *Acteon*, from whom some will have *Attica* to have been call'd *Acte*; and this Name frequently occurs in the Poets, particularly in *Lycophron*, a Studious affecter of Antiquated Names, and Obsolete Words,

Αττικής διπεργά γηγενες ουρηπλεχεις.

But small Credit is to be given to these reports, for we are assured by *Philochorus*, an Author of no less Credit, than Antiquity, as he is quoted by *Africanus*, that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Ogygian Deluge*, and its Inhabitans reduc'd to so small a Number, that they liv'd an Hundred and Ninety Years from the Time of *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*,

(a) *Hieron. Chronic. Euseb.* (b) *Justin. Mart. Orat ad Gentes.* (c) *Pausanias.* (d) *Idem.* (e) *Metamorphos. VI.*

without any King at all ; and *Eusebius* concurs with him in this Opinion (f).

CHAPTER II.

Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.

IT is agree'd almost on all Hands, that *Cecrops* was the first that gather'd together the Poor Peasants, that lay dispers'd here and there in Attica, and having United them into one Body, (tho' not into one City, for that was not effected till many Ages after) constituted among them one form of Government, and took upon himself the title of *King*.

Most Nations at the first were Govern'd by *Kings*, who were usually Persons of great Worth, and Renown, and for their Courage, Prudence, and other Virtues promoted to that Dignity by the general Consent and Election of the People; who yielded them Obedience out of Willingness, rather than Necessity, out of Advice rather than by Compulsion : and Kings rather chose to be obey'd out of Love, and Esteem of their Virtues, and Fitness to govern, than by the Force of their Arms, and out of a Slavish Fear of their Power. They affected no uncontrollable Dominion, or absolute Sway, but preferr'd the good of their People, for whose Protection they knew, and acknowledg'd themselves to have been advanc'd, before any Covetous or Ambitious Designs of their own. They expected no bended Knees, no prostrate Faces, but would condescend to converse familiarly, even with the meaner sort of their Subjects, as oft as they stood in need of their Assistance. In short, they endeavour'd to observe such a just Medium in their Behaviour, and all their Actions, as might neither expose their Authority to contempt, nor render them formidable to those, whom they chose rather to win by Kindness into a voluntary Compliance, than to awe by severity into a forc'd Subjection. They propos'd to themselves no other Advantage, than the good and welfare of their People, and made use of their Authority no farther, than as it was conducive and necessary to that End. Their Dignity and Office consisted chiefly in three Things.

First, in doing Justice, in hearing Causes, in composing the Divisions, and deciding the Differences, that happen'd among their Subjects, in constituting new Laws, and regulating the Old (b), where they had any ; But the People generally repos'd such trust and confidence in the Justice and Equity of their *Prince*, that his sole Will and Pleasure past for Law amongst them (c).

Secondly, in leading them to the Wars ; where they did not only assist them by their good Conduct and management of Affairs, but expos'd their own Persons for the Safety and Honour of their Coun-

trey, pressing forward into the thickest of their Enemies, and often encountering the most Valiant of them in single Combat. And this they thought a principal Part of their Duty, judging it but reasonable, that they who excell'd others in Honour, should surpass them too in Valour ; and they that had the first places at all Feasts, and Publick Assemblies, should be the first also in undertaking Dangers, and exposing themselves in the Defence of their Countrey ; and thus the *Heroe* in *Homer* argues the Case with one of his Fellow-Princes,

Γλαῦκε, τίν σι ρῶι τελιμάνεω μάλιστα
Εδψη τε, κρέσσον τε, ίδε πλέον δετένειν
Ἐν Λυκίη, πάντες δέ, θεος ἡσ, σιορέσσον,
Καὶ τέρπειρ νεφάσσεται μέχε Ξανθόο παρ' ὄχεσσι
Καλὴν φυτανῆς ἐγέρης πυροφύροιο ;
Τῷ νῦν χεὶ Λυκίοις μελά πορώποισιν ἔβηται
Εστάυθε, ίδε μάλιστα κουστήσις ἀνπεριλήπται (b).

Glaucus, since us the *Lycian* Realms obey
Like Gods, and all united Homage pay,
Since we first seated have our Goblets Crown'd,
Enjoy large Farms, near *Xanthus* streams, whose Ground
Is fertil, and beset with shady Trees around ;
Ought we not in the Battel's Front t'engage,
And quell our furious Foes with doubled Rage ?

Mr. *Abell.*

Thirdly, the Performance of the Solemn Sacrifices, and the care of Divine Worship was part of the *King's* Business. The *Lacedemonian* Kings at their Coronation were consecrated *Priests* of *Jupiter Oleario*, and executed that Office in their own Persons. No man can be ignorant of *Virgil's Aeneas*, who was both *King* and *Priest*,

Rex Aeneas, Rex idem hominum, Phaebique sacerdos.

We seldom meet with a Sacrifice in *Homer*, but some of the *Heroes*, and those the Chief of all then present, are concern'd in the performance of the Holy Ceremonies ; and so far was it from being thought a Piece of Condescension, or any way below their Dignity and Grandeur, that they thought it an Accession to the rest of their Honours, and the Inferior Worshippers were no less carefull to reserve this piece of Service for them, than they were to give them the most Honourable Places in the Banquets, which they refresh'd themselves with, after the Sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to *Cecrops*, whom, as soon as he had establish'd himself in his new rais'd Kingdom, we shall find employ'd in laying the Model of a City, which he design'd for the Seat of his Government, and place of his constant Residence. And as the most commodious

(a) *Chronico.* (b) *Tulli de Offic. lib. II. Cap. XII.* (c) *Justin. Hist. lib. I.*

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

place in his Dominions for this purpose, he pitch'd upon a Rock, strongly fortified by Nature against any Assaults, and situated in a large Plain near the middle of Attica, calling both the City, and the Territorie round it after his own Name, Cecropia. Afterwards, when the Athenians increas'd in Power and Number, and fill'd the adjacent Plains with Buildings, this was the Acropolis, or Citadel.

Then for the better Administration of Justice, and the promotion of mutual Entercourse among his Subjects, he divided them into four Tribes, the Names of which were

1. Κέρωνις.
2. Αἰλοχῖαν.
3. Αργίαν.
4. Παρελαία.

And finding his Countrey pretty well stock'd with Inhabitans, partly by the coming in of Forreigners, partly by the Concourse of People from every Corner and lurking-hole in Attica, where they had before lain, as it were, buried in Privacy, he instituted a Poll, causing every one of the Men to cast a Stone into a Place appointed by him for that purpose, and upon Computation he found them to be in number Twenty-Thousand, as the Scholiast upon Pindar reports out of Philochorus (a).

But the Soil being in its own Nature unfruitfull, and the People unskill'd in tilling and improving it to the best advantage, such multitudes could not have fail'd of being reduc'd in a short Time to the greatest Extremities, had not Cecrops taught them the Art of Navigation, and thereby supply'd them with Corn from Sicily, and Africa (b).

Belides this, he was the Author of many excellent Laws and Constitutions, especially touching Marriage, which according to his appointment was only to be celebrated betwixt one Man, and one Woman, whereas before promiscuous Mixtures had been allow'd of amongst them, as the Poet intimates,

Καὶ μός εὐγένον διδάσκεται ὄργανα φρυγίη,
Θερμὰ Σῆλεν ἔχεται, τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Αἴσιδος πάντη
Συλλύπτει εὐάτοις συνεργίδες διγύρα Κέρων (c).

With curious Art Cadmus did Letters frame,
The Law's Invention from Wise Solon came,
But Cecrops glories in the Marriage tie
Of the united Pair.

Mr. Abel.

Nor did he only prescribe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduc'd a Form of Religion, erected Altars in Honour of the Gods, and instructed his People in what manner they were to Worship them.

(a) Olympionic. Od. IX. (b) Johannes Tzetzes in Hesiodi Epy. & (c) Nonnus Dionysiac. lib. XLI.

Of the Civil Government of Athens

In the Reign of Pandion, the Fifth King of Athens, Triptolemus is said to have taught the Athenians how to sow, and manure the Ground; and to have enacted several useful and necessary Laws, three of which we find quoted by Porphyry out of Xenocrates (a);

1. Honor your Parents.
2. Make Oblations of your Fruits to the Gods.
3. Hurt not Living Creatures.

Cecrops the Second of that Name, and the Seventh King of Athens, divided his Dominions into twelve Cities, or large Burroughs, compelling his Subjects to leave their separate Habitations, and Unite together for the replenishing of them (b). Their Names were these, as they are deliver'd by Strabo in his Description of Attica (c): Cecropia, Te-trapolis, Exacia, Decelea, Eleusis, Aphidna, Thoricus, Brauron, Cy-theris, Sphettus, Cephissia, and Phalerus. But Cecropia still continu'd the chief Seat of the Empire, tho' each of these Cities (they are the words of Sr. George Wheeler, who refers this Division to Cecrops the First, led thereunto by the Authority of Eusebius, and some others) had distinct Courts of Judicature, and Magistrates of their own; and were so little subject to their Princes, the Successours of Cecrops, that they seldom, or never, had recourse to them, save only in Cases of imminent and publick Danger; and did so absolutely order their own Concerns, that sometimes they wag'd War against each other, without the advice or consent of their Kings.

In this state continu'd Attica, till the Reign of Pandion the second of that Name, and eighth King of the Athenians, who was depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Cousins, the Sons of his Uncle Metion; who themselves did not long posses what they had thus unjustly gotten, being driven out of it by the more powerful Arms of Pandion's four Sons, viz. Aegeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus. These having expell'd the Metionidae, divided the Kingdom amongst themselves, as Apollo-dorus reports. But others are of Opinion, that Pandion himself being restor'd to the quiet possession of his Kingdom by the joyn't Assistance of them all, by his last Will and Testament divided it into four Parts, bequeathing to each of them his Proportion; And tho' it is not agree'd amongst Ancient Writers, which Part fell to every Man's Lot; yet thus much is consented to on all Hands, that the Sovereignty of Athens was assign'd to Aegeus, for which he was extremeley envied by his Brethren; and so much the more, for that, as most think, he was not the begotten, but only adopted Son of Pandion; and for this reaon it was (saith Plutarch) that Aegeus commanded Ethra, the Mother of Theseus, to send her Son, when arriv'd at Man's estate, from Trozen, the place where he was born, to Athens with all Secrecy, and to enjoyn him to conceal, as much as possible, his Journey from all Men, because he fear'd extremely the Pallanidae, who did continually mutiny against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being Fifty Brothers, all the Sons of Pallas. However,

(a) De abstinent. ab Animal lib. IV. (b) Etymolog. (c) Geograph. lib. IX.

as the same Author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open Rebellion, by the hopes and expectation of recovering the Kingdom, at least after *Aegeus's* Death, because he was without Issue; but as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd rightfull Successour to the Crown, highly resenting, that first *Aegeus*, *Pandion's* Son only by Adoption, and not at all related to the Family of *Erechtheus*, and then *Theseus*, one of another Countrey, and a perfect stranger to their Nation, should obtain the Kingdom of their Ancestors, they broke out into open Acts of Hostility; but were soon overcome and dispers'd by the Courage and Conduct of *Theseus*.

Theseus having deliver'd the Countrey from intestine Seditions, proceeded in the next place to free it from Forreign Slavery. The *Athenians* having Barbarously Murder'd *Androgeus*, the Son of *Minos*, King of Crete, were oblig'd by his Father to send a Novennial, or Septennial, or, as others, an Annual Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins into Crete, where they were shut up within the *Labyrinth*, and there wandred about, till, finding no possible means of making their Escape, they perish'd with Hunger, or else were devour'd by the *Minotaur*, a terrible Monster, compounded of the different shapes of Man, and Bull. The time of sending this Tribute being come, *Theseus* put himself amongst the Youths that were doom'd to go to Crete, where having arriv'd, he receiv'd of *Ariadne*, the Daughter of King *Minos*, who had fain in Love with him, a Clew of thred, and being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him thro' all the Windings of the *Labyrinth*, escap'd out of it, having first slain the *Minotaur*, and so return'd with his Fellow-Captives in Triumph to *Athens*.

In his return through an excess of Joy for the happy success of his Voyage, he forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Aegeus*, who sat expecting them upon the Top of a Rock, and as soon as their Ship came in View with a Black, and as it were, Mourning Sail, knowing nothing of their Success, threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so made way to *Theseus's* more early Succession to the Crown, than could otherwise have been expected. And to this time from the Reign of *Cecrops the First*, the Government and State of *Athens* continu'd with little alteration.

CHAPTER III.

Of the State of Athens, from Theseus to the Decennial Archons.

*T*heseus being by the fore-mention'd Accident advanc'd to the Regal Scepter, soon found the inconvenience of having his People dispers'd in Villages, and canton'd up and down the Countrey. Therefore for the remedy of this Evil, he fram'd in Mind

Mind (faith *Plutarch*) a vast and wonderful Design of gathering together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and making them one People of one City, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembl'd upon any Affair, tho' relating to the Common benefit of them all. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happen'd among them, as occasion'd Blood-shed and War; these he by his Perswasions appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his Design of a Common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily embracing so good advice, to those of greater Power, and Interest he promis'd a Common-wealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them, and by this means brought most of them over to his Propofal. The rest fearing his Power which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be perfwaded, than forc'd into a Compliance.

He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-Hall, where it stands to this Day. And out of the old and new City he made one, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd *Panathenea*, or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians*. He instituted also another Sacrifice, for the sake of Strangers that would come to fix at *Athens*, call'd *Mesimnia*, which is yet celebrated on the 16th day of *Hecatombaeon*. Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Kingly Power, and settled a Common-wealth, having entred upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For sending to consult the *Delphian Oracle*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer;

Αἰχέδην Θυσοῦ, Πίθενδρι ἔκγονε κάρες,
Πολλαῖς τοι πολιόσι Πατήσ ἐμός ἐγκατέδηκε
Τέρματα δὲ χλωσῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πολιέδρῳ,
Αλλὰ σὺ μάτε λίσι πεπονιμένδρι ἐνδεδι θυσώ
Βαλεύσιν, Ασκὸς γῳ ἐν νοῦ μαζὶ ποιοποεύστη.

Hear, Theseus, Pittheus Daughter's Son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done.

In the great City thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid
The settl'd Periods and fix'd Fates,
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear, nor Pain,
Sollicit not thy self in Vain.

For like a Bladder that does bide
The Fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always tost, but never drown'd.

(Mr. Duke.)
Which

Which Oracle, they say, one of the *Sibyls* a long time after, did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians* in this Verse,

Ἄστρος Κατίζην, δύωνά σέ τοι & Σέψις ἐστι.

Thou, like a Bladder, mayst be wet, but never drown'd.

Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives, and some are of opinion, that the Common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, Δῆμος εἰς μάρτιον λέγει, Come hither all ye People, were the words that *Theseus* caus'd to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Common-wealth, consisting in a manner of all Nations.

For all this, he suffer'd not his State by the promiscuous multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion and Anarchy, and left without any Order or Degrees, but was the first that divided the Common-wealth into three distinct Ranks, Εἰπαρχοί, Γεωργοί, Δημοψήροι, i. e. Noblemen, Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the choice of Magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Religious things; the whole City, as to all other matters, being as it were reduc'd to an Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theseus* was the first, who, as *Aristotle* says, out of an inclination to Popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, and which *Homer* also seems to intimate in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of Δῆμος or People, to the *Athenians* only.

In this manner *Theseus* settl'd the *Athenian* Government, and it continu'd in the same State till the Death of *Codrus* the seventeenth, and last King, a Prince more renown'd for his Bravery, than Fortune. For *Attica* (a) being invaded by the *Dorians*, or *Spartans*, or *Peloponnesians*, or, as some will have it, by the *Thracians*, the Oracle was consulted about it, and answer made, that the Invaders should have Success, if they did not kill the *Athenian* King; *Codrus* having heard this, and preferring his Country's Safety before his own Life, disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, and went to a place not far from the Enemies Camp, where picking a quarrel with some of them, he obtain'd the Death which he so much desir'd. The *Athenians* being advertis'd of what had happen'd, sent an Herald to the Enemy to demand the Body of their King, whereupon they were so much dishearten'd, that they immediately broke up their Camp, and left off their Enterprize without striking another blow.

The *Athenians*, out of reverence to *Codrus*'s memory, would never more have any Governor by the Name or Title of King, but were Govern'd by *Archontes*, whom they allow'd indeed to continue in their Dignity as long as they liv'd, and when they di'd, to leave it to their Children, and therefore most Writers reckon them rather amongst the Kings, than the *Archontes* that succeeded them, who were permitted to

(a) *Tull. Tuscul. Quæst. Justin. I. II. Vell. Patre. lib. II. Theseus.*

Rule only for a certain time; yet they differ'd from the Kings in this, that they were in a manner subject to the People, being oblig'd to render an account of their management, when it should be demanded. The first of these was *Medon*, the Eldest Son of *Codrus*, from whom the thirteen following *Archontes* were Sirnam'd *Medomidae*, as being descended from him; During their Government the *Athenian* State suffer'd no considerable alteration, but was carried on with so great ease, and quietness, that scarce any mention is made of any memorable Action done by any of them, and the very Names of some of them are almost quite forgotten.

Thus have I endeavoured to give you a short Account of the *Athenian* State, whilst it was Govern'd by Kings, who were in all thirty, and Rul'd *Athens* by the space of seven-hundred-ninety-four Years, as the Learned *Meurius* has computed them, to which if you add the two and thirty Years of *Ogyges*, and the intervall of an hundred and ninety Years, in which no Foot-steps of any Government are to be found, the number will amount to one thousand and twelve Years.

A Catalogue of the *Athenian* Kings.

Years.	Years.
VIII.	Ogyges
XXXVII.	Interregnum
XXI.	Cecrops I.
XX.	Cranaus
XXXVI.	Amphictyon
XIX.	Eriethonius
XL.	Pandion I.
XXX.	Erechtheus
XXVIII.	Cecrops II.
XXV.	Pandion II.
XXV.	Ægeus
XXV.	Theseus
XIX.	Menestheus
XX.	Demophoon
XXVII.	Oxynes
XVII.	Aphidas
II.	Alcmeon
	Thymates
	Malanthius
	Codrus
	Medon
	Acastus
	Archippus
	Therippus
	Phorbas
	Megacles
	Diognetus
	Pherecles
	Ariphron
	Thespicus
	Agamestor
	Æschylus

CHAPTER IV.

Of the State of Athens, from the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.

THE People of *Athens* continually got Ground of their Superiors, gaining something by every alteration that was made in the State, till at length by little and little the whole Government

ment came into the hands of the Commonalty. *Theseus* and *Melior* made considerable abatements in their Power, but what remain'd of it, they kept in their own hands as long as they liv'd, and preserv'd the Succession entire to their Posterity. But in the first Year of the seventh Olympiad, both the Power, and Succession was devolv'd upon the People, who the better to curb the Pride, and restrain the Power of their *Archons*, continu'd them in their Government only for ten Years, and the first that was Created in this manner, was *Charops*, the Son of *Aeschylus*. But they would not rest contented here, for about seventy Years after, that the *Archons* might be wholly dependent on the Citizen's favour; it was agreed that their Authority should but last for one Year, at the End of which they were to give an Account of their Administration, and the first of these was *Cleon*, who entred upon his Charge in the third Year of the twenty-fourth Olympiad (a).

In the thirty-ninth Olympiad *Draco* was *Archon*, and was the Author of many new Laws, in which there is very little worth our Notice, only that they were very Cruel and Inhumane, punishing almost every Trivial Offence with Death. Insomuch that those that were convicted of Idleness were to Die, and those that Stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to suffer as the Villains that committed Sacrilege, or Murder; and therefore *Demades* is remark'd for saying that *Draco's* Laws were not written with Ink, but Blood: and he himself being ask'd, Why he made Death the punishment of most Offences, reply'd, Small Crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.

But all these, that only excepted which concern'd Murder, were repeal'd in the third Year of the forty-sixth Olympiad, in which *Solon* being *Archon*, was intrusted with the Power of new Modelling the Common-wealth, and making Laws for it. They gave him Power over all their Magistrates, (says *Plutarch*,) their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint the Number, Times of meeting, and what Estate they should have that could be capable of being admitted to them, and to dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions, according to his Judgment and Discretion (b).

Solon finding the People variously affected, some inclin'd to a Monarchy, others to an Oligarchy, others to a Democracy, the Rich much Powerful and Haughty, the Poor Groaning under the burden of their Oppression, endeavour'd as far as was possible to compose all their Differences, to ease their Grievances, and give all reasonable Persons satisfaction. In the Prosecution of this design he divided the *Athenians* into four Ranks, according to every Man's Estate; Those who were worth five hundred *Medianis* of liquid and dry Commodities he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them *ποταρχοταριθμοι*. The next were the Horsemen, call'd *ἱππάδη πλεύτες*, being such as were of Ability to furnish out a Horse, or were worth three hundred *Medianis*. The third Class consisted of those that had two hundred *Medianis*, which were call'd *ζευγῖται*. In the last he plac'd all the rest, calling them *οὐτεῖς*.

(a) *Clement Stromat.* I. (b) *Plutarch.* in *Solone.*

and

and allow'd them not to be capable of bearing any Office in the Government, only gave them Liberty to give their Votes in all publick Assemblies, which, tho' at the first it appear'd inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important Privilege, for it being permitted any Man after the determination of the Magistrates to make an appeal to the People assent'd in Convocation, hereby it came to pass, that Causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before them. And thus he continu'd the Power and Magistracy in the hands of the Rich Men, and yet neither expos'd the inferior People to their Cruelty and Oppression, nor wholly depriv'd them of having a share in the Government. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner,

Δίκια φὰ τὸ ἔδωρα τούτον κατέχει δόσον ἐπαρκεῖ,
Τεμῆς εἰς τὸ ἀφελῶν, εἰς τὸ ἐπορεύεσθαι.
Οἱ δὲ εἰχον διώματα καὶ χειρόστοιν οἵταν ἀγυπτοί,
Καὶ τοῖς ἐφραστάτις μηδενὶ ἀτέκες ἔχειν.
Εἰσὶ δὲ ἀμφιβολῶν ψηλήν σάκος ἀναστήσονται,
Νικᾶν δὲ εἰς εἷς τὸ ἀμφιλέγεις αδίκως.

What Power was fit I did on all bestow,
Nor rais'd the Poor too high, nor Press'd too low;
The Rich that Rul'd, and every Office bore
Confin'd by Laws they could not Press the Poor:
Both Parties I secur'd from Lawleis might,
So none prevail'd upon another's Right.

(Mr. Creech.)

Not many Years after, the City being divided into Factions, *Pisistratus* by a Stratagem seiz'd upon the Government: for having on set purpose Wounded himself, he was brought into the Market-Place in a Chair, where he expos'd his Wounds to the People, assuring them that he had been so dealt with by the adverse Party for his affection to their Government. The unthinking Multitude were easily drawn by so specious a pretence into a compassion of his Misfortunes, and rage against his Enemies; and upon the motion of one *Ariston*, granted him fifty Men arm'd with Clubs to Guard his Person. The decree being past, *Pisistratus* listed the number of Men that were allow'd him, and besides them as many more as he pleas'd, no Man observing what he was a doing, till at length in requital of the City's kindness and Care of him, he seiz'd the Citadel, and depriv'd them of their Liberty. After this *Pisistratus* liv'd thirty Years, seventeen of which he was in possession of the Government of *Athens*; but the State continu'd all that time unsettled, and in continual motions, the City-Party sometimes prevailing against him and expelling him, sometimes again being worsted by him, and forc'd to let him return in Triumph.

He was succeeded by his Sons *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*; the former of which was Slain by *Aristogiton*, and the latter about three or four Years after compell'd by *Clitophenes*, who call'd to his assistance the banish'd *Alcmaeonidae*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to relinquish his Government, and secure himself by a dishonourable Flight.

Flight. Being thus banish'd his Country, he fled into *Perſia*, where he liv'd many Years, perwading *Darius* to the Enterprize upon *Athens*, which at length to his eternal Shame and Dishonour he undertook. For levying a numerous Host of Men he entered the *Athenian Territories*, where both he, and his whole Army were totally Defeated, by an inconsiderable number of Men, under the Conduct of *Miltiades* in that Famous Battel of *Marathon*. This Victory was obtain'd twenty Years after *Hippias's* Expulsion. And thus the *Athenians* recover'd their Laws and Liberties, about sixty-eight Years after they had been depriv'd of them by *Pisistratus*.

After this Success, they continued in a Flourishing condition, for three and thirty Years, but then the Scene chang'd, and reduc'd them almost to the lowest Ebb of Fortune. *Xerxes* in revenge of his Predecessor's Defeat, invaded their Territories with an Army, (as some say,) of seventeen-hundred-thousand Men, and forc'd them to quit their City, and leave it a prey to the insulting *Barbarians*, who took it without any considerable resistance, and laid it in Ashes; and in the Year following his Lieutenant *Mardonius* in imitation of his Master's example, burn'd it a second Time. But these Storms were soon blown over by the Wisdom and Courage of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, who totally Defeated the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*, and seconde'd that Victory by another of no less importance over *Mardonius* at *Platae*, whereby the *Barbarians* were quite driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* restor'd to her Ancient Government, arising out of her Ruins, more Bright and Glorious then ever she had been before.

But the State suffer'd some alterations, for first, *Aristides*, a Person (as *Plutarch* assures us) of a mean Extraction, and meaner Fortune, being in consideration of his eminent Virtues, and signal Services to the Common-wealth, preferr'd to the Dignity of an *Archon*, repeal'd *Solon's* Law, by which the *Etr.*, or lowest Order of People, were made incapable of bearing any Office in the Government. And after him *Pericles* having leslen'd the Power of the *Areopagites*, brought in a confus'd *Ochlocratie*, whereby the Populace, and basest of the Rabbble obtain'd as great a share in the Government, as Persons of the Highest Birth and Quality.

Notwithstanding these Alterations at Home, all things were carri'd on with great Success abroad: the *Athenians* by the help of their Fleet, on which they laid out their whole strength, when *Xerxes* forc'd them to quitt their City, became sole Lords of the Sea, and made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of the *Aegean Islands*; And having either forc'd the rest of the *Grecians* into Subjection, or aw'd them into a Confederacy, went on Conquerors to the Borders of *Egypt*, and had (as *Aristophanes* reports) a thousand Cities under their Dominions.

But afterwards things Succeeding ill in *Sicily*, under the Command of *Nicias*, and some other troubles arising in the Common-wealth, the Principal Men of *Athens* (says Sr. *Walter Raleigh*) being wearied with the Peoples insolency, took this opportunity to change the form of Government, and bring the Sovereignty into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains that were abroad, they caus'd them to set up an *Aristocracy* in the Towns of their Confederates;

and in the mean time, some, that were most likely to oppose this Innovation, being Slain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were so dismay'd that none durst open his Mouth against the Conspirators, whose Number they knew not; but every Man was afraid of his Neighbour, least he should have a hand in the Plot. In this general Confarnation, the Government of *Athens* was usurped by Four-hundred, who preserving in shew the Ancient form of Proceeding, caus'd all matters to be propound'd to the People, and concluded upon by the greater part of the Voices; but the things propounded were only such, as had been first agree'd upon among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other Liberty, than only that of approving and giving consent; for whosoever presum'd to take upon him any farther, was quickly dispatch'd out of the way, and no enquiry made after the Murderers. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the Establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endur'd not long; for the Fleet, and Army, which was then at the Isle of *Samos*, altogether detesting these Tyrannical Proceedings of the four-hundred Usurpers, recall'd *Alcibiades* from his Banishment; and partly out of fear of him, and partly because they found the Citizens incens'd against them, the Tyrants Voluntarily resigned their Authority, and went into Banishment.

Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the Sovereign Command to the People, or whole Body of the City, but only to Five-thousand, which the Four-hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take to them as Assistants in the Government; herein seeming to do little or no wrong to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in a greater Number; and therefore no Decrees were pass'd in the Name of the Four-hundred, but all was said to be done by the Five-thousand; and the Usurpers were called (says (a) *Plato*) Πετακιζομενοι, τετρακιδιοι, δισχιλιοι, five-thousand, tho' they did not exceed four-hundred. But now when the Power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agree'd that *Alcibiades* and his Friends should be recall'd from Exile by the Citizens, as they had before been by the Soldiers; and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government, which was forthwith refor'm'd according to the Soldiers desire.

This establishment of Affairs at home was immediately seconde'd with good Succes from abroad, for by the help of *Alcibiades* they in a short time obtain'd several very important Victories; but the giddy Multitude being soon after incens'd against him, he was Banish'd a second time (b). His Absence had always before been fatal to the *Athenians*, but never so much so, as at this time; for their Navy at *Egos-Potamos* through the carelessness of the Commanders, was betray'd into the hands of *Lysander*, the Lacedæmonian Admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole Fleet, so that of two, or three-hundred Sail of Ships there escap'd not above eight.

After this Victory, *Lysander* joyning his own Forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of Sparta, march'd directly to *Athens*, which

(a) *Alcibiade*. (b) *Diodor.* Sc. lib. XII. *Xenophon.* Hist. Græc. lib. II. *Ju-quin.* lib. V.

was surrendered to them upon Terms, whereby the *Athenians* oblig'd themselves to pull down the Long-Walls, by which the City was joyn'd to the *Piræus*, or Haven, and deliver up all their Naval Forces, only ten, or as some say, twelve Ships excepted. Nay there was a Consultation held whether the City should be utterly destroy'd, and the Lands about it laid waste ; and *Agis* had carried it in the affirmative, had not *Lysander* oppos'd him, urging, That one of the *Eyes of Greece* ought not to be pluck'd out. However he forc'd them to alter their form of Government, and change their *Democracy* into an *Oligarchie*, a State ever affected by the *Lacedemonians*.

In compliance therefore with the Commands of their Conquerors, the People of *Athens* chose Thirty Governors, commonly call'd *Thirty Tyrants*, the Names of which you may see in *Xenophon*. These (saith an Author above mentioned) were chosen with a design to compile a Bodie of their Laws, and make a Collection of such Ancient Statutes, as were fittest to be put in Practice in that juncture of Affairs, which were called *κανονις νομογενεις*, or New Laws. And to this Charge was annexed the supreme Authority, and the whole Government of the City entrusted in their hands. At the first they seem'd to proceed with some shew of Justice, and apprehending such troublesome Fellows, as were odious to the City, but could not be taken hold of by the Laws, condemn'd them to Death. But having afterwards obtain'd a Guard from the *Spartans*, to secure the City, as was pretended, to their Obedience, they soon discover'd what they had been aiming at ; for they sought no more after Base and Detested Persons, but invaded the Leading and Principal Men of the City, sending Arm'd Men from House to House, to dispatch such as were like to make any Head against their Government. And to add the greater strength to their Party, and Colour to their Proceedings, they selected three-thousand of such Citizens, as they thought fittest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the publick Authority, disarming all the rest. Being confirm'd with this accession of Strength, they proceeded in their Bloody designs with more Heat and Vigour than before, putting to Death all that were possessed of Estates, without any form of Justice, or so much as any the least Pique or Grudge against them, only that their Riches might fall into their hands. Nay, so far were they transported with Cruelty, and Covetousness, that they agree'd that every one of them should name his Man, upon whose Goods he should seize, by putting the owner to Death, and when *Theramenes*, one of their own Number profess'd his detestation of so Horrid a Design, they condemn'd him forthwith, and compelled him to drink Poison. This *Theramenes* was at the first a mighty stickler for the Tyrants Authority, but when they began to abuse it in the defence of such outragious Practises, no Man more violently oppos'd it than he, and this got him the Nick-name of *Kothopōs*, or Jack of both-sides, ὁ τὸς κοθοπός αρρεῖτεν μὲν τοῖς αὐτοφορέοις δικεῖ, from *Cothurnus*, which was a kind of a Shoe that fitted both Feet.

At length the *Athenians* to the number of seventy, that had Fled to *Thebes*, going voluntarily into Banishment to secure themselves from the Tyrants,

Tyrants, entered into a Conspiracy against them, and under the Conduct of *Thrafulus* seiz'd upon *Phyle*, a strong Castle in the Territory of *Athens*, and increasing their Strength and Numbers by little and little, so far prevail'd against them, that they were forc'd to retire to *Sparta*, and then all their Laws were repeal'd, and the upstart Form of Government utterly dissolv'd. And thus the *Athenians* regain'd their Liberty, and were re-established in the Peaceable enjoyment of their Lands and Fortunes in the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. And to prevent all future Jealousies and Quarrels amongst themselves, they proclaim'd an *Αμνωσίκη*, or Act of Oblivion, whereby all, that had been concern'd in the Outrages and Barbarities committed during the Sovereignty of the *Tyrants*, were admitted to Pardon.

Thrafulus having thus free'd his Countrey from the heavy Yoke of the *Lacedemonians*, *Conon* established it in all it's Ancient Privileges and Immunities, by another signal Victory at *Cnidus*, wherein he gave a total Defeat to the *Lacedemonian* Fleet. And having by this means regain'd the Sovereignty of the Seas, they began again to take Courage, and aim'd now at nothing less than the restoration of *Athens* to her Ancient Glory : and Fortune was not wanting in some measure to further their great Design ; for they not only reduc'd the Ile of *Lesbos*, *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other Places thereabouts to their former Obedience, but rais'd *Athens* once more to be the most Potent, and the Principal City in all *Greece*.

In this State they continued for some Years till the *Thebans*, who had been rais'd from one of the most inconsiderable States in *Greece* to great Power, by the wise Conduct and great Courage of *Epaminondas*, put a stop to her Grandeur, and disputed the Sovereignty with her ; but this Contest was soon decided by the hasty Death of *Epaminondas*, at the Famous Battel of *Mantinea*, that put an End to the *Theban* Greatness, which as it was rais'd, and maintain'd, so it likewise perish'd with that great Man. So great alterations are the Wisdom and Courage of one Man able to effect in the Affairs of whole Kingdoms.

The Death of *Epaminondas* prov'd no less fatal to the *Athenians* than the *Thebans*, for now there being none whose Virtues they could emulate, or whose Power they could fear, they Lorded it without a Rival, and being glutted with too much Prosperity, gave themselves over to Idleness and Luxury ; they slighted the Virtue of their Ancestors ; their hard and thrifty way of Living they laugh'd at ; the publick Revenues that used to be employ'd in paying the Fleets and Armies, they expended upon Games and Sports, and lavishly profused them in Sumptuous preparations for Festivals, they took greater pleasure in going to the Theater, and hearing the insipid jests of a Comedian, than in manly Exercises, and Feats of War, and preferred a *Mimick*, or a Stage-Player, before the most Valiant and experienc'd Captain ; Nay, they were so besotted with their pleasures, that they made it Capital for any Man to propose the re-establishing of their Army, or converting the publick Revenues to the maintenance of it, as *Libanius* observes (a).

(a) *Argument. ad Olynthiac. L*

This softish and degenerate Disposition of theirs, and the rest of the Greeks, who were also drown'd in the same security, gave Opportunity and Leisure to *Philip*, who had been educated under the Discipline of *Epaminondas*, and *Pelopidas*; to raise the Macedonians from a mean, obscure, and underling condition to the Empire of all Greece, and Asia; as *Iustin* hath observ'd (a). And this design was projected and begun by *Philip*, but achiev'd, and perfected by his Son, *Alexander the Great*.

C H A P T E R V.

Of the State of Athens, from Philip of Macedon to it's delivery by the Romans.

THE Athenians, and the rest of the Greeks, made some resistance against the Victorious Arms of *Philip*, but were overthrown in a pitch'd Battle at *Cheronea*, in the third Year of the CXth. Olympiad. This Defeat put an End to the Grecian Glory, and in a great measure to their Liberty, which for so many Ages, and against the most puissant Monarchs they had preserv'd entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However *Philip*, to the end he might be declar'd Captain General of Greece, against the Persians without any further trouble, and strengthen his Army by the accession of their Forces, was content to forbear any farther attempt upon the Athenians, and permit them to enjoy a shew of Liberty.

No sooner was *Philip* dead, than they revolted, and endeavour'd to free themselves from the Macedonian Yoke, but were easily brought into Subjection by *Alexander*, and as easily obtain'd pardon of him, being then very eager of invading Persia, and unwilling to be diverted by taking Revenge upon those petty States, from a more Noble and Glorious Enterprise. And during his Life they continu'd quiet, not daring to move so much as their Tongues against him. Only towards the latter end of his Reign, when he was busi'd in the Wars with remote Countries, and not at leisure to take notice of every little Opposition, they refus'd to entertain the banish'd Persons, which *Alexander* had commanded should be restor'd in all the Cities of Greece. However they durst not break out into open Rebellion; but gave secret orders to *Zeosthenes*, one of their Captains, to levy an Army in his own Name, and be ready whenever they should have occasion for him: *Zeosthenes* obey'd their commands, and as soon as certain News was brought, that *Alexander* was dead in Persia, being joyn'd by some others of the Grecian States, proclaim'd open War against the Macedonians, in defence of the Liberty of Greece. But being in the end totally defeated by *Antipater*, they were forc'd to entertain a Garrison in *Munychia*, and submit to what condition the Conquerour pleas'd to impose upon them.

(a) Histor. L. VI. Cap. IX.

He therefore chang'd their form of Government, and instituted an *Oligarchie*, depriving all those, that were not worth two thousand *Drachms*, of the right of Suffrage, and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous, and disaffected Persons he transplanted into *Thrace*. And by this means the supreme Power came into the hands of about nine thousand.

About four Years after, *Antipater* died, and the City fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who succeeded in the Kingdom of *Macedon*. From him they made many attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved *Democracy*, but were in the end forc'd to submit themselves, in the third Year of the hundred and fifteenth Olympiad, and accept of the same Garrison that *Antipater* had impos'd upon them, to live under the same form of Government, and obey any Person that the Conquerour should nominate to be their Governour was *Demetrius the Phalerean*, who, as (a) *Diogenes Laëtius* reports, was of the Family of *Conon*, and studied Philosophy under *Teophrastus*. He us'd them with all possible kindness and moderation, enlarg'd their Revenues, beautified their City with magnificent Structures, and restor'd it almost to it's former Lustre; and they in requital of these Favours, bestow'd on him all the Honours, that in so poor a condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred Statues, according to the number of Days in the *Attick* Year, most of which were on Horse-back (b). But all this was the effect of Flattery and Dissimulation, rather then any real Respect to him, all his Moderation, all the Benefits he had conferr'd on them, could not beget in them any sincere Affection for him; they still hated him, tho' they had no other reason for it, than that he was set over them by *Cassander*; and tho' their Power was gone, yet their Spirits were still too high, to brook any thing that favour'd of Tyranny. And this in a few Years was made manifest, for when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, the Son of *Antigonus*, took up Arms, as was pretended, in defence of the Liberty of Greece, they receiv'd him with loud Acclamations, and all possible expressions of Joy, compell'd the *Phalerean* to secure himself by Flight, in his absence condemn'd him to dye, and laid in wait to apprehend him, and bring him to Execution, and when they could not compass his Person, vented their Rage and Malice upon his Statues, which they pull'd down with the greatest Detestation and Abhorrence, breaking some to pieces, selling others, and drowning others, so that of three-hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the Cittadel, as the foremention'd Author hath reported.

Demetrius Poliorcetes having gotten possession of the City, restor'd to the Athenians their Popular Government, bestow'd upon them fifteen-thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a Quantity of Timber as would enable them to build an hundred Gallies, for the defence of their City, and left them in full possession of their Liberty, without any Garrison to keep them in obedience. But so transported were the Athenians with this Deliverance, that with a wild and extravagant Gratitude,

(a) *Demetrio.* (b) *Tlinii Hist. &c.*

they bestow'd upon *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, not only the Title of Kings, tho' that was a Name they had hitherto declin'd, but call'd them their *Tutelar Deities* and *Deliverers*; they instituted Priests to them, enact'd a Law that the Ambassadors, which they should send to them, should have the same Stile and Character, with those which were accustom'd to be sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Grecian Solemnities*, and make Oblations for the Safety and preservation of their City, whom they call'd Θεοι. They appointed lodgings for *Demetrius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, and erected and consecrated an Altar in the place where he first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the Altar of *Demetrius the Alighter*, and added infinite other instances of most gross and fordid Flattery, of which *Plutarch* (a), and others give us a large account; for (says a learned modern Author) the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, made up that defect with their Tongues; converting to base Flattery that Eloquence, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly Arguments.

But afterwards when *Demetrius's* Fortune began to decline, he was no longer their God, or their Deliverer, but in requital of all his former Kindnesses, they basely deserted him, deny'd him Entrance into their City, and by a Popular Edict made it Death for any person so much as to propose a Treaty or Accommodation with him. Then the City being embroil'd in civil Dissentions, one *Lachares* took this opportunity, to set himself up as an Usurper over it, but upon the approach of *Demetrius*, was forc'd to quit his new-usurped Authority, and preserve himself by a timely Flight.

Thus they were a second time in the possession of *Demetrius*, who notwithstanding their former shameful Ingratitude receiv'd them again into Favour, bestow'd upon them an hundred-thousand Bushels of Wheat, and to Ingratiate himself the more with them, advanc'd such persons to publick Offices, as he knew to be most acceptable to the People. This unexpected Generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that at the motion of *Dromocles* an Orator, it was decree'd by the unanimous suffrage of the People, that the Haven of *Piraeus*, and the Castle of *Munychia* should be put into the hands of *Demetrius*, to dispose of them as he pleas'd. And he having learn'd by their former incertainty not to repose too much trust in such humble Servants, put strong Garrisons into those two places, and by his own Authority plac'd a third in the *Museum*, to the end (faith *Plutarch*) that those People, who had shew'd so much Levity in their Dispositions, might be kept in subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of other Enterprizes.

But all this care was not sufficient to keep a People restless, and impatient of any thing that favour'd of Servitude in Obedience, for *Demetrius's* Power being again diminish'd by divers bad Successes, they made another revolt, expell'd his Garrison, and proclaim'd Liberty

(a) *Demetrio.*

to all *Athenians*; and to do hin the greater Disgrace, they displac'd *Diphilus*, who was that Year the Priest of the two *Tutelar Deities*, that is, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, and by an Edict of the People restor'd the Priest-hood to it's Ancient Form. Again, *Demetrius* having recover'd himself a little, and being justly enrag'd against them for their repeated Perfidies, laid close Siege to the City, but by the perswasion of *Crates* the Philosopher was wrought upon to quitt it, and leave them once more in possession of their Freedom.

Some time after this, *Demetrius* died, and was succeeded by *Antigonus Gonatas*, who again recover'd *Athens*, put a Garrison into it, and left it in the hands of his Successour: but upon the Death of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Gonatas*, the *Athenians* made another attempt to regain their Liberty, and call'd in *Aratus* to their assistance, who tho' he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time bed-rid of an Infirmity, yet rather than fail the City in a time of need, was carried thither in a Litter, and prevail'd with *Diogenes* the Governour, to deliver up the *Piree*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium* to the *Athenians*, in consideration of an hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* himself gave twenty to the City. And of all these Changes and Successes we have a large account in *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus*.

Not long after this re-establishment, they quarrel'd with *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, who reduc'd them to great Extremities, laid waste their Countrey, pull'd down all the Temples in the Villages around *Athens*, destroy'd all their stately Edifices, and caus'd his Soldiers to break in pieces the very Stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of them, all which Losses with a great many aggravations are elegantly set forth in an Oration of the *Athenian Embassadors* to the *Etolians*, in *Livie* (a). But the *Romans* coming to their Assistance, *Philip* was forc'd to forsake his Enterprize, and being afterwards entirely defeated, left the *Grecians* in a full possession of their Liberty, which, at least some part of it, they enjoy'd many Years, under the *Roman* Protection.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the State of Athens, from it's Confederacy with Rome to Constantine the Great.

THE *Grecians*, and others that put themselves under the *Roman* Protection, tho' they gilded their condition with the specious Name of Liberty, yet were no farther free, than it pleas'd those in whose Power they were; they were govern'd indeed by their own Laws, and had the Privilege of electing their own Magistrates; yet their Laws were of small force, if they seem'd any way to oppose the *Roman* Interest

(a) *I.ib. XXXI. cap. XXX.*

and good Pleasure ; and in the election of Magistrates, and ordering publick Affairs, tho' every man might give his Voice which way he pleas'd, yet if he thwarted the *Roman* designs, or was cold in his Affection to them, or (which was all one) but warm in the Defence of the Liberties and Privileges of his Country, he was look'd upon with a jealous Eye, as a Favourer of Rebellion, and an Enemy to the *Romans*.

And for no other reason were a thousand of the most eminent *Athenians*, without any charge, or so much as suspicion of Treachery, sent Prisoners to *Rome*, where, notwithstanding all the Testimonies of their Innocence, and the Sollicitations of their Country, which never ceas'd to importune the Senate for their Liberty, they endur'd an imprisonment of seventeen Years ; which being expired, to the number of thirty of them were releas'd, amongst whom was *Polybius*, from whose impartial History you may have an account of all these proceedings, which their own Historians endeavour to palliate, tho' they cannot denie them ; all the rest either died in Prison, or upon attempting to make their Escape, suffer'd as Malefactours.

And by these and such like means, whilst some sought by Flattery and Compliance to ingratiate themselves into the Favour of the *Romans*, others out of Fear and Cowardice resolv'd to swim with the Stream, and those few that had Courage and Resolution to appear for their Countrey were little regarded ; every thing was carried on according to the Desire of the *Romans* ; and if any thing happen'd contrary to it, their Agents presently made an Appeal to the Senate, which reserv'd to themselves a Power of receiving such like complaints, and determining as they thought convenient, and they that would not submit to this Decision, were proceeded against as Enemies, and forc'd by Power of Arms into Obedience. No War was to be begun, no Peace to be concluded, nor scarce their own Countrey to be defended without the advice and consent of the Senate ; They were oblig'd to pay what Taxes the Senate thought fit to impose upon them ; Nay, the *Roman* Officers sometimes took the liberty of raising Contributions of their own accord, and tho' in the *Macedonian* War, upon several just complaints made against them, the Senate was forc'd to put forth a Decree, that no *Gracian* should be oblig'd to pay any Contribution, besides such as was levyed by their Order ; yet if any man refus'd to answser the Demands of any *Roman* Officer, he was look'd upon as an encourager of Sedition, and in the End far'd little better, than those that broke out into open Rebellion.

In this State stood the Affairs of the *Athenians* under the *Roman* Government, and whether in consideration of the easines of this Yoke, if compar'd with that which the *Macedonians* impos'd on them ; or thro' meanes of Spirit contracted by being long accustom'd to Misfortunes ; or for want of Power to assert their Liberty ; or for all these reasons, they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the enjoyment of this slavish Freedom, which in a few Ages before, they would have rejected with the greatest Indignation, and endeavour'd to deliver themselves from it, tho' their Lives, and the remainder

remainder of their Fortunes should have been hazarded in the Enterprise.

And from this time till the War with *Mithridates*, they continu'd without any remarkable alterations, but either by the persuasions of *Ariston* the Philosopher, or out of fear of *Mithridates's* Army, they had the bad Fortune to take his part, and receive *Archestratus*, one of his Lieutenants, within their Walls ; at which *Sylla* being enrag'd laid Siege to the City, took it, and committed so merciless a slaughter, that the very Channels in the Streets flow'd with Blood. At this time the *Piræus*, and *Munichia*, were burn'd to the Ground, their Walls demolish'd, their Ancient Monuments destroy'd, and the whole City so defac'd, that it was never able to recover it's former Beauty, till the time of *Adrian* (a).

This Storm being blown over, they liv'd in Peace till the time of the Civil War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in which they sided with *Pompey*, and were closely Besieg'd by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, who spoil'd and destroy'd all the adjacent Countrey, and seiz'd upon the *Piræus*, being at that time unfortified, and a place of little strength : But news being brought that *Pompey* was totally routed, they yielded themselves into the hands of the Conquerour, who according to his wonted Generosity receiv'd them into Favour, and this he did out of respect to the Glory and Virtue of their Ancestors, giving out, That he pardon'd the Living for the sake of the Dead, as *Dion Cassius* reports (b).

But it seems they still retain'd some sparks, at least, of their old Love for Popular Government, for when *Cæsar* was dead, they joyn'd themselves to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, his Murderers, and besides other Honours done to them, plac'd their Statues next those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two famous Patriots, that defended the Liberty of their Countrey against the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons.

Brutus and *Cassius* being defeated, they went over to *Antony*, who behav'd himself very obligingly toward them, and the rest of the *Grecians*, being fond (saith (c) *Plutarch*) of being stil'd a *Lover of Greece*, but above all in being call'd a *Lover of Athens*, to which City he made considerable Presents ; and, as others tell us, gave the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Islands of *Tenias*, *Ægina*, *Ica*, *Cea*, *Sciaarus*, and *Peparethus*.

Augustus having overcome *Antony*, handled them a little more severely for their ingratitude to his Father, and besides some other Privileges, as that of Selling the Freedom of the City, took from them the Isle of *Ægina* (d). Towards the latter End of his Reign, they began to revolt, but were easily reduc'd to their former obedience ; and notwithstanding all the Cruelties, Ravages, and other Misfortunes they had suffer'd, *Strabo*, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, tells us they enjoy'd many Privileges, retain'd their Ancient form of Government, and liv'd in a flourishing Condition in his Days (e). And

(a) *Plutarch. Syll. Strabo l. IX. Laci. Florus l. III. c. V. Appianus in Mithridates.* (b) *L. XI.II. (c) Antonio.* (d) *Dion Cassius.* (e) *Geogr. l. IX.*

Germanicus, the adopted Son of *Tiberius*, making a Journey that way, Honour'd them with the Privilege of having a *Lictor*, which was an Officer, that attended upon the chief Magistrates at *Rome*, and was accounted a mark of Sovereign Power.

In this condition they remain'd with little alteration till the Reign of *Vespasian*, who reduc'd *Aetica*, and all *Achaia* to be a Roman Province, exacting Tribute of them, and compelling them to be govern'd by the *Roman Laws*.

Under *Nerva* some Shadow, at least, of Liberty was restor'd them, but they were still under the Government of a *Proconsul*, and receiv'd most of their Laws from the Emperour, who also nominated the Professours in their publick Schools, and appointed them *Archons*; and hence it came to pass, that *Adrian* before his advancement to the Empire, was invested in that Office. In the same State they continu'd in *Trajan's* time, as appears from an Epistle of *Pliny* to *Maximus*, who was sent to Govern *Achaea*, wherein he advis'd him to use his Power with moderation, and tells him in particular of the *Athenians*, that it would be a Barbarous piece of Inhumanity, to deprive them of that Shadow, and Name of Liberty, which was all that remain'd to them (a).

But notwithstanding the Peace and Privileges they enjoy'd under these, and other Emperours of *Rome*, they were never able to repair those vast Losses they had suffer'd under *Sylla*, till the reign of *Adrian*, who in the time of his being *Archon*, took a Particular Affection to this City, and when he was promoted to be Emperour, granted them very large Privileges, gave them Just and Moderate Laws, bestow'd on them a large Donative of Money, and annual Provisions of Corn, and the whole Iland of *Cephalenia*; repair'd their old decay'd Castles, and restor'd them to their ancient Splendor, and added one whole Region of new Buildings at his own charge, which he call'd *Adrianopolis*; and, in short, so Beautified the whole City, that it was call'd *New-Athens*, as appears as well from other Records, as also from an Inscription upon an *Aqua-duet*, begun by this Emperour, and finished by his Successor *Antoninus*,

IMP. CÆSAR. T. AELIUS. HADRIANUS. ANTONINUS.
AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P.
AQUÆDUCTUM. IN. NOVIS. ATHENIS. COEPTUM. A.
DIVO.
ADRIANO. PATRE. SUO. CONSUMMavit. DEDICAVIT.
QUE (b).

The meaning of which is, that *Antoninus* had finish'd the *Aqua-duet* in *New-Athens*, that had been begun by his Father, and Predecessor *Hadrian*. And from another of *Gruter's* Inscriptions, it appears that they acknowledg'd him to be the second Founder of their City,

(a) *Plin.* l. VIII. Epist. XXIV. (b) *Gruter.* p. CLXXVII.

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΤ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ (a).

The Substance of which is, that *Athens* was formerly the City of *Theseus*, but do's now belong to *Adrian*. Many other Privileges this Emperour granted them, which were continu'd and enlarg'd by his Successors *M. Antoninus Pius*, and *M. Antoninus the Philosopher*, the latter of which allow'd them stipends for the maintenance of Publick Professours in all the Arts and Sciences, and was himself initiated amongst them.

But *Severus*, having receiv'd some Affront from them, when he was a Private Person, and Studied in *Athens*, was resolv'd to pay them Home, as soon as he was Emperour, and for no other reason, as 'tis thought, depriv'd them of a great part of their Privileges (b).

Valerian was more Favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their City-Walls, which had lain in Rubbish between Three and Four-hundred Years, from the time that *Sylla* dismantled them (c).

But these Fortifications could not Protect them from the Fury of the *Goths*, who under *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus*, or *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* reports, made themselves Masters of it; but were soon driven out of their new Conquest, by *Cleodemus*, who having escap'd the Fury of those Barbarians, and got together a considerable Number of Men, and Ships, defeated part of them in a Sea-Fight, and forc'd the rest to quit the City, and provide for their Safety by an early Flight (d). One thing remarkable *Cedrenus* reports of the *Goths*, That when they had plunder'd the City, and heap'd up an Infinite number of Books, with a Design to Burn them, they desisted from that purpose for this reason, viz. That the *Greeks* by employing their time upon them, might be diverted from Martial Affairs.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the State of Athens, from Constantine the Great.

Towards the Declination of the *Roman Greatness*, the Chief Magistrate of *Athens*, was call'd by the Name of *Στρατηγός*, i. e. Duke, but *Constantine the Great*, besides many other Privileges granted to the City, Honour'd him with the Title of *Μέγας Στρατηγός*, or Grand-Duke (e). *Constantine* at the Request of *Proæfissus*, enlarg'd their Dominions, by a Grant of several Islands in the *Archipelago*.

Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, made an

(a) *Gruter.* pag. MLXXVIII. (b) *Spartianus.* (c) *Zosimus.* (d) *Zonaras.*
(e) *Julian. Orat.* I. *Nicophoræs Gregoræ Hist. Rom.* I. VII.

Incursion into *Greece*, Pillag'd and Destroy'd all before him, but as *Zosimus* reports, was diverted from his Design upon *Athens*, by a Vision, wherein the Tutelar Goddess of that City appear'd to him in Armour, and in the Form of those Statues that are Dedicated to *Minerva* the Protectress, and *Achilles* in the same manner that *Homer* represents him, when being entag'd for the Death of *Patroclus*, he fell with his utmost Fury upon the *Trojans* (a). But the Writers of those Times make no mention of any such thing, on the contrary they tell us, that *Athens* pass'd the common Fate of the rest of *Greece*; and so *Claudian* reports,

*Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisse,
Prorita non tantas vidisse Græcia clades,
Oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent;
Starent Arcadiæ, starent Lacedæmonis arces;
Non mare flagrasset geminam flagrante Corintho;
Nec seru Cecropias traxissent vincula matres* (b).

Had thus th' embattl'd *Grecians* dar'd t'oppose
With Rage and Pow'r Divine their Barbarous Foes,
N'ere had their Land of Strength and Help bereft
T'insulting Conquerours a Prey been left.
The *Spartan* Land had n'ere such havock seen,
It's Splendor n'ere eclips'd, or Pow'r depres'd had been.
Arcadian Flocks might graze untainted Food,
And free from Plunder *Pelops Isle* have stood,
Corinth's proud Structures n'ere had felt the Flames,
Nor gripping Chains enslav'd th' *Athenian* Dames.

Mr. *Abell*.

And *Synesius*, who liv'd in the same Age, tells us, there was nothing left in it splendid, or remarkable, nothing to be admired, besides the Famous Names of Ancient Ruins; and that, as in a Sacrifice, when the Body is consum'd, there remains nothing of the Beast, but an empty Skin; so it was in *Athens*, where all the Stately and Magnificent Structures were turn'd into ruinous Heaps, and nothing but old decay'd Out-sides left remaining (c).

Theodosius II. is said to have Favour'd the *Athenians*, upon the Account of his Queen *Eudocia*, who was an *Athenian* by Birth. *Inflavian* also is reported to have been very Kind to them, but from his Reign, for the space of about Seven-hundred Years, either for want of Historians in Ages so Rude and Barbarous, or because they liv'd in Peace, and Obscurity, without achieving, or suffering any thing deserving to be transmitted to Posterity, there is no Account of any thing that passed amongst them, till the Thirteenth Century.

At that time, *Nicetas* tells us, *Athens* was in the hands of *Baldwin*, and was Besieg'd by one of the Generals of *Theodorius Lascaris*, who was

(a) *Zosimus* l. V. (b) *Claudian*. in *Rufinum*, l. II. (c) *Synesius* Ep. CCXXXV.

then

then the *Greek* Emperour, but he was repuls'd with Loss, and forc'd to raise the Siege. Not long after, it was Besieg'd by the Marquis *Bonifacius*, who made himself Master of it (a).

It was afterwards Govern'd by one *Delves*, of the House of *Arragon*, and after his Death fell into the hands of *Bajazet*, Emperour of the *Turk* (b). Afterwards it was taken by the *Spaniards* of *Catalonia*, under the Command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the Elder (c). And these are the same, that *Chalcocondylas* calls *Kastriænes*, and reports, they were dispossess'd of it by *Reinerius Acciaiolo*, a *Florentine*, who having no legitimate Male-Issue, left it by his last Will and Testament to the State of *Venice*.

The *Venetians* were not long Masters of it, being dispossess'd by *Antony*, a Natural Son of *Reinerius*, who had given him the Sovereignty of *Thebes* and *Bœotia*; and from this time it continu'd some Years under the Government of the *Acciaioli*: for *Antony* was Succeeded by one of his Kinsmen, call'd *Nerius*; *Nerius* was displac'd by his Brother *Antony* for his Insufficiency, and Unfitness to Govern, and after *Antony*'s Death, recover'd it again; but leaving only one Son, then an Infant, was Succeeded by his Wife, who for her Folly was ejected by *Mahomet*, upon the complaint of *Francus*, the Son of *Antony* the Second, who Succeeded her, and having confin'd her some time in Prison, put her to Death, and was upon that score Accus'd by her Son to *Mahomet II*, who sent an Army under the Conduct of *Omares* to Besiege him; *Francus* upon this made his Application to the *Latins*, but they refus'd to grant him any Assistance, except he would Engage his Subjects, in all things to Conform to the *Romish* Superstition, and renounce all those Articles, wherein the *Greek* Church differs from them; which he not being able to do, was forc'd to Surrender it to the *Turk*, in the Year of our Lord CCCCCCLV (d), and in their hands it continues to this Day.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the City of Athens, and it's Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.

THE City of *Athens*, when it Flourish'd in it's greatest Splendor, was one of the fairest and largest Cities of all *Greece*, being, says *Aristides*, a Day's journey in Compacts (e). But this seems to be rather a Rhetorical Flourish, than a just and true Account; for according to the most exact computation, the whole Circuit of it contain'd no more than CLXXVIII. *Stadia*, that is, something above two and twenty *Roman Miles*.

(a) *Nicetas Choniates* in *Vita Baldwin*. (b) *Laonic*. *Chalcocondylas* lib. III. (c) *Nicoph.* *Greg.* lib. VII. (d) *Chalcocond.* lib. VI & IX. (e) *Panathen.*

But many were the changes of Government, and Fortune, which it underwent, before it arriv'd to this Pitch of Greatness, for at the first, that which was afterwards the Cittadel, was the whole City, and was call'd *Cecropia*, from it's first Founder *Cecrops*, who, they say, was the first that invented the manner of Building Cities, and therefore the *Athenians*, Proud of every little pretence to Antiquity, us'd to call it by way of Eminence *αρχη*, and *πόλις*, as being the first City (a). Afterwards it chang'd it's first Name of *Cecropia*, and was call'd *Athena* in *Erithonius*'s Reign, for which several reasons are given, but the most Common is, that the Name was taken from *Minerva*, whom the Greeks call *Athena*, because she was the Protectress of the City; indeed almost all Towers, and Cittadels were Sacred to this Goddess, who is therefore by *Catullus* call'd,

— *Diva tenens in summis urbibus arcēs.*

— Goddess that in Cittadels doth dwell.

And *Eustathius* hath remark'd the same upon *Homer*'s sixth *Iliad*, where he tells us, *Minerva's* Temple was in the *Trojan* Cittadel,

Νῦν Αθωνίς γαστρώπιδος ἐν πόλεις ἄργη (b).

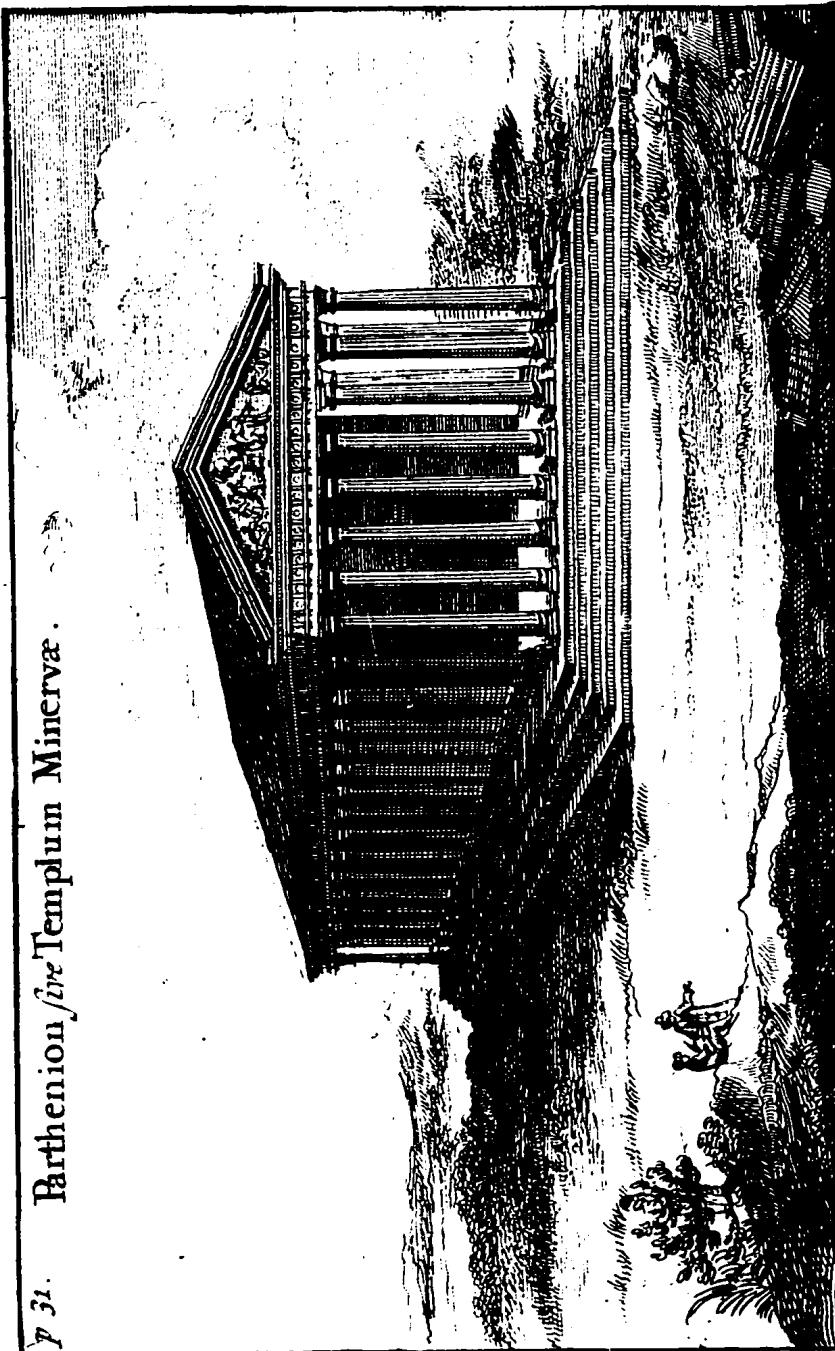
Minerva's Temple in the Cittadel.

Cecropia was Seated in the midst of a large and pleasant Plain, upon the top of a high Rock, for, as the foremention'd Author observes, it was usual for the First Founders of Cities in those Ages, to lay the Foundations of them upon Steep Rocks, and high Mountains; and this they did, partly for that such places were a good Defence against Invaders, but more especially, because they hop'd to be secur'd by them from Inundations (c), which the People of those Times exceedingly dreaded, having heard and experienc'd the sad Effects of them under *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*. Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was increas'd, the whole Plain was fill'd with Buildings, which were call'd from their Situation *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, or the Lower City, and *Cecropia* *ἡ ἀνώπολις*, or *Axeropoli*, the Upper City.

The Circuit of the Cittadel was Three-score Stadia, it was fenc'd in with wooden Pales, or, as some say, was set about with Olive-Trees; and therefore in *Xerxes*'s Invasion, when the Oracle advis'd the *Athenians* to defend themselves with Walls of Wood, some were of Opinion, they were comandanted to enter into the *Acropolis*, and there receive the Enemie; which some of them did, but after a desperate Resistance, were overpow'r'd by Numbers, and forc'd to suffer the sad Effects of their fond Interpretation (d).

It was Fortified with a strong Wall, one part of which was Built by *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, out of the Spoils taken in the *Perſian* War, and was call'd *Kyparissos τεῖχος*, being on the South-side of the Cittadel (e).

(a) *Stephanus V. Aſſyrii.* (b) Pag. CCCCLXXXII. Edit. *Basil.* (c) II. d^r. p. CCCCLXXXIV. (d) *Syrianus in Herm. Cornel. Nep.* (e) *Plutarch. in Cimone.*



The North-Wall was Built many Ages before, by *Agrolas*, as *Pausanias*, or *Eurialus*, as *Pliny*, and *Hyperbius*, two Brothers, that first taught the Athenians the Art of Building Houses, whereas till that time, they liv'd in Caves. They were *Tyrrhenians* born, and by that Nation all sorts of Building are said to have been first begun in *Greece*, and from them Walls and Castles were call'd *Tūcēs* (a). This Wall was nam'd *Πελασγίων*, or *Πελασγίων*, because the Founders of it, were call'd *Pelasgi*, from their continual wandring, and removing from one Countrey to another, in the manner of Storks, which the *Greeks* call *Πελασγοῦ* (b). *Thucydides* tells us, there was an Execration laid upon any that should build Houses under this Wall, because the *Pelasgi*, whilst they dwelt there, entred into a Conspiracy against the *Athenians* (c). And *Pollux* adds, that it was unlawful to make Ditches, or sow Corn here, and if any man was taken offending, he was apprehended by the *Nomothete*, and brought before the *Archon*, who was to lay a Fine of three Drachms upon him (d). It was Beautified with Nine Gates, and therefore is sometimes call'd *Εντάπυλον*; but tho' there were many lesser Gates, yet the Cittadel had but one great Fore-Gate, or Entrance, to which they ascended by Steps, cover'd with white Marble, and it was Built by *Pericles*, with such Magnificence, that the expences of it amounted to above a Thousand Drachms (e).

The In-side of the Cittadel, was adorn'd with innumerable Edifices, Statues, and Monuments, wherein all the Ancient Stories were describ'd at large, insomuch that *Aristides* tells us, it lookt like one continu'd Ornament (f). The Description of all these would be tedious, and is already perform'd by *Messius*, who hath with vast industry collected into one Body all the reliques of Antiquity that lay dispers'd here and there in Ancient Authors. The most remarkable of them were these:

The Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Nīn*, or *Victory*, in which the Goddess was represented, having a Pome-Granate in her right Hand, and an Helmet in her left, and without Wings, in memory of *Theseus*'s good Succes in *Crete*, the Fame whereof had not reach'd *Athens*, before his Arrival: but in other Places, *Victory* was usually represented with Wings (g). It was plac'd at the right Hand of the Entrance of the Cittadel, and was Built with white Marble.

About the middle of the Cittadel, was the Stately Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Parthenion*, because that Goddess preserv'd her Virginity pure and inviolate, or because it was Dedicated by the Daughters of *Erechtheus*, who were peculiarly call'd *Ηαρέτινες* (h). It was call'd also *Εργατουμένη*, because it was an Hundred-Foot square. It was Burn'd by the *Persians*, but restor'd again by *Pericles*, and enlarrg'd Fifty Foot on each side (i). *St. George Wheeler* reports, that it is Two-hundred,

(a) *Thavorin*. V. *Tōpīs*. (b) *Strabo lib. IX. Plin. lib. VII. LVI. & Pausanias Atticis.* (c) *Thucydides ejusque Scholiast. lib. II.* (d) *Pollux lib. VIII. c. IX.*

(e) *Plutarchus Pericle. Pausan. Atticis. Harpacrat. & Suidas V. Παρθενία* (f) *Aristides in Panathenica.* (g) *Suidas & Harpacrat.* (h) *Hēzokhios.* (i) *Pausanias. Plutarch. Pericle.*

and Seventeen Foot, Nine Inches long, and Ninety-eight Foot, Six Inches broad, that it consists altogether of admirable white Marble, and both for Matter and Art is the most Beautiful piece of Antiquity, remaining in the World.

The Temple of Neptune Sirnam'd *Erechtheus*, which was a double Building, and, besides other Curiosities, contain'd in it the Salt-spring, call'd *Egēxnis*, which was feign'd to have burst out of the Earth, from a stroke of Neptune's Trident, in his contention with *Minerva*. And this Part was Consecrated to *Neptune*. The other Part of the Temple belong'd to *Minerva*, Sirnam'd *Polyas*. i. e. Protectress of the City; and *Pámos*, from one of *Cecrops*'s Daughters of that Name. Here was the Sacred Olive, produc'd by *Minerva*; and the Goddess's Image, which was said to have fallen from Heaven in *Erithonius*'s Reign; it was kept by one, or two Dragons, call'd *drakoi opes*, and had a Lamp always burning with Oil, and an Owl plac'd before it (a). Both of them remain to this Day, and the Lesser Edifice, which is an Entrance to the other, is Twenty-nine Foot long, and Twenty-one Foot, Three Inches broad; the Bigger is Sixty-three Foot, and a half long, and Thirty-six Foot broad. The Roof is supported by *Ionic* Pillars Channelled, but the Chapters seem to be a mixture between that, and the *Dorick* Order.

On the Back-side of *Minerva*'s Temple, was the publick Treasury, call'd from it's Situation *Ωπαθίδημος*, wherein, besides other publick Money, a Thousand Talents were laid in Store, against any very urgent Occasion, but if any Man expended them upon a trivial Account, he was to be put to Death. Also the Names of all that were indebted to the Common-wealth were entered in a Register in this place, and therefore such Persons were call'd *ιγγιγεχμένοις* in Ἡ Ακροπόλει, as on the contrary, when they had discharg'd their Debt, they were nam'd in *Ακροπόλεως ἔξαλλημενοις*. The Tutelear Gods of this Treasury, were *Jupiter Saviour*, or the Saviour; and *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whom they represented with Wings, and (which was unusual in other Places) Seeing (b). *Aristophanes* hath taken notice of the Statues of both these Gods, in the latter End of his *Plutus*, where he introduces *Caron* very busie in placing that God after the recovery of his Sight, next to the Statue of *Jupiter the Saviour*,

KAP. Θάξει, καλῶς γδ ἔσται, λώ θεὸς θέλη,
Ο Ζεὺς δὲ Σωτῆρ γδ πάρεστιν ἐντάσσε
Αὐτόματος ἕπον. IEP. πάντι ἀγαθὰ τοῖνυν λέγεις.
KAP. Ιδρυσμένες γν αὐτικ', ἀλλὰ μετίσθιν
Πλεύτου, γέρῳ τερέτον λῶ ιδρυμένος,
Τὸν Οπαθίδημον δεὶ φυλάσσων τὸ Θεῖ.

(a) Apollod. l. III. Plutarch. Symp. l. IX. Q. VI. (b) Aristoph. Schol. Plut. Erymologus. Thucyd. l. II. Philostrat. Exier. l. II. Demosthen. Schol. Orat. III. in Timocrat.

Caro. Come, Courage, on God's will depends Success,
Which J Divine will answer to our Hopes,
For cloth not *Iove*, our President's approach
Without entracie seem thus to preface?

Priest. Your Words bring Comfort. *Car.* Therefore let us wait
For *Plutus* coming, him we'll substitute
An Overseer into the place of *Iove*
To th' Treasury of *Pallas* our Goddess.

Mr. *Abell.*

Afterwards this Building was burn'd to the Ground by the Treasurers, who having inbezzled the publick Money, secur'd themselves by that means, and prevented the City from calling them to Account (a). There were also several other remarkable Edifices in the Cittadel, as the Chappels of *Jupiter Saviour*, and of *Minerva Saviour* (b). The Temple of *Agraulus*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, or rather of *Minerva*, Worshipp'd by that Name, in the Front, and Steep and Craggy side of the Rock (c). And, to mention only one more, The Temple of *Venus Iasoniota*, Consecrated by *Phedra*, when she was in Love with *Hippolytus* (d). And thus much concerning the Cittadel.

The Lower City, containing all the Buildings, which surrounded the Cittadel, with the Fort *Munychia*, and the two Havens *Phalerum*, and *Piraeus*, was encompass'd with Walls of unequal Strength, being Built at different Times, and by different Hands; The chief Parts of them were, The *Μακρὰ τείχη*, that joyn'd the Haven of *Piraeus* to the City, being about Five Miles in length, and therefore *Phædrus* calls them, *Μακρὰ σπιλη*, long Leggs (e), and *Propertius* long Arms,

Inde ubi Piræci capient me litera portas,
Scandal ego Theseæ brachia longa via (f).

When I've arriv'd at the Piræan Port,
And eas'd the shatter'd Vessel of it's Load,
I'll Scale the Walls of the Thesean Road.

Mr. *Abell.*

They consisted of two Sides, one of which lay towards the North, and was Built by *Pericles* (g), with vast Expence, containing XL. Stadia; the other lay to the South, and was call'd *Νότιο τείχος*, or *Αβγεια τείχη*, or *Νότιον αβγεια τείχος*, to distinguish it from the South-Wall of the Cittadel; sometimes *τείχος Φαληραῖος*, because it took in the Port *Phalerum*. It was Built by *Themistocles*, of huge square Stones, not cemented together by Mortar, but fasten'd by Iron and Lead. The Height of it was Forty Cubits, and yet was but the half of what *Themistocles* design'd; the Length of it was Thirty-five Stadia. Upon both of them were erected a great Number of Turrets, which

(a) Demosth. ejusque Schol. Orat. in Timocrat. (b) Lycurg. Orat. in Leocratem
(c) Herodot. l. VIII. (d) Euripid. Schol. in Hippolyt. (e) Limone. (f) Lib. III. Eleg. (g) Plutarch. Pericle.

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

were turn'd into Dwelling-houses, when the Athenians became so Numerous, that the City was not large enough to contain them (*a*). The Μετόπη, or Wall, that encompass'd the Μυντζία, and joyn'd it to the Πιραئεύς, contain'd LX. Stadia; and the exteriour Wall on the other side of the City, was in length XLIII. Stadia; so that the whole Circuit of the City contain'd CLXXVIII. Stadia, which are something above Two and Twenty Roman Miles.

1. The Principal Gates of the City, were the Πύλαι Θεράποντος, afterwards call'd Δισυλλον, because they were larger then any of the rest. They were plac'd at the Entrance of *Ceramicus*, and therefore seem to have been the same with the Πύλαι Κεραμείου, in *Philostratus* (*b*).

2. Ηὐλαὶ Πειραιών, leading to the *Piraeus*; near which was the Temple of the Heroe Chalcoodon, and the Tombs of those that died in the Defence of their Countrey, when the *Amazons* Invaded Attica under *Theseus* (*c*).

3. Ιωνίδες, near which *Hyperides* the Orator, and his Family were Buried (*d*).

4. Ηερῆ, where they carried forth dead Persons to their Graves, so call'd from οἴνος, a Grave (*e*).

5. Ιερὰ, the Gate leading to *Eleusis*, through which they that Celebrated the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, made a solemn Procession, from which Custom the Gate receiv'd it's Name, it being usual to call every thing, that was any way concern'd in those Mysteries ιερὸν, Sacred.

6. Αἰγάλεως πύλαι, the Gate of *Aegeus*, the Father of *Theseus*, whose House stood in the place, where afterwards the *Delphinium* was Built, and therefore the Statue of *Mercury* at the East-end of that Temple, was call'd Ερεῖς ἐπ' Αἰγάλεως πύλαις, by which it is evident, that this Gate was near the *Delphinium* (*f*).

7. Διοχαρεῖς πύλαι, the Gate of *Diochares*.

8. Πύλαι Αχαρείων, the Gate that look'd towards *Acharne*, a Burrough in Attica.

9. Διομεῖς, that lay toward the Burrough of the *Diomians*.

10. Πύλαι Θρακῶν, the Thracian Gate.

11. Πύλαι Ιτωνῶν, the Itonian Gate, near which was the Pillar erected in memory of the *Amazons* (*g*).

12. Πύλαι Σεργίων, the Scæan Gate (*h*).

13. Αδριανῶν πύλαι, the Gate of *Adrian*, by which they entered into that part of the City, which that Emperour rebuilt, and call'd Αδριανοῦσσα.

As to the Streets in *Athens*, thus much is said of them in general,

(*a*) *Plutarch. Themistocl. Appian. in Mithridatico. Thucyd. lib. I. & II.* (*b*) *Philostratus in Philagro Sophist. lib. II. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. I. II. Plutarch. Pericle. & Sylla.* (*c*) *Plutarch. Theseo.* (*d*) *Hesychius.* (*e*) *Theophrastus Charact. Ethic.* (*f*) *Plutarch. Theseo.* (*g*) *Eschines Philosophus in Axiecho.* (*h*) *Hilduinus in Vita Diogenis Arcopagitis.*

that

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

that they were not very Uniform, or Beautiful (*a*), and tho' Homer calls it σεραῖς γανῶν,

Ιχετοὶ δὲ τις Μαραθῶνες, καὶ εἰρυάγαντες Αθηνίου (*b*).

Yet that seems only to imply the Bigness, and not the Beauty of them; for so that Poet has us'd the same Epithet in other places. The number of them without question was very great, but most of their Names are quite lost; and few, if any, besides these that follow are to be met with in Authors. Ιερὰ Συκῆ, or the Way to *Eleusis*. Οἶδες Θητεία, betwixt the long Walls, leading to the *Piraeus*, which seems to be the same with that, which was call'd Η ἐπί Πειραιῶν. Η τῆς πολεμιῶν, near the *Academy*. Η τῆς Ερμογλυφῶν. Η τῆς Κιεωτοποιῶν. Η Εσικ. Η Ξενία. Μυρηνῶν οἰδεῖ. Γύρην τετταῖ.

Tektorēs, a Way near the *Prytaneum*, wherein were Places largely stock'd with *Tripods* of Brats, Curiously wrought; amongst which was the Famous *Satyr*, call'd by the Greeks Πειστίος, being one of the Master-pieces of *Praxiteles*. And concerning these *Heliodorus* is said to have written an entire Treatise (*c*).

It remains in the next place, that I give you an Account of the Buildings of the Lower City; In doing which I shall only mention such as were most remarkable, or had some History, or Custom depending upon them, for the rest referring the Reader to *Pausanias*, and *Maurinus*'s larger Treatises.

Poimenion, a stately Edifice, in which were kept the Sacred Vienfils, made use of at Festivals, and all things necessary for the Solemn Processions prepar'd. It was plac'd at the Entrance of the Old City, which looks towards the *Phalerum*, and adorn'd with many Statues, of the Athenian Heroes. Indeed there was scarce any place in the City, that was not fill'd with such like Representations.

The Temple of *Vulc.*, or of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, not far from *Ceramicus* within the City, seems to have been a publick Prison, frequent mention being made of Persons Tortur'd there.

Near this place was the Temple of the *Heavenly Venus*, for they had a Two-fold *Venus*, one of which was call'd Οἰαστία, and the other Ηλιάδη, the former presidèd over Chaste and pure Love; the latter was the Patroness of Lust, and Debauchery. And as their Natures and Characters were different, so were also the Ceremonies us'd in their Worship. They that worshipp'd the former, behav'd themselves with all Modesty and Gravity; but the latter was pleas'd only with Lewdness and Wantonness. Nay, *Solon* permitted publick Strumpets to prostitute themselves in her Temple. Besides these, *Venus* had several other Temples dedicated to her, as those which were erected upon the Account of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, to *Venus Lamia*, and *Learna*, in Honour of two of

(*a*) *Dicaearchus in descriptione Gracia.* (*b*) *Odyss. VII.* (*c*) *Homer. V. Odyss.*

his Mistresses, call'd by those Names. Nay, so gross Flattery did the Athenians degenerate into, that they enroll'd several of his Parishes into the Number of their Deities, and Honour'd them with Temples and Altars (*a*):

The Temple of *Theseus* was erected by *Conon*, in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform'd their Wrestlings, and other Exercises of Body, and was allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean Condition that fled from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he liv'd, was an Allister and Protector of the Distressed. And a great many other Temples were Consecrated to him in his life Time, as grateful acknowledgements of the Benefits, he had conferr'd upon the City, all which, Four only excepted, he Dedicated to *Hercules*, and chang'd their Names from Εὐοίας, to Ἡγάλεια, after he had been rescued by him from the King of the Molossians, as Plutarch reports out of *Philochorus* (*b*). One of these was put to divers other uses, for certain Magistrates were created in it by the *Theseuthæ* (*c*). Causes also were heard there, and it was a publick Prison (*d*), and therefore a Gaol-bird, is wittily call'd Ονοτόργιψ, in *Aristophanes*, such an one *Plautus* with no less Elegancy names *Colonius Carceris*.

The Temple of *Theseus*, is to be seen at this Day, and is Built, as Sr. George Wheeler reports, in all respects like the Temple of *Minerva* in the Cittadel, as to its Matter, Form, and Order of Architecture, but not so large. It is Dedicated to St. *George*, and still remains a Master-piece of Architecture, not easie to be parallel'd, much less exceeded by any other.

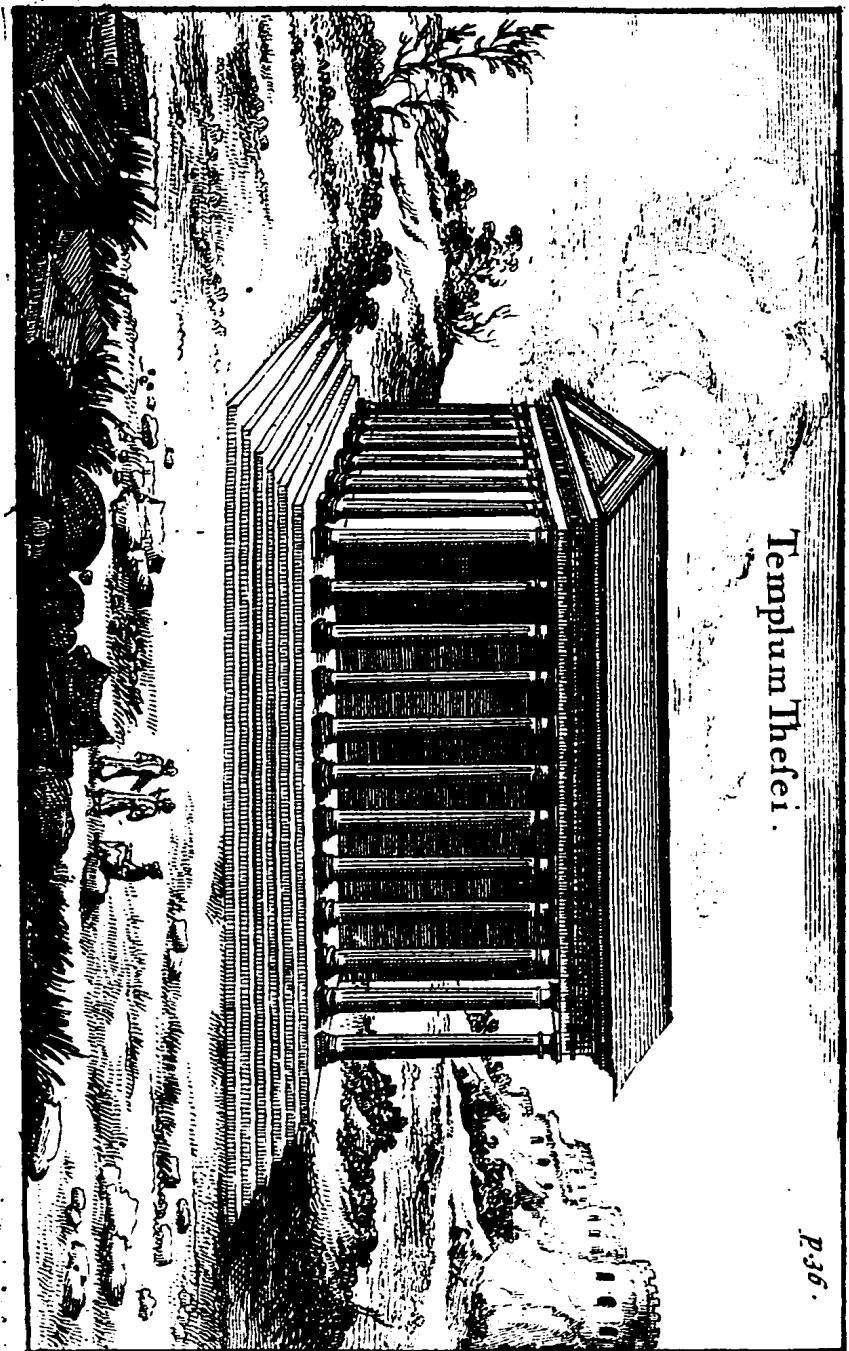
Araxer, or the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, call'd *Araxeris*. In this Place Slaves were expos'd to Sale.

Ολύμπιον, or Ολυμπίαν, a Temple erected in Honour of *Jupiter the Olympian*; it was the most magnificent Structure in *Athens*, being in Circuit, no less than Four *Stadia*, which was the reason they were forc'd to support it with Pillars, a thing unknown in *Athens* before that time (*e*). The Foundations were laid by *Pisistratus*, and many succeeding Governors contributed to the Building of it, but it was never compleatly finish'd till *Adrian's* time, which was Seven-hundred Years after the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

The Temple of *Apollo* and *Pan*, at the Bottom of the Cittadel on the North-side, in a *Cave* or *Grotto*, call'd Μακρὺ πέργασ, or Κακοπότας πέργασ, where *Apollo* was feign'd to have deflowr'd *Crena*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, we find it mention'd in *Euripides*,

οἴδα Κεφροῖας πέργασ
Προσβοῦσσον ἄντεον, ὃς Μακρὸς κακλίσποιδής
Οἰδ', εἴδα Πανὸς ἀδυτον ψὺ βωμοὶ πέλας (*f*).

(*a*) Plutarch. in *Demetrio*. (*b*) Idem *Theseo*. (*c*) *Aeschin.* Orat. in *Ctesiphont*.
(*d*) *Etymologus*. (*e*) *Plinius lib. XXXVI. cap. VI.* (*f*) *Ione*.



Templum Thesei.

The Temple of Diana, Sirnam'd Λυοίανθη, because in it Women, after their first Child, us'd to Dedicate their Girdles to her (a). *Πάνθεον*, was a Temple Dedicated to all the Gods, who, as they were United in one Temple, so were they Honour'd with one Common Festival, call'd Οἰοζεῖα. This was a very magnificent Structure, and supported by an Hundred and Twenty Marble-Pillars, on the Out-side were all the Histories of the Gods, curiously Engraven, and upon the great Gate, stood two Horses, excellently Carv'd by *Praxiteles*. It is to be seen at this Day, as *Theodore Zygomas* reports, in an Epistle to *Martin Crusius*, written A. D. CICIOXXV. wherein he describes the then present State of *Athens*.

The Temple of the *Eight Winds*, omitted by *Pausanias*, but mention'd and describ'd by *Sr. George Wheeler* out of *Vitruvius*, who reports that, such as had made exact Observations about the Winds, divided them into Eight; as namely, *Andronicus Cyrrhestes*, who gave this Model to the *Athenians*, for he Built a Tower of Eight square of Marble, on every side of which he Carv'd the Figure of a Wind, according to the Quarter it blew from. On the top of the Tower, he erected a little *Pyramid* of Marble, on the point of which was plac'd a *Brazen Triton*, holding a Switch in his right Hand, wherewith turning about, he pointed to the Wind, that then blew. All the Winds answer'd exactly to the Compas, and were represented by Figures answerable to their Natures, above which were written their Names in large Greek Letters, which are these that follow, ΕΥΡΟΣ, *Eurus*, South-East. ΑΙΓΑΙΩΝΤΗΣ, *Subsolanus*, East. ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ, *Cecias*, North-East. ΒΟΡΕΑΣ, *Boreas*, North. ΣΚΙΠΟΝ, *Corus*, North-West. ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, *Occidens*, West. ΝΟΤΟΣ, *Notus*, South. ΑΙΨ, *Liber*, *Africus*, South-West. This Tower remains yet entire, the Weather-Cock only excepted.

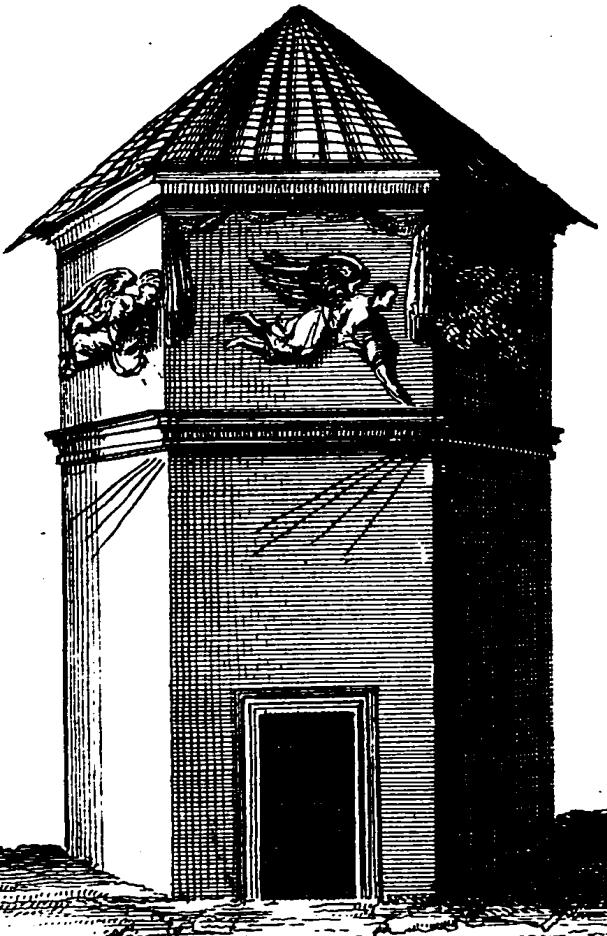
Στοιχί, or *Portico's*, they had a great many, but the most remarkable was that, which was call'd Πεντακαπτόν, and afterwards Ηοικίλη, from the variety it contain'd of curious Pictures, drawn by the greatest Masters in *Greece*, such were *Polygnotus*, *Mycon*, and *Pandarus*, the Brother of *Phidias*. Here it was that *Zeno* taught Philosophy, and instituted that Sect, which receiv'd their Names from the Place, being call'd Στοιχοι from στοιχ. And the Portico it self, is usually put for that Sect of Philosophers, as when *Athenaeus* calls *Zeno* τῆς Στοῖχος κτίστη, the Founder of the Stoicks (b).

Μυρεῖον was a Fort near the Citadel, so call'd from the old Poet *Museus*, the Scholar of *Orpheus*, that us'd to repeat his Verses in this Place, where also he was Buried. This Fort was forc'd to entertain a Garrison by *Anigonus*, and his Son *Demeirus* to make it the more secure surrounded it with a Wall.

Ωδεῖον was a Musick-Theater, Built by *Pericles*, and for the contrivance of it on the In-side, was full of Seats and Ranges of Pillars, and on the Out-side in the Roof or Covering of it, was made from one

Temple of the Eight Winds

p. 37.



(a) *Apollonii Schol.* lib. I. (b) *Deip. I. VIII.*

point at the Top with a great many Bendings, all shelving downward, and it is reported, (saith Plutarch,) that it was so fram'd in imitation and after the Copy of the King of Persia's Pavilion (a). It was also a Tribunal as we learn from Aristophanes,

Oἱ μὲν ἵψων τῷ Αρχαῖν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐφρέγιον.
Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ωδείῳ στρατός ————— (b).

It was very much Beautified by Lycurgus (c), but being demolish'd in the Mithridatick War (d), was re-edificed by Herodes Atticus, with such Splendor and Magnificence, that, as Pausanias tells us, it surpas'd all the famous Buildings in Greece. It stood in the

Ceramicus, of which Name there were two Places, so call'd from Ceramus the Son of Bacchus and Ariadne (e); or δῆμος τῆς κεραμεῖκης τετράπολις, from the Potter's Art, which was first invented in one of these Places by Corabos (f). One of them was within the City, and contain'd innumerable Buildings, as Temples, Theatres, Porticos, &c. The other was in the Suburbs, and was a publick Burying-place, and contain'd the Academy, and many other Edifices.

The Athenian Αγοραὶ, or Fora, were very numerous, but the most noted of them were two; the Old Forum, and the New. The New Forum was in a Place call'd Ερεσία by Strabo (g). Which it is probable was not far from Zeno's Porico, because Pausanias tells us, that in his Time the Forum was near that Place. The Old Forum was in the Ceramicus within the City, call'd ἀρχαῖα Αγοραὶ. In it were held the publick Assemblies of the People; but the chief Design of it was the meeting of People to Buy and Sell, and therefore it was divided into different parts, according to the Wares expos'd to Sale, for every Trade had a different place assign'd to make their Markets in; and hence we read of Κυκλῶν, where Slaves, and Vessels were Sold (h): Αλφιτίπωντος ἀγορᾶ, ιχθύπωντος ἀγορᾶ, and Γυναικείας ἀγορᾶ, where Women's Cloaths and Ornaments were expos'd; and others without Number. Sometimes they call'd the Fora, by the single Names of things Sold in them, as Οἴνος, the Wine-market, Ελαιος, the Oil-market, &c. (i) And an instance of this we have in these Verses of Eupolis,

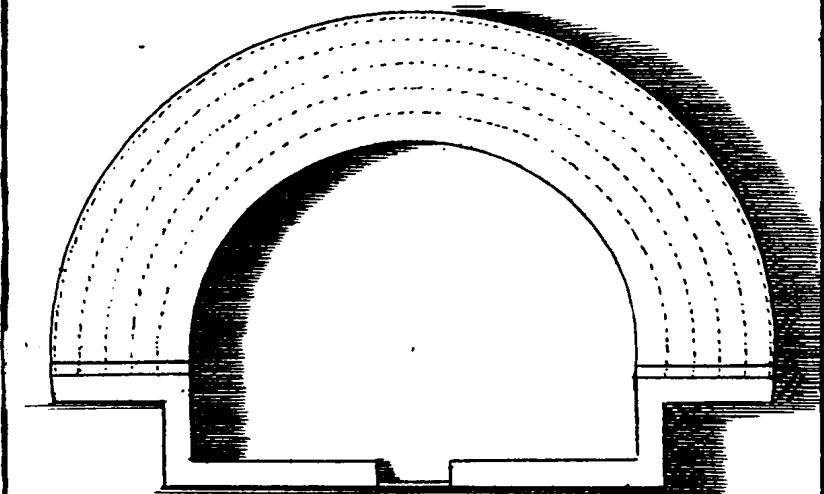
Πλεῦνδος τις τὰ σκέψαται, ή τὰ κρήματα,
Καὶ τὸ λιθαντόν, ή τὸν τὸν αρωμάτων,
Καὶ τοὺς τὰ γέλυν —————

The time in which things were expos'd to Sale, was call'd πλήθεια Αγορᾶ, full Market, from the multitudes of People that Assembled at such times; and there seems to have been different Hours appointed for such and such Wares, which I suppose, is the reason that Suidas in

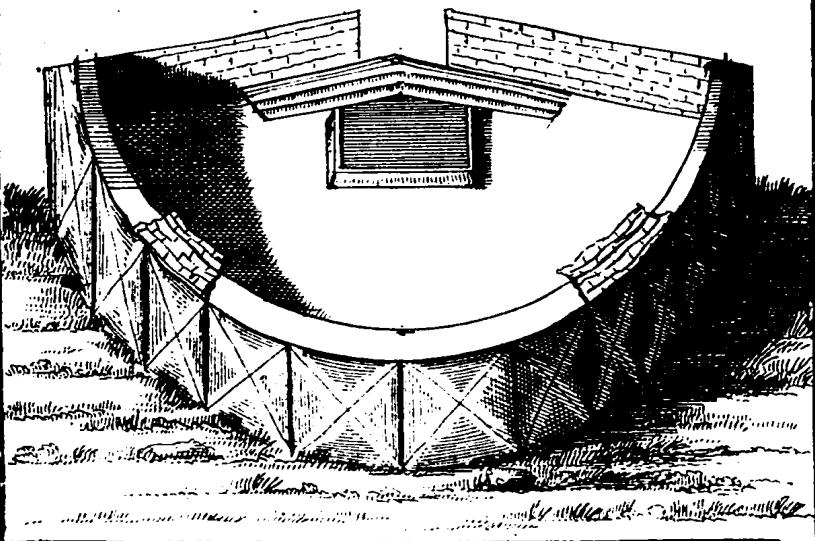
(a) Plutarch. in Pericle. (b) Vespis. (c) Hyperid. Orat. pro Lyurgo. (d) Appian. in Mithridatico. (e) Pausan. (f) Suidas. Tlin. I. VII. c. LVI. (g) Strabo I. IX. (h) Hesych. (i) Pollux I. IX. c. V.

some

The Area of the Theatre of Bacchus



The Odeum or Musick Theatre.



some Places tells us, the Full Market was at the Third Hour, in others that it was at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.

And besides these Places, the Trades-men had their *Bghdumia*, or Publick-Halls, wherein each Company met, and consulted about their Affairs. For Trades were very much encourag'd at *Athens*, and if any Man objected the living by such Gain to another, as a matter of Reproach, the Person affronted might have an Action of Slander against him (a). Nay, Trades were so far from being counted a mean and ignoble way of Living, that Persons of the greatest Quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such Employments, and especially to Merchandise, as *Plutarch* informs us; *Solon* (says he) apply'd himself to Merchandise, tho' some there are that report, that he Travell'd rather to get Learning and Experience, than to raise an Estate. In his time (according to *Hesiod*) a Trade was not Dishonourable, nor did it debase it's followers; but Merchandise was a worthy Calling, which brought Home the good things that Barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have Built great Cities, as the Founder of *Masilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gaul's*, that liv'd about the *Rhine*; some also report, that *Thales*, and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician Traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the charges of his Travels by Selling Oil in *Egypt*. Thus *Plutarch* (b).

Aqueducts were not common at *Athens*, before the *Roman* Times; and the want of them was supplied by Wells; some of which were Dug by private Persons, others at the publick Expence; but because the Country having but few potable Rivers, (for *Eridanus* *Strabo* (c) telleth us was Muddy, and not fit for use,) Lakes, or large Springs, was but poorly furnish'd with Water, which gave occasion to continual Quarrels amongst the Citizens, *Solon* enacted a Law, that where there was a publick Well, within an *Hippicon*, (that is, four Furlongs) all should have the Privilege of drawing at that; but those that liv'd at a greater Distance, should be oblig'd to provide a private Well; and if they had Dug ten Fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours; for he thought it prudent (saith my Author) to make Provision against want, but not encourage Laziness (d). *Adrian*, besides other magnificent Structures, laid the Foundations of a stately *Aqueduct*, which was finish'd by his Successour *Antoninus*. And one part of it remains to this Day, sustain'd by *Tonick* Pillars; which *St. George Wheeler* is of opinion, was the Frontis-piece of the Repository, or Receiver of the Water.

Gymnasia are said to have been first in use at *Lacedæmon*, but were afterwards very common in all the parts of *Greece*, and imitated, very much augmented, and improv'd at *Rome*. They were not single Edifices, but a Knot of Buildings united, being so Capacious as to

(a) *Demosth. Orat. in Eubelidem.* (b) *Plutarchus Solone.* (c) Lib. IX. (d) *Plutarchus Solone.*

hold a great many Thousands of People at once, and have Room enough for Philosophers, Rhetoricians, and the Professours of all other Sciences to read their Lectures; and Wrestlers, Dancers, and all others that would, to Exercise at the same Time without the least Disturbance, or Interruption. They consisted of a great many Parts, the Chief of which were these,

1. Στοά, the *Poricos*, which were full of ξεδόπαι, and Side-Buildings furnish'd with Seats, and fit for Study or Discourse; and here it is probable the Scholars us'd to meet.

2. Εφισταν, the Place where the *Ephеби*, or Youths Exercis'd; or, as some say, where those that design'd to Exercise met, and agree'd what kind of Exercise they should contend in, and what should be the Victor's Reward.

3. Καρικεῖον, διπλυτήλον, γυμνασίελον, the Undressing-room.

4. Ελαιοστίον, ἀλεπτήλον, the Place where those that were to Wrestle, or had Bathed, were Anointed.

5. Κονσύπειον, κηρυσπεῖον, the Place where the Dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been Anointed, was kept.

6. Παλαιστρα, which sometimes is taken for the whole *Gymnasium*, but in it's proper acceptation signifies the Place, wherein all the Exercises of the Παλέλαι, or (say others) only Wrestling, and the Παγκράτιον were perform'd; and least the Combatants should Slip, or Hurt themselves by Falling, the Bottom of it was cover'd with Dust, or Sand. Also there was another Room in the *Gymnasium*, fill'd with Sand, much deeper than that in the *Palaestra*.

7. Σφαιρεῖον, a Place appointed for divers sorts of Exercises, but more especially for the Ball.

8. The Spaces between the *Porticos* and the Walls left Void to admit the Light, and the *Area* of the Περιεστήλον, or *Piazza*, which was a large Place square, or sometimes oblong in the middle of the *Gymnasium*, design'd for Walking, and the performance of those Exercises which were not practis'd in the *Palaestra*, or the Deeper Sand, or any other place of the *Gymnasium*, such were (as some are of opinion) Leaping, and the *Discus*.

9. Ξυστι, and Ξυστι, which were distinct Places both in *Greece*, and *Rome*. *Xysti*, were places cover'd at the Top, design'd for the Exercise of Wrestlers, when the Weather did not permit them to contend in the open Air. *Xysta*, sometimes call'd Περιεργοῦδες, were Walks open at the Top, design'd for Exercises, or Recreation in the heat of Summer, and milder Seasons of the Winter.

10. The Baths, in which were Waters hot and cold in different Degrees, and in these they refresh'd themselves, when they were weary'd with Exercise, and at other Times. Amongst the Ancient *Greeks*, Baths were not much frequented, being rarely us'd but after the Accomplishment of some very great Work, which requir'd abundance of Labour and Toil, as the ending of a War, or attchieving any great and painful Enterprize (a). And thus Agamemnon after the Trojan

(a) Artemidorus Oneirocrit. lib. I.

War, at his return Home, went into the Bath, there to Wash away the remembrance of all his past Labours, and was slain by the Treachery of his Wife Clytemnestra (a). In latter Ages they became more common, and were frequently us'd for Health or Recreation by both Sexes, who at Sparta Wash'd in one common Bath, but in other Cities had distinct Places appointed them.

11. The *Stadium* was a large Semicircle, in which Exercises were perform'd; and for the better convenience of Spectators, which flock'd thither in vast Multitudes, was Built with Steps one above another, that the higher Ranks might look over the Heads of those that were plac'd below them. Several of these there were at *Athens* in their *Gymnasia*, and other Places, but the most remarkable was that, which was Built near the River *Ilissus* by *Lycurgus*, and afterwards enlarg'd by *Herodes Atticus*, one of the Richest Citizens *Athens* ever had; it was Built of *Pentelick* Marble, with so great Magnificence, that when *Pausanias* comes to speak of it, he tells his Readers, That they wou'd hardly believe, what he was about to tell them, it being a Wonder to all that beheld it, and of that stupendous Bigness, that one would judge it a Mountain of white Marble, upon the Banks of *Ilissus*. *Sr. George Wheeler* reports, that at this Day there remains some of the Stone-Work at the End towards the River, but the rest is only a *Stadium* of Earth above Ground. However it's Figure, and Bigness continue, tho' the Degrees be all taken away. It is a long Place, with two parallel sides, clos'd up circularly to the East-end, and open towards the other end; and is about One-hundred, Twenty-five Geometrical Paces long, and Twenty-six, or Twenty-seven broad, which gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, which was a measure ordinarily us'd among the *Greeks*, being the Eighth part of a *Roman Mile*.

Athens had several *Gymnasia*, of which these Three are of most note, *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. *Λυκεῖον*, *Lyceum* was Situated upon the Banks of *Ilissus*, it receiv'd it's name from *Apollo Lycegenes*, or *Λυκεῖος*, to whom it was Dedicated; Nor was it without reason (faith *Plutarch*) that this Place was Sacred to *Apollo*, but upon a good and rational Account, since from the same Deitie that Cures our Diseases, and restores our Health, we may reasonably expect Strength and Ability, to contend in the Exercises (b). The Building of this Structure, is by some ascrib'd to *Pisistratus*, by others to *Pericles*, and others to *Lycurgus*; which makes it probable that all of them might contribute something towards it; and perhaps *Pisistratus* laid the Foundations of it, *Pericles* rais'd it, *Lycurgus* enlarg'd and beautified it. This was the Place where *Aristotle* taught Philosophy, and discours'd with such as report'd to him for Instructions, walking constantly every Day till the Hour of Anointing, for the *Greeks* usually Anointed before Meals; whence he, and his Followers were call'd Περιπατηται, *Peripateticks* from walking (c). Tho' others re-

(a) Lycophron. (b) Plutarch. in Symp. l. VIII. Q. IV. (c) Suidas &c.

port, that his walking and discoursing Philosophy with *Alexander*, was the occasion of that Name.

Academy was part of the *Ceramicus* without the City, from which it was distant about Six *Stadia*, so call'd from *Academus*, an old Heroe, that, when *Helena* was Stolen by *Thesens*, and conceal'd at *Aphidne*, discover'd her to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which reason he was extremely Honour'd by them during his Life; and the *Lacedamianus*, when in After-ages they made several Incursions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Countrey round about, always kept this Place for his sake. But *Diceardus* writes, That there were two *Academians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*, from the former that, which was afterwards call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedenia*, and the Burrough of *Marathon* had it's Name from the latter. Thus *Panarch* (a). It was beset with Shady Woods, and Solitary Walks fit for Study and Meditation, as the Poets and others witness. This Verse is cited out of *Eupolis* (b),

Ex eiconiorum & epigrammatibus Academus ubi.

In *Academus* Shady Walks.

And *Horace* speaks to the same purpose,

que inter sylvas Hecademi querere verum (c).

In *Hecademi* Groves to search for Truth.

At the first it was a desert Place, and uninhabited by reason of the Fens and Marshes that were in it, and rendred it very Unhealthful, but they being drain'd by *Cimon*, it became Pleasant and Delightful, and was much frequented by all sorts of People, especially such as applied themselves to the Study of Philosophy, for they resorted thither in great Numbers to *Plato*'s Lectures, who read constantly in this Place; and having contracted a Distemper thro' the Unwholesomeness of the Air, which was not yet wholly rectified, and being advis'd by his Phylitians to remove his School to the *Lyceum*, made answer, That he chose the *Academy* to keep his Body under, least by too much Health it should become wanton, and more difficult to be govern'd by the dictates of Reason, as Men prune Vines, when they spread too far, and lop of the Branches that grow too luxuriant (d). I must not forget to add, that it was surrounded with a Wall by *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, who to defray the Charges of it, laid so heavy a Tax upon the People, that ever after, any Chargeable and Expensive busines was call'd *Ierousalma taxatio*.

Kynocepse was a Place in the Suburbs, near the *Lyceum*, so call'd from a white, or swift Dog, in Greek κυνης, that, when *Dionysius* was Sacrificing to *Hercules*, snatch'd away part of the Victim (e).

(a) *Theeo*. (b) In *Asparivis*. (c) Lib. II. Ep. II. (d) *Basil. Mag. lib. de legend. Gentil. libris.* (e) *Hesych. aliisque ianuarii*.

It was adorn'd with several Temples, Dedicated to *Hebe*, *Alcmena*, and *Iolaus*, all which bore some Relation to *Hercules*, the chief Deity of the Place, and he also was Honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. But there was nothing in it so remarkable as the *Gymnasium*, in which Strangers, and those that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercises, because *Hercules*, to whom it was Consecrated, was under some illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal Gods, but had a mortal Woman for his Mother; and therefore *Themistocles* being but of the half Blood, persuad'd divers of the Young Noblemen to accompany him, to Anoint and Exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*; in doing which he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger; and between those of the whole, and those of the half Blood of *Athens* (a). There was also a Court of Judicature in this Place, wherein Causes about Illegitimacy were heard, and Examination made concerning Persons, that lay under a Suspicion of having falsly inserted their Names among the true born *Athenians* (b). In this *Gymnasium* *Antisthenes* instituted a Sect of Philosophers call'd *Kynoi*, Cynicks, from the name of the Place (c), as some are of Opinion.

All *Theaters* were Dedicated to *Bacchus*, and *Venus* (d), the Deities of Sports and Pleasure; to the former of which they are said to owe their Original (e), and therefore Plays Acted in them were call'd Δραματα, and the Artificers that labour'd in the Building of them Δραματουρχοι, as belonging to Δινωροι, or *Bacchus*.

The most Ancient *Theaters* were Temporary, being compos'd of nothing but Boards, plac'd gradually above each other, for the convenience of Spectators, and therefore they were call'd Ιεραι (f). But these slight Buildings had well-nigh prov'd fatal to the Commonwealth, for almost the whole City, as well the Magistracy and Nobility, as those of inferior Ranks, being assembled, as their manner was, to hear *Pratinas* Act a Tragedy; the *Theater*, too weak to support the vast weight of thronging Multitudes, on a sudden tumbled down, and wanted not much of Burying them in it's Ruins (g). This narrow escape made them more cautious, and was the occasion of erecting a *Theater* of Stone, for their better security. And from this Time the *Athenians*, whose Example the rest of the *Grecians* follow'd not long after, erected fix'd and durable *Theaters* of Stone, commonly of Marble, which by degrees were encreas'd to that Magnitude, that they exceeded almost all other Buildings in *Greece*.

The Figure of *Theaters* was Semicircular, tho' they were not exact Semicircles, but contain'd the bigger half of the Circle, and therefore *Amphitheaters*, which were made in the same Figure, as if two *Theaters* should be joyn'd together, were not nicely Orbicular, but Oval.

(a) *Pastarch. Themistocle.* (b) *Nennius Monachus in Collect. Hist.* (c) *Diod. Laert. Antisthen.* (d) *I. laetant. I. VI.* (e) *Polydor. Virg. I. III. c. XIII.* (f) *Herib. in V.* (g) *Suidas in Ipatinus.*

They consisted of two parts, Σκηνή, Scena, and Κοίλος, Cavaea. Scena was a Partition, assign'd for the Actors, reaching quite crost the Theater, which at the first, agreeably to the Ancient simplicity, was dress'd with Boughs and Leaves, but in more Expensive Ages was adorn'd with Rich and Costly Hangings, to hide the management of Machines, and other actions of the Players from the Spectators. It was either so fram'd as that it might be turn'd round, and then it was call'd *Versatilis*, or drawn up, and then it was *Ductilis*, and this way is usually practis'd in our Theaters, in changing the Prospect. It had Three Principal-Gates, one upon the Right hand, another upon the Left, by which were presented meaner and smaller Edifices; and a Third in the Middle, by which more magnificent Structures, as Temples of the Gods, or Palaces of Kings, were brought in View; and on each side of the Gate was a lesser Entrance, thro' which the Persons either of Gods, or Men were introduc'd by Various Machines, and Instruments, the Names whereof you may find explain'd in *Julius Pollux* (a). The whole Scene was divided into several parts, the most remarkable whereof are these;

Bovetrio, a Place underneath the Floor, wherein were kept Brazen Vessels, full of Stones and other Materials, with which they imitated the noise of Thunder.

Eponikloio, a Place upon the Top of the Scene, in which all the Machines, whereby they presented the various Figures and Prospects, were mov'd.

Παρασκευίο, the Tiring-Room, a Place behind the Scenes wherin the Actors dress'd and adorn'd themselves.

Proscenium, the Stage, a Place before the Scenes, in which the Players Acted. And *Oxytropos* was that Part in which the Chorus us'd to Dance and Sing, in the middle of which was plac'd the Pulpit, in Greek Λόχιον, or Θυράν.

Υποσκευίο, a Partition under the Pulpit, appointed for the Musick.

The Κοίλος, or Cavaea, was appointed for the Spectators, and consist-ed of Three Parts, plac'd in equal Degrees one above another; the Lowest of which belong'd to Persons of Quality, and Magistrates; the Middle to the Commonalty; the Uppermost to the Women.

And because Theaters were open at the Top, they erected Porticos behind the Cavaea, whither they retir'd for Shelter, in Rainy weather.

(a) *Daemast.* l. IV. c. XIX.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.

THE Inhabitants of Attica were of Three sorts, 1. Πολῖται, or Free-men. 2. Μίτρανται, or Sojourners. 3. Δεῖλοι, or Servants.

The *Citizens* surpass'd the others in Dignity, and Power, as having the Government in their Hands, but were far exceeded by the Slaves in number; most of the Free-men maintaining several Servants to attend upon them, or do their Business. The number of Citizens in Cecrops's time, I have already said was Twenty-Thousand; in Pericles's, they were not so many, as appears from *Plutarch* (a); and when Demetrius the Phalerean was their Gouvernor, they exceeded their first number under Cecrops only by One-thousand, at the same time the Foreigners were Ten-thousand, and the Slaves Four-hundred-thousand, as appears from a Poll instituted at the command of Demetrius, and mention'd in *Athenaeus* (b).

Whence it is evident, that the Encrease of the *Athenians* themselves was very inconsiderable, but those growing Numbers of Inhabitants, that swell'd the City to that Bigness, to which it was extended in after-Ages, were either of Slaves, or Strangers, that for the advantage of Trade, or other Conveniences, came, and settled themselves at *Athenes*; and of these two Sorts, in the time of Cecrops, it is probable there were few or none, because through the Scarcity of Men in his new-form'd Government, for the encouragement of Foreigners to settle there, he was forc'd to allow them the same Privileges, that were enjoy'd by the Natives.

And for several Ages after, it was no difficult Matter to obtain the Freedom of the City; but when the *Athenian* Power grew Great, and their Glorious Actions rendred them Famous thro' all *Greece*, this Privilege was accounted a very great Favour, and granted to none but Men of the greatest Birth, or Reputation, or such as had perform'd some Notable piece of Service for the Common-wealth. Nor was it without much difficulty to be obtain'd even by them; *Menon* the *Pharsalian*, who had sent the *Athenians* a Supply of Two-hundred Horse, in the War against *Eon*, near *Amphipolis*, desired it, and was rejected. And *Perdicas*, the King of *Macedonia*, after having assisted them against the *Persians*, could obtain no more than a bare οἰκία, or Immunity from Tribute paid by those that Sojourned amongst them, but no right of Suffrage, or other Privileges common to the Free-men.

But this peremptory Stifness, which Success and Victory had put into them, did not always make them so Obstinate, nor hinder but that

(a) *Pericle.* (b) *Deipnos.* l. VI.

many Worthies, tho' neither equal in Birth, or Fortune to the former, were enroll'd amongst the Citizens, such were Hippocrates the Physician, Eurusaces the Son of Ajax, with many others, beside the whole City of the Platæans, to which they granted Freedom, for their signal Services in the Persian War. But by these Grants, tho' the number of the Citizens may be said to have been Encreas'd, yet nothing was added to the number of the Inhabitants, which remain'd still the same, because the Persons thus admitted, seldom made use of their Privilege, and Sued for it rather as a Title of Honour, than with a design to be any ways Advantag'd by it.

This Title could not be conferr'd upon any man, without the Consent of Six-thousand Citizens at the least. And for fear the Authority, or Interest of any Person should sway them to Comply with such Requests against their Inclinations, they gave their Votes privately, by casting Little Stones into Urns, plac'd on purpose in their Assemblies by the Pytanes, who were also oblig'd to provide a sufficient Number of Stones for the Suffragants; Nay, farther, till all had done Voting, the Strangers that Petition'd for Freedom were not permitted to come into the place of the Assembly. And after all this, if any one appear'd to be Undeserving of the Honour, they had conferr'd upon him, an Appeal might be made to the Court; which had Power to enquire into the Lives and Conditions of these Persons, and deprive such as they found Unworthy, by recalling the Freedom, which had been granted thro' the Ignorance, and Inconsideration of the Multitude; and this Disgrace befel Pytholaus the Thessalian, and Apolloides the Olynthian (a).

The manner of Admission was by declaring that such an one was incorporated amongst the Denizens of Athens, and invested with all the Honours, Privileges, and Immunities belonging to them; and had a Right to partake of, and assist at the performance of all their Holy Rites, and Mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain Noble Families, such as were the Eionolpide, Ceryces, Cynidae, which had certain Priesthoods, and Holy Offices peculiar to themselves; except also the Officers of the Nine Archons, which none but Free-born Athenians were allow'd to Execute; Lastly, they were admitted into a certain Tribe, and Hundred, and so the Ceremony ended (b).

Free-born Athenians were those that had both, or one of their Parents an Athenian; and Aristotle tells us, that in several Commonwealths, at the first, Those were accounted Free, that were born of a Free Woman; but when the Number of Inhabitants increas'd, such only were esteem'd Free, as were descended from Parents, that were both Free (c). And so it came to pass in Athens; for Pericles, when he flourish'd in the State, and had Sons Lawfully begotten, propos'd a Law, that those only should be reputed true Citizens of Athens, who were Born of Parents, that were both Athenians; and having pre-

(a) Demosth. Orat. in Aristotele. (b) Demosthen. Orat. in Neeram. (c) Aristotle. Polit. I. III. c. V.

vail'd with the People to give their consent to it, little less than Five-Thousand were depriv'd of their Freedom, and Sold for Slaves, and those, who enduring the Test, remain'd in the Government, and past Muster for True-born Athenians, were found in the Poll to be Fourteen-thousand and Forty Persons in Number. But Pericles himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far perswaded the Athenians, that they cancell'd the Law, and granted that he should Enroll his Bastard-Son in the Register of his own Ward, by his Paternal Name; thinking that by those Losses he had been sufficiently Punish'd for his former Arrogance and Haughtiness, and therefore being of Opinion, that he had been Shrewdly handled by the Divine Vengeance, of which he had run so severe a Gantlope, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant. Thus Plutarch (a).

But those that were only of the Half-blood, when they were invested with Freedom, were always reputed Inferior, and less Honourable than those that were of the Whole; and several Marks, and Customs they had to distinguish them from the others, as particularly, that those who had but one Parent, an Athenian, were not allow'd to Exercise themselves in any of the Gymnasia, that were frequented by those, who had both; but only at the Cynosarges, a Place without the City; and that this was esteem'd a Mark of Disgrace, is evident from the Practise of Themistocles, who was but of the Half-blood of Athens, and to take away, or, at least, lessen this Distinction, us'd to Engage the Noble Athenians to go, and perform their Exercises with him (b). In the same Place, there was a Court of Judicature, where Persons suspected of Illegitimacy were Tryed, and those that were found Guilty, depriv'd of the Freedom they Falsly pretended to, and Sold for Slaves.

Cecrops, after he had settled a Form of Government amongst the Athenians, for the better administration of Justice, and the prevention of Deceit, and over-reaching one another in Commerce, divided them into Four Φυλæ, or Tribes; each Tribe, he subdivided into three Parts, call'd Ταπτύς, Εθός, or Φρεγτία; and each of these into Thirty Γένη, or Families, which, because they consisted of Thirty Men, were call'd Τετάρτιοι; and they that were Members of these, were call'd Ομεζάλακτοι, and Γενῆται, not from any Relation to one another, but only because they liv'd in the same Burrough, and were Educated together, and joyn'd in one Body, or Society; the same Persons were call'd Ορεγεῖαι, because they participated of the same Sacrifices, and Worshipp'd the same Gods together, from Ορεγεῖαι, which, tho' it properly signifies only the Mysteries of Bacchus, yet is often taken for the Ceremonies us'd in the Worship of any other Deity (c).

The names of the Tribes were these, 1. Κερατίς, from Cecrops, for it was usual with the Ancients, out of an earnest desire of continuing

(a) In Pericle. (b) Plutarch. in Themistocle. (c) Pollux lib. III. cap. IV. lib. III. cap. IX.

their

their memories to Posterity, to call Cities, or Countries, or any Monuments, that seem'd likely to remain to succeeding Ages, by their own Names. 2. Αὐτοχθων, from a King of that Name, reported by some to have reign'd in some part of Attica before Cecrops; or rather from the Name of Αὐτοχθόνες, in which the Athenians glori'd not a little. 3. Ακρία, from Αέτειος, or Αέταιον, another of the Kings before Cecrops; or from ακρή, which signifies a Shore, because a great part of Attica, and that in particular, where this Tribe inhabited, lay towards the Sea, and this was the reason, why the whole Country was sometimes call'd Αέτη. And the same Cause is given, for the Name of the Fourth Tribe, which they call'd Παραλία, from it's nearness to the Sea.

In the Reign of Cranaus, new Names were impos'd upon them, and they were call'd, 1. Κράναις, from the King's Name. 2. Αρτίς, from a Young Lady, the Daughter of Cranaus. 3. Μούριας. 4. Διάκεις. And both these, I suppose, were nam'd from their Situation; the latter being Seated upon a Craggy Shore, and the former in the Inland part of the Countrey.

Erechthonius being advanc'd to the Kingdom, called them after the Names of Jupiter, Minerva, Neptune, and Vulcan, 1. Διάς. 2. Αρτίς. 3. Ποσειδώνιας. 4. Ηφαεσίας (a).

Afterwards under Erechtheus, they receiv'd new Names from the Sons of Ion, a Man of great Repute amongst the Athenians, and General of their Armies, as Herodotus reports (b). These Names were 1. Γελοντες. 2. Οπλῖται. 3. Αἰγικόρες. 4. Αργαδες. And of the Names Euripides is to be understood, when he introduces Minerva speaking thus of Ion (c),

Λελύσα τὸν δὲ παῖδα, Κεκροπίου χθίνα
Χώρει, Κρέεστα, καὶς ἀρίνες πυρανύνες
Ιδρυσσ' ἐκ τῷ Τερεψθέας γεγάς,
Δίκαιος ἀρχεῖν τὴν ἔμης δῆ τοῦ χθονίος,
Ἐσει τὰν Ἑλλάδ' εὐκλέος. οἱ τεῦτοι
Παιδεῖς γενύμενοι τεασάστες εἴζης μίας,
Επικύρων γῆς, καπηλούν χθονίος
Λεῶν ἔσονται, συσπελὸν οὐτούς ἐμίν.

Here, Nurse Creusa, since this Child by Birth
Claims the just Priv'lege of Erechtheus Line,
Take him to Athens, and Proclaim him King,
For he hath just Pretensions to the Crown;
His Blooming Courage is a previous Sign,
With how much Prowess, Policy, and Art

(a) Pollux l. VIII. c. IX. (b) Lib. VIII. cap. XLIV. (c) Ion. ad finem.

Greece's Dominions he will Sway, the Gods
Shall bless him with Four Sons, by whom in Tribes
High Seated Athens shall divided be,
And bear her sev'ral Names deriv'd from Them.

Mr. Abell.

And Herodotus (a), and Pollux are of the same Opinion, tho' they are herein contradicted by others, as we find it in Plutarch, who hath made some alteration in the Names, his Words are these, Some affirm that the Tribes did not take their Names from the Sons of Ion, but from the different sorts of Occupations, that they follow'd; the Soldiers were call'd Οπλῖται; the Crafts-men, Εργάται; and of the remaining three, the Farmers, Γεωργοί; the Shepherds, and Graffiers, Αἰγικόραι (b).

Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was encreas'd; Clitophenes having first advis'd with Apollo's Oracle, as it was usual to do in every Concern of moment, alter'd the number of the Tribes, increasing them from Four to Ten, and gave them new Names, taken from certain Ancient Heroes, all Born in Attica, except Ajax, the Son of Telemont, to whom he gave a Place amongst the rest, as being a Neighbour, Friend, and Companion in the Wars (c), for, as Homer reports, Ajax's forces were joyn'd to those of Menestheus, the Athenian General,

Ἄϊος δὲ ἐκ Σιλεύμηνος ἀγείρει δυργίσσειν μῆνα,
Στῆτη δὲ ὥστε ιτύ Αθηναῖον ιστοντο φάναρρες..

Twelve Ships from Salamis Stout Ajax brought,
And rank'd his Men, where the Athenians Fought.

Mr. Creed.

And Plutarch reports, that when the Athenians, and Megarensians, both made pretensions to Salamis, and Chose the Spartans to decide the Controversie, these Lines of Homer being produc'd by Solon, did the Athenians a considerable Kindnes, serving very much to strengthen their Title to that Island. To return, these Heroes, from the Name they gave to the Tribes, were call'd ιπάντες, and were Honour'd with Statues, erected near the Senate-house. Their Names are recorded by Pausanias, and are these, Erechtheus, Cecrops, Aegeus, Pandion, Acamas, Amiochus, Leo, Oeneus, Hippothoon, Ajax. And the Names of the Tribes are these, Ερεχθίας, Κεκροπίας, Αἰγικόρες, Αργαδεῖς, Αρτίς, Οινης, Ιωνοδοσίας, Αἰγανίς.

Afterwards when Antigonus, and Demetrius free'd the Athenians from the Macedonian Slavery, they augmented their Tribes, adding Two to their former Number, which in Honour of their Deliverers, they call'd from their Names, Αρναζίας, and Δημητρίας (d). But the Gratitude of the Athenians being no longer liv'd, than the good Fortune, and Successes of those Two Princes, the Tribes soon chang'd

(a) Lib. V. c LXVI. (b) Plutarch. Solone. (c) He o.1st. & Pollux locc. citatis.

(d) Plutarchus Liossester.

their first Names, for those of Ατταλίς, and Πτολεμαῖς, the former of which was deriv'd from *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*; the latter, from *Ptolemea*, King of *Egypte*, from both of which the *Athenians* had receiv'd some signal Favours (*a*).

This was the constant Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, which lasted as long as the City maintain'd it's Liberty, and Form of Government. Each of these was at the first divided into Thirty Γένη, every one of which consisted of Thirty Men (*b*). And the better to maintain a mutual Correspondence, and for the promotion of good Fellow-ship, and Kindness amongst them, they had publick Feasts, first instituted by *Solon*, where they all met together, and made Merry (*c*). These Meetings were Nam'd from the Persons assembled at them, for if the whole Tribe came together, then they call'd it δέκπον φυλετικῶν; if onely one φρατεῖα, then it was δέκπον φρατεῖα; or if a δῆμος, it was δέκπον δημοποῖα.

These Δῆμοι, were little Burroughs in *Attica*, several of which belong'd to every Tribe, and tho' they were reckon'd together in the Business of the Common-wealth, yet had separate Habitations, and distinct Rites and Ceremonies in the performance of Holy Worship; nay, and different Gods too, for each of them ador'd peculiar Deities, and yet all unanimously agree'd in Worshipping *Minerva*, who was the *Tutelar Goddess* of the whole Country, whereas the other Deities had only certain Parts assign'd them, and in those they were inferior to *Minerva*, the only supreme Governess. And this Difference in Religion was very Ancient, being of no less Duration, than the Common-wealth it self, for when *Theseus* had prevail'd upon them to leave their Countrey-Seats, and Unite themselves in one City, they thought it would be an impious and unpardonable Action to desert the Gods of their Ancestors, and therefore Judg'd it convenient, and more agreeable to the Respect due from them to their *Tutelar Deities*, to pay them the same Honours, and frequent the same Places of Worship, they had formerly done (*d*).

The greatest use we have of these Δῆμοι, is in their Forms of Law, and Contracts, whereby sufficient Provision was made against all Fraud, Deceit, and Mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual Clauses in their Writs, as these, N. the Son of N. of the Tribe of *Aemis*, of the Burrough of *Rhammus*, &c.

The Number of them was an Hundred-seventy-four (*e*), some of which having the same Names, were distinguish'd by their Situation, being call'd καθήντεραι, and ωτίνεραι, Upper, and Lower. All of them were divided into Greater, and Less; the μεγάραι, or Less, were these (*f*), *Alimistans*, *Zoster*, *Prospaltians*, *Anagyraians*, *Cephale*, *Pra-sieis*, *Lamprais*, *Phyleis*, *Asyrrhimiscans*, *Athensians*, *Acharne*, *Mara-*

thon, *Brauron*, *Rhammus*. The rest were Greater; take them promiscuously according to their Tribes.

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξάνη,
Δαιδαλίδαι,
Επικέιδαι,
Ξυπίτη,
Πίσος,

Συπαληπτός,
Τεινιμεῖς,
Αθρυοῦ, ἢ Αθρυοία,
Αλαι,
Φλία.

ΕΡΕΧΘΙΣ.

Αγράνη, ἢ Αγρέλη,
Ευωνυμία, ἢ Εύάνυμος,
Θύμακη, ἢ Θύμακος,
Κηφισία,
Λαμπτὰ Καθύπερθεν,
Λαμπτὰ οὐανέρθεν, ἢ οὐδίλος,

Πανιβωτίδαι,
Πιέραστη,
Συβείδαι,
Φηγός,
Αγαγυρῆ,
Κίναι.

ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΣ.

Αγγελή,
Κυδειθωάδαι,
Κύθηρη,
Οα, ἢ Οεῖς,
Παναγία καθύπερθεν,

Πατανία ωτίνεραι,
Περεύλινθος,
Στειειδ.,
Φηγαία,
Μισθεύης.

ΑΙΓΗΣΙΣ.

Αλαι,
Αξαρνίδαι, ἢ Αράρη,
Βατή,
Γαρυπότος,
Διομεία,
Ερεχθία,
Εείχρη,
Εγείδα,
Ιργεῖα, ἢ Ιργεῖος,

Κολυπής,
Κυδαντίδαι,
Πλαθείδαι,
Τίθρεος,
Φηγαία,
Φιλαίδαι,
Χολλίδαι,
Ιωνίδαι.

(a) Stephan. V. Attac', & Beozia: &c. (b) Pollux l. o. &c. (c) Ath. Dip. I. XV. (d) Livius. Pan. Atticis. (e) Eustath. II. 5'. Strab. l. IX. (f) Pan. Atticis.

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγαῖος,
Ειειόδαι,
Ερμὸς, ἢ Ερμοὶ,
Ηρασίδαι,
Θεοντρ,
Ιτέα,

Κίκηνα,
Σφρῆλος,
Χολαργεῖς, Χολαργία, ἢ Χόλαργοι.
Κεφαλῆ,
Πέρσουπλα,
Κυρπάδαι.

ΑΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Λιβαλίδαι, ἢ Λιθαλία,
Αρίδη,
Δισιδέες,
Εγύλη,
Ευπυείδαι,
Κυππόι,
Κρατίς
Δικόνιον,
Οἶον Κεραμεικὸν,
Πλαουίδαι,

Πύληκες,
Ποταμὸς,
Σκεψιωνίδαι,
Σέντιον,
Τεάδαι,
Φρέσεργοι,
Μαρσαλῶν,
Αλικῆς,
Χολεῖδαι.

ΙΠΠΟΘΟΩΝΤΙΣ.

Αἴγισιδ,
Αμαξαντέία,
Ανάκαια,
Αχραδῆς,
Δεκέλεια,
Ελαιοῦς, ἢ Ελαιᾶς,
Ελαυσίς,
Ερειάδαι,

Θυμωιτάδαι,
Κειελάδαι,
Κοριδαλλὸς,
Οἶον Δεκελεικὸν,
Οἰνέν περὸς Ελευθέραις,
Σφενδάλη,
Κοίλη.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγιλία, ἢ Αἰγίλῳ,
Αλωπεκή, ἢ Αλωπεχή,
Αμφιτσοτή,
Αγάφλιντος,

Ατίνη, ἢ Ατίνια,
Βίσσα,
Θορά,
Κειώνα,

Ασκικόπια,

Ασκικόπια,
Μίλαιντις, ἢ Μέλαιναι,
Παπλιών,
Πεντέλη,

Σημαρχίδαι,
Φάληρον,
Δίκην.

ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἰνέν περὸς Μαραθῶνι,
Τιτακίδαι,
Τεκνόντος,

Ραμνῆς.
Ψαρίδαι.

ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Βέτεια, ἢ Βεττάδης,
Επικηφοίδαι,
Θεία, ἢ Θείω,
Ιστιποδαμάδαι,
Λακία, ἢ Λακιάδαι,
Λεοία,
Μιλίτη,

Οὴ, ἢ Οἴη,
Πλειθοίδαι,
Πτελέα,
Φυλή,
Αχάρναι,
Τυριδαι.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ, ἢ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΙΣ.

Βερευικίδαι,
Θυρεωνίδαι,

Κονδύλη.

ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ, ἢ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ.

Απολλωνίταις.

Besides these, there were several other Burroughs, of which it is uncertain, what Tribe they belong'd to, such are these;

Αγρες,
Αγχιοντρ,
Αμφιάδη,
Αρχέλαστ,
Αισυπάλαια,
Απαλάγτη,
Βελβίγη,
Βελιρέων,
Τριρητη.

Τιμήπιος,
Φορμίστοι,
Χετάνη,
Βελκούδη,
Εγγα,
Εχελίδαι,
Ζωστή,
Θειών,
Καδοκίδαι,

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Κινδύνης,

Κυνόδοξος,
Σπουργίλος,
Τοσιο,
Φελίπποι,
Οφωπός,
Κεραμεικός ἐξην τὸ πόρος,
Λάμειον,
Λινούσιον,
Λίμναι,

Μανύχιος,
Παρεγέτης,
Πλυντήρ,
Παπανίκλας βιθύρος,
Σίερη,
Φανρός,
Φορών,
Ψυζιαλία,
Φαρμακέτης, &c.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Sojourners, and Servants, in Athens.

THE Second sort of the Inhabitants of Attica, were call'd Μετοίκοι, by which Word were signified Persons, that came from a Foreign Countrey, and settled in Attica, being admitted by the Council of Areopagus, and enter'd in a publick Register. They differ'd from the Πολίται, or Citizens, because they were not Free-born Athenians, but either came from another City themselves, or were Descended from such as did; and from the ξένοι, or Strangers, because these took up their Lodgings only for a short Time, whereas the Μετοίκοι had fix'd Habitations, and constantly resided upon the Place, whither they had transplanted themselves.

They were permitted to dwell in the City, and follow their own Business, without disturbance, but could not Serve in any publick Office, give their Votes in the Assemblies, or have any Share in the Government; but were oblig'd to sit still, as Spectators in a Theater, without intermeddling, or any way concerning themselves with State-Affairs, and patiently submit to the Decrees enacted by the Citizens, and observe all the Laws and Customs of the Countrey. And therefore Aristophanes in Suidas, compares them to Chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless Part of the Common-wealth,

Τοις δὲ Μετοίκοις ἄχυρα τῷ ἀστοῦ λέγω.

The Sojourners (if I may speak my Mind)
Are, as it were, the City's Chaff, and Scum. (Mr. Abell.)

They were not allow'd to Act any Thing, or manage any Business in their own Names, but were oblig'd to Choose out of the Citizens one, to whose Care and Protection they committed themselves, and whose Duty it was to Defend them from all Violence, and Oppression. An hint of this we have in Terence's Eunuchus, where Thais puts her self into the Hands of Phaedria's Family,

— CH.

CH. Tum autem Phædrix,
Meo fratri, gaudeo amorem esse omnem in tranquillo, et non est domus;
Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam & fidem
Nobis dedit se ————— (a).

My Brother's good Success in his Amour,
Doth glad my Soul, for Thais now's his own,
Since the Protection of her self she leaves,
To my old Father's care, and management.

Mr. Abell.

The Person, to whom they committed themselves, was call'd Προστάτης, and might Demand several Services of them, in which if they fail'd, or if they neglected to Choose a Patron, a Law-Suit was commenc'd against them, call'd Αντοστασία, and their Goods were Confiscated.

In consideration of the Privileges allotted them, the Commonwealth required them to perform severall Duties; for instance, in the Panathenæa, a Festival celebrated in Honour of Minerva, the Men were oblig'd to carry certain Vessels, call'd Σκεῖοι; and the Women Υδρίαι, or Water-Pots, and therefore the Men are sometimes call'd Σκεφρόφοι, or Σκεφρεῖς by the Comedians, and the Women Υδρια-φίοι.

Beside this, the Men paid an annual Tribute of Twelve Drachms, tho' Hesychius mentioneth Ten only, and the Women that had no Sons, were liable to be Taxed Six; but such as had Sons that paid, were excus'd. This Tribute was call'd Μετοίκιον, and was exacted not only of those that dwelt in Athens, but of all such as settled themselves in any Town of Attica, as appears from the instance given us by Lysias (b) in Oropus, which was an Athenian Town, Situated upon the confines of Boetia. About the time of Xerxes's Invasion upon Greece, Themistocles having by his eminent Services rais'd himself to a great Power in the Common-wealth, prevail'd so far upon the Athenians, that they remitted this exaction, and continued the Sojourners, in the enjoyment of their Privileges, without requiring any such acknowledgment from them (c). How long they enjoy'd this Immunity, I cannot tell, but it is certain they kept it not long, and probably it might be taken from them, and the Act repeal'd, as soon as Themistocles fell into Disgrace. Upon non-payment of this Imposition, the delinquent was imminately seiz'd by the Tax-masters, and carried away to the Market set apart for that Purpose, (call'd by Plutarch Μετοίκιον (d), and by Demosthenes (e) Πωλυτελεύ τῷ Μετοίκιον, where they were expos'd to Sale by the Πωληταί, which were Officers concern'd in the publick Revenues. And this Fate had the Famous Phi-

(a) Act. ult. Scen. ult. (b) Orat. in Philonens. (c) Diodor. Sicul. lib. XI.
(d) Flaminio. (e) Orat. I. in Aristogit.

osopher Xenocrates undergon, had not Lycurgus rescued him out of the hands of the Officers, as Plinarch reports (a) : Diogenes Laertius (b) tells us, he was actually Sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay the Tribute, but was redeem'd by Demerius the Phalerean, who because he would not Violate the Laws of the City, nor yet could endure to see so great and worthy a Person reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, restor'd him his Liberty, and paid for him what the Tax-masters demanded.

But tho' these Men were incapable of having any Preferment, or bearing any Office in the Common-wealth, yet they were not wholly Destitute of Encouragements to the Practice of Virtue, and the undertaking of Noble Actions, and being serviceable to the Publick. For such as signaliz'd themselves by any notable Exploit, were seldom pass'd by neglected, or unrewarded; but were taken into publick Consideration, and by a special Edict of People, Honour'd with an Immunity from all Impositions, Taxes, and other Duties, except such as were required of the Free-born Citizens, and therefore they call'd this Honour ἀστέλεια, and the Persons that enjoy'd it ἀστέλειοι, because they did οὐ τελεῖ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, pay only an equal Proportion with the Citizens. This was a sort of an half Freedom, being the same with what we sometimes find call'd Ατέλεια, of which I have spoken already, and was granted to Foreigners, that had deserved well of the Publick, but not merited enough to be Enroll'd among the true Citizens; an Instance of which we have in Perdiccas, King of Macedon, and sometimes in whole Cities and Common-wealths that had by some special Service demonstrated the Kindness, and good Affection they bore to Athens; two examples of this we have in the Thebans, and Olynthians in Theophrastus, as he is Cited by Suidas to whom with Harpocration, and Hesychius, we are oblig'd for this Account.

I proceed in the next place, to speak of the Third, and most numerous part of the Inhabitants of Attica, I mean the Servants, of which there were Two sorts, the First was of those, that thro' Poverty were forc'd to Serve for Wages, being otherwise Free-born Citizens, but not having any Suffrage in publick Affairs, by reason of their Indigency, it being forbidden at some times (for this Prohibition was no perpetual) that Persons not having such an Estate, as was mention'd in the Law, should have the Privilege of giving their Voices. These were properly call'd θῆται, and πελάται (c), and were the most Gentle sort of Servants, being only in that State during their own pleasure and necessities; and having Power either to change their Masters, or (if they became able to sublitt by themselves) wholly to release themselves from Servitude.

The Second sort of Servants, were such, as were wholly in the Power and at the Disposal of their Lords, who had as good a Title to them, as to their Lands, and Estates, a considerable part of which they were esteem'd. They were wholly at their Command, to be employ'd as the

saw convenient, in the worst and most wretched Drudgeries; and to be us'd at their discretion, Pinch'd, Starv'd, Beaten, Tormented, and that, in most Places, without any appeal to Superior Powers, and Punish'd even with Death it self. And, which yet farther enhans'd the Misery of their Condition, they had no hopes of recovering their Freedom themselves, or procuring it for their Posterity, but were to continue in the same Condition, as long as they liv'd, and all the Inheritance they could leave their Children (for their Masters not only allow'd, but encourag'd them to Marry, that they might encrease in Number) was the Possession of their Parents Miseries, and a Condition scarce any way better than that of Beasts.

The Ancients were very sensible of the hard Usage Slaves met with; and the earnest desire of Liberty, that reign'd in their own Breasts, and made them always forward to expose their Lives in the Defence of it, was a sufficient Cause to beget in them a Jealousie of the like in other Persons; Men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same Passions and Inclinations, which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very Industrious to prevent, and suppress all such motions, by keeping the Slaves at a very great Distance from them, by no means Condescending (I speak of the generality of them) to familiar Converse, much less to Jest with them; by instilling into them a mean Opinion of themselves; debasing their Natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all sparks of Generosity, and Manhood, by an illiberal Education, and accustoming them to Blows, and Stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to Ingenuous, and Free-born Natures; and subduing them with hard Labour, and Want; and, in short, by using them almost in the same manner, nay, sometimes worse, than we do Brute Animals. A sufficient proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the Famous Roman Cato, a Man celebrated in all Ages for his exact observance of the nicest Rules of Justice, nor doth it at all Invalidate the Evidence, that this was done by a Roman, since both at Rome, and in Greece, and most other Civiliz'd Countreys, the usage of Slaves seems to have been much what the same, some few Alterations excepted. This Cato, (Plinarch tells us) when his Servants grew Old, and unfit for Labour, notwithstanding they had been very Faithful, and Serviceable to him, and had spent their Youth, and Strength in Labouring for him; for all this, when Years came upon them, and their Strength fail'd them, he would not be at the charge of maintaining them, but either turn'd them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them Starve to Death in his own Family (a). It is true, this Barbarity was not Practis'd in all Places, and my Author thinks the Censor blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a Savage and Unnatural Temper; yet hence appears the miserable Condition of Slaves, that were forc'd to undergo the most Arbitrary, and unjust Impositions of the Cruellest and most Barbarous Tyrants. Now the better to show you what State they were

(a) Loc. cit. (b) Xenocrate. (c) Polux l. III. c. VIII.

(a) Plutarch. Catone.

in, I will give you a Tast of the constant Behaviour of their Masters towards them in a few instances, which were not the effects of the Passion, Pride, or Humour of private Persons, but the common and general Practice of the whole Countrey.

It was accounted an unsufferable piece of Impudence, for a Servant to Imitate the Free-men in any thing, or affect to be like them in their Dress, or any part of their Behaviour. In those Cities, where they let their Hair grow long, for a Servant to have long Hair, was an unpardonable Offence, insomuch that the Comedian, speaking it Proverbially of one that does, what becomes him not, says,

Επειτα δῆτα δέλγειν ἀν κόπιον ἔχεις (a).

Then you disdaining your own State, affect
To wear long Hair, as Free-men. — (Mr. Abell.)

They had a peculiar Form, after which they cut their Hair, call'd οὐκ ἀρσενοδόνης, which they laid aside, if ever Fortune was so propitious, as to restore them their Liberty. Now because Slaves were generally Rude and Ignorant, therefore οὐχ οὐκ ἀρσενοδόνης εἰπεῖ τὸς ψυχής τείχες, was Proverbially apply'd to any Dull, Stupid Fellow (b). The Garments also of Slaves were different from those of Free-men; for the Free-men's Coats were ἀμφιμάχαλοι, had two Sleeves; whereas those of Slaves were ἵπερμάχαλοι, had only one Sleeve (c).

At *Athens*, it was common to be in Love with Boys, *Socrates*, and *Plato's* Amours are notorious enough, and *Solon* himself was too weak to resist this Passion, but thought it neither unlawful, nor Scandalous, but on the contrary Honourable, and well becoming an Ingenuous Education; therefore he forbade Slaves, the use of this Pleasure, as it were inviting the Worthy to Practice, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear, says *Plutarch* (d). The same Law-giver forbade them to Anoint, or Perfume themselves with sweet Odours, allowing those pieces of Gentility, only to Persons of better Birth, and Quality.

Slaves were not permitted to Communicate at the Worship of some of the Deities, but were accounted Unholy, and Prophane; and thought to be Offensive to the Gods, and to Pollute the Worship by their Presence; as for instance, at the Worship of the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, at *Athens*; and *Hercules*, at *Rome*. Of which I shall have occasion to speak something more hereafter.

Their Education was quite different from that of Free-born Children, these were instructed in all the Liberal Arts; the others only taught how to Obey, and Drudge in their Masters Business. And whereas the common method was, to win those of Ingenuous Birth by gentle means into a performance of their Duty; the manner of Tutoring Slaves, was the same that they us'd to Tame Wild Beasts, namely, Stripes, and the Cruellest Severity. For all this, there

(a) *Aristophan. Avibus.* (b) *Eustath. Il. a'. p. 59. Edit. Bas.* (c) *Tallux On. I. VII. c. XIII.* (d) *Selene.*

wanted not some, whom Nature had Blest with a more happy Genius, and a larger share of Parts than the rest, and Fortune directed to Kind and Gentle Masters, that by their great Improvements in Learning, and Wisdom, were a sufficient evidence, that Nobility of Soul, and Greatness of Understanding are not confin'd to any Rank, or Quality, but that even the meanest and most abject Persons may dive into the most hidden Secrets of Nature, and be admitted to the most intimate Converse with the Muses. Poor deform'd *Aesop*, and the Poet *Alcman* (a), are undeniable proofs of it, and (to mention no more) *Epicurus*, the Famous Moralist, confirms the same, of whose Poverty, and Servile condition we have mention in this *Epigram*,

*Δεῖλος Επίτιτος γενύβουλος, καὶ σώματι πηρὶς,
Καὶ πενίαι λόγος, καὶ φίλος Αδρανέτοις.*

The Gods to me great Favours do dispence,
Tho'n Bondage, Crippled, and in Indigence.

Mr. Abell.

They thought it a piece of Presumption, as detracting something from the Free-born *Citizens*, to call *Slaves* by any Name, that was in use amongst them; But if any man was so Bold, as to give his Servant the Name of a Person of Quality, or Honour, it was a signal Affront; *Domitian* is said to have Punish'd *Metius Pomposianus*, for calling his Slaves by the Illustrious Names of *Hannibal*, and *Mago*; and, to come nearer to our purpose, the *Athenians* enacted a Law, that no Man should presume to call any of his Servants by the Names of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, two Famous Patriots, that with Courage and Resolution oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons (b). For the most part, as *Strabo* reports, they were call'd after the Names of their Native-Countries, as *Avidas*, or *Syri*, if they were Born in *Lydia*, or *Syria*; or, by the Names, that were most us'd in those Nations, as *Manes*, or *Midas* in *Phrygia*; or, *Tibias* in *Paphlagonia*. The most common Names in *Athens* were *Geta*, and *Davi*, being taken from the *Getes*, and *Daci*, whom my Author thinks to have been formerly call'd *Δαῦοι*, or *Davi* (c). They seldom consisted of above two Syllables, and therefore *Demosthenes* having objected to *Aeschines*, that his Father was a Slave, tells him farther as a proof of what he had affirm'd, that he had falsified his Name, calling him *Astrometus*, whereas in truth it was *Tromes* (d). The reason of this seems to have been, that their Names, being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounc'd. Upon the same account, *Oppian* advises to give Dogs short Names,

*Οὐρατα σκυλάκεσι
Βασὶ πίτε, θοὰ πάντα, θοὺς ἵνα βάξιν ἀπέν (e).*

(a) *Elian. V. H.* (b) *Alex. ab Alex. I. III. c. XX.* (c) *Strabo I. VII.* (d) *Oret. πτεὶ Στράτ.* (e) *Komyztin.*

Let Hounds that are design'd for Game, and Sport,
Have Names impos'd that easie be, and short ;
Least at the Hunts-man's call they trace in vain,
And run with open cry confus'dly o're the Plain.

Mr. Abell.

Above all things, especial care was taken that *Slaves* should not wear Armour, which (considering the number of them, that was usually almost Twenty times as great as that of the Citizens) might have been dangerous to the Publick. For this reason it was not usual for them to Serve in the Wars, and therefore when *Virgil* speaks of such an one's assisting in the War of *Troy*, he tells us, it was contrary to Law, or Custom,

*Vix unus Helenor,
Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primævus Helenor ;
Maconio regi quem serva Lycimnia furim
Sistulerat, vetitique ad Trojam miserat armis (a).*

Scarce *Lycus* and *Helenor* 'scap'd away
From the sad Ruins of that dismal Day.
Against th' enacted Law for *Slaves*, in Arms
Helenor had Stole of to War's Alarms,
For he a Spurious Issue was brought forth
By a Bond-woman of *Plebeian* Worth
To the *Meonian* King.

Mr. Abell.

Only upon some emergent and extraordinary Occasions, we find the *Slaves* Arm'd in the Defence of their Masters, and themselves; but this was never done except in Cases of most extreme Danger, when all other means of preserving the Common-wealth were taken away; and the first time it was practis'd, is said to have been when the *Perians* under *Darius* invaded the *Athenians*, and receiv'd a total Overthrow by them in *Marathon* (b). The like was afterwards put in Practice by other Common-wealths, but not without great Caution; *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, being sore press'd by the *Macedonians*, and *Achæans*, and finding himself unable to make Head against them, Arm'd Two-thousand of the *Helots*, or *Lacedæmonian Slaves*, that he might make a fit Body to Oppose *Antigonus's Leucaspide*, or White Shields; but ventur'd not to List any more of them, tho' *Laconia* was at that time Furnish'd with much greater Numbers (c). And their Prudence in this Case deserves Commendation, for having exasperated them so much by their hard Usage, they had no reason to expect any Mercy from them, if ever they should get the upper hand. And to me it seems not much less than

(a) *Aeneid.* I. LX. v. 545. (b) *Tausianus.* (c) *Plutarch. Cleomene.*

a Miracle, that Four-hundred-thousand Men should groan under the Oppression of Twenty, or Thirty-thousand (for those, I have told you already, were the Numbers of the *Slaves*, *Citizens*, and *Sojourners*, in *Attica*) without ever (some few times excepted) attempting to assert their Liberty; when 'tis evident, they wanted not strength to turn the State upside down; and impossible, but that they might have met with many Opportunities, especially in times of War, Sedition, and Tumults, in which the City was continually embroil'd, to accomplish such a design. But this must be ascrib'd partly to the watchful Eye, their Masters, and the whole State had upon them; and partly, to that Cowardise and Degeneracy, which usually in a great measure corrupt and debase the Minds of those, that Fortune has plac'd in a servile Condition, however Noble and Daring they be by Nature; for it is a true saying of *Homer*,

*Ημοι τὸ τὸ ἀρετῆς ποσίνυται εἰρώνα Ζεύς
Αὐέργε, εἴ τ' αὐ μη καὶ δέλιον ημαρ ἔλησ.*

True Valour n'ere can animate that Mind,
Whose inbred Seeds by Slav'ry are confin'd.

Mr. Abell.

But neither the Care of the State, nor the great Power that Oppression has to debase Men's Souls, could always keep them in Subjection; but Nature sometimes would exert it's self, when either a fair Opportunity invited, or some insufferable Oppression compelled them to endeavour the Recovery of their Liberties, that is, their Lives, their Fortunes into their own Hands. *Athenaeus* reports, that in *Attica* they once seiz'd upon the Castle of *Sinium*, and committed Ravages throughout the Country; and at the same time made their second Insurrection in *Sicily*, for in that Country they frequently Rebell'd, but were at last reduc'd with great Slaughter, no les than a Million of them being Slain (a). Several other efforts we find made by them in other Places, to the great danger, and almost utter subversion of those Countries. Sometimes, in times of War, the *Slaves* would run over to the Enemy, and this Desertion they call'd *ἀυτομάτειν* (b), which, excepting Theft, a Crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common Offence they committed, being in most Places the only way they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were made to pay dearly for their desire of Freedom, being bound fast to a Wheel, and Unmercifully beaten with Whips, as the Comedian tells us,

*Η δέλος ἀυτομάτειν παραπονασμένος,
Ἐπὶ τρόχῳ χ' ἔκοπτο μαστυέμδης (c).*

(a) *Athenaeus Deipn. I. VI.* (b) *Aristoph. Equit.* (c) *Aristoph. Pace.*

If wretched Slaves harras'd, and weari'd out
Under the Thraldom of dire Servitude,
Should but anticipate sweet Freedom's Joys,
And make Revolt to their more gentle Foes,
Fast to a Wheel being bound with Cords, they're Whipt.
Mr. *Abell.*

The same Punishment was inflicted on them for Theft, as we learn from Horace (a),

*Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.*

Suppose, my Slave shou'd say, I neither Fly
Nor Steal : Well, thou hast thy reward, say I,
Thou art not Scourg'd.

Mr. *Creech.*

Sometimes they were rack'd upon the Wheel, (a Cruelty never practis'd upon any Free-born Person) to Extort a Confession from them, when they were suspected to have been Accessory to any Villainous Design, as Aristophanes informs us in his first Comedy, where one says to a Slave,

*Εἰ τὸ τροχὸν δῷ δεῖ σ' εἰτὶ σφέλευμάνοι
Εἰπεν ἀ πεπαθεύμας.*

We ought to Wrack you with incessant Pain,
To force you to reveal your Rogueries.

Mr. *Abell.*

The common way of correcting them for any Offence, was to Scourge them with Whips, wherefore a Villain, that had been guilty of any Crime that deserved Punishment, was said *μεγίστην*, to stand in need of, and, as it were, Itch for a Scourge. Sometimes to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a Pillar; and therefore Hyperides in Pollux saith, *κειμένος εἰς τὰς κιοὺς, ιεδύπειν*. For so, I think, that place ought to be read, and not, *κειμένος εἰς τὰς κιόνες, ιεδύπειν* (b). As the Vulgar Editions have it.

If they stood guilty of any notorious Offence, they were Condemn'd to Grind at the Mill, a Labour exceeding toilsom in those Days, when they were forc'd to beat their Grain into Meal, being unacquainted with the easie way of Grinding, that is us'd amongst us, and was the invention of later Ages. And therefore when they had a mind to express the greatness of any Labour, or Toil, it was usual to compare it to Grinding in a Mill, *Tibi mecum erit, Crasse, in eodem pistrino vivendum*, says Tully (c), that is, You and I, *Cras*sus, must undergo the same troublesome course of Life. But beside the Labour

(a) Epist. lib. I. (b) On. I. III. c. VIII. (c) De Orat.

they

they were put to, they were beaten with Rods, or Scourges, sometimes, if their Offence was very great, to Death, as we learn from Terence, the Scene of whose Drama is laid in Attica,

Verberibus casum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem (a).

I'll have you flea'd, you Villainous Curr, to Death.

Mr. *Abell.*

Or else, as others understand this Place, they were Condemn'd to that Punishment, as long as they liv'd.

These Mills, were call'd in general *Mύλωνται*, which Word, because of the Cruelty exercis'd upon poor Slaves there, Pollux tells us, was *εἰς οὐφημόται*, Unlucky, or Inauspicious, and not to be nam'd, and therefore calls it *Συντοπαῖς εἰς οὐ*. They had several Names from the different Sorts of Grain, that was ground in them, as, *Χιοδροκόπιαι*, or *Χιοδρογκέαι*, *Αλφιτεῖαι*, *Ζάρτεῖαι*, *Ζάρτειαι*, or *Ζαρτεῖαι*, and *Ζυτεῖαι*, whence comes the word *Ζαργίνειαι*, to examine upon the Rack, as was usual in that Place (b).

Beside this, they Stigmatiz'd them, in the Fore-head, for the most part, and sometimes in other places, for, as Galen observes (c), it was Customary to Punish the Member that had Offended, if the Slave was a Glutton, his Belly must suffer; if a Tell-tale, his Tongue must be cut out, and so of the rest. The common way of Stigmatizing was by burning the Member with a red-hot Iron, upon which certain Letters were Engraven, till a fair Impression was made, and then pouring Ink into the Furrows, that the Inscription might be the more conspicuous and legible. Persons thus us'd, were call'd *Στυγμάται*, and *Στυγναις*, saith Pollux; or *Attage*, because that Bird was *ποικιλοπτερόται*, of divers colours, as Aristophanes tells us (d). Pliny calls them *Inscripti* (e); and others *Literati*, as *Plautius*,

sic hic literatus me finat (f).

And what the same Author means by *Trium literarum homo*, no man can be ignorant. This Punishment was seldom, or never inflicted upon any, but Slaves, and with them it was so frequent, that the Samians, when they gave a great number of Slaves their Liberty, and admitted them to Offices in the State, were branded with the Infamous name of *Literati*,

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος δὲ πολυχάρματος,

The Samian People (Fy for Shame)
For store of Letters have great Fame,

Dr. *Littleton.*

Saith Aristophanes in *Plutarch* (g); tho' others, and amongst them Plutarch himself, assign different Reasons for this Appellation (h). This

(a) *Andria.* (b) *Pollux* I. III. c. VIII. *Hesychius. Suidas. Etymolog.* (c) *Lib. VI.*

(d) *Avibus.* (e) *Lib. XVIII. c. III.* (f) *Casina Act. II. Sc. VI.* (g) *Pericle.*

(h) *Erasm. Adag.*

was

Of the Civil Government of Athens

was the greatest mark of Infamy, that could be inflicted on them, and therefore Phocylides advises to forbear it, even in Slaves,

Στίγματα μὴ γράπτεις, ἐπονειδεῖσθαι δεπάποντα (a).

Brand not your Slave with Characters of Infamy.

On the contrary in Thrace, Herodotus tells us, it was accounted a Badge of Honour, and us'd by none but Persons of Credit, nor omitted, but by those of the meanest Rank (b).

At Athens, Slaves had a little more Humanity shown them, than in most other Places, for if any of them were grievously Oppres'd, they were allow'd to fly for Sanctuary to Theseus's Temple, whence to force them was a piece of Sacrilege (c). And those that had been Barbarously treated by their Masters, had the Privilege of commencing a Suit at Law against them, which they call'd *Τέρεως δίκη*, or *Aixias δίκη*, the former of which was against such, as had made any violent Attempts upon the Chastity of their Slaves; the latter against those, that had us'd too much Severity in Punishing them; and if it appear'd, that the Complaint was reasonable and just, the Master was oblig'd to Sell his Slave.

Beside the being deliver'd from the injurious Treatment of Tyrants, the Slaves at Athens had a great deal the Advantage of their Brethren in other Places, in many Respects; they might use their Tongues with far greater Freedom, as appears every where from the Comedies of Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence; and indulge themselves in the Enjoyment of a great many Pleasures, that in other Places they had not the finallest Tast of, insomuch that Demosthenes tells us, The Condition of a Slave in Athens was preferable to that of a Free Denizen in some other Cities (d), and Plautus sufficiently testifies the truth of what he saith,

*Αὐτεὶς οὐδὲν μιρεῖνι, οἱοντες σερβούς
Ποταὶ, ἀμαρεὶ, αὐτεὶς ἀδαναμονεῖσθαι;
Λιξεὶς ἀθηναῖς — (e).*

The Laws at Athens don't our Slaves restrain
From Pleasure, Mirth, and Gaiety of Life,
For they may revel, be inflam'd with Love,
And live as much at Ease, as some Free Denizens.

Mr. Abell.

Farther, they were permitted to get Estates for themselves, paying only a small Tribute to their Masters every Year out of them, and if they could procure as much as would pay for their Ransom, their Masters had no power to hinder them from buying their Liberty, as may be observ'd from the same Author, who introduces a Slave speaking in this manner,

(a) V. 212. (b) Lib. V. (c) Plutarch. Theseo. (d) Philipp. III. (e) Stich.

The Civil Government of Athens.

*Quid tu me vera libertate territas?
Quod si tu nolis, filiusque etiam tuus,
Vobis invitis, atque amborum ingratis,
Vna libella liber possum fieri (a).*

Pray, Sir, good Words, since nor you, nor your Son
Can me my Liberty deny, altho'
You pour out Threatnings with such rigorous awe,
For if I please, one Pound can me releate,
And purchase Freedom. —

(Mr. Abell.)

Sometimes, if they had been faithful, and diligent in their Master's Business, they dismis'd them of their own accord; and upon the Performance of any remarkable Service for the Publick, the State usually took care to reward them with Liberty. Such of them as were admitted to serve in the Wars, were seldom left in the Condition of Slaves, either for fear the Remembrance of their former Oppression might move them to revolt to the Enemy, or raise a Sedition at Home, so fair an opportunity being put into their Hands; or, to animate them with greater Courage and Constancy to oppose the Invaders, when they were to receive so great a Reward for the Dangers they underwent; or, because it was thought unreasonable, that such as hazarded their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty, should themselves groan under the heavy Yoak of Slavery, and be depriv'd of even the smallest part of that, which was in a great measure owing to their Courage and Loyalty; for one, I say, or all these reasons, such as upon emergent Occasions took up Arms for the publick Safety, seldom fail'd of having their Liberty restor'd to them. An instance whereof, to mention no more, we have in the Slaves, that behav'd themselves Valiantly in the Sea-Fight at Arginusæ, where the Athenians obtain'd a signal Victory against Callicratidas, the Lacedemonian Admiral; and therefore the Slave in Aristophanes, being almost ready to faint under an heavy Burden, accuseth his own Cowardise, that hindred him from lifting himself amongst the Marine-Forces, and thereby recovering his Liberty,

Οἴμοι κακοδαιμόνῳ· τί πῦ ἔχει ἐνωμάχευ (b);

Pox take this Heart, that durst not meet
In boist'rous Seas the Spartan Fleet.

Slaves, along they were under the Government of a Master, were call'd *Oixites*, but after their Freedom was granted them, they were *Δελτοί*, not being, like the former, a part of their Master's Estate, but only oblig'd to some grateful Acknowledgements, and small Services (c), such as were requir'd of the *Mitringi*, to whom they were in some few things inferiour; but seldom, perhaps never, arriv'd to the Dignity of *Citizens*, especially if they had receiv'd their Freedom from a private Person, and not upon a Publick Account; for such

(a) Cäsar. (b) Rana Act. I Scen. I. (c) Chrysippus de Concordia I. II.

as were advanc'd for Publick Services, seem to have liv'd in greater Repute, and enjoy'd a larger share of Liberty, than others, that had only inherit'd their Freedom, by the Obligations, they had laid upon particular Persons.

A Tribute of twelve *Drachms* was exacted of the *Métronix*, and the same with an addition of Three *Oboli* was required of the *Free'd-men* (a). Also they were oblig'd to choose a *Hegesimn*, who was to be no other, than the Master, out of whose Service they had been releas'd; upon him they attended almost in the same manner with the *Roman Liberi*, and *Clienes*; but in Case they behav'd themselves Stubbornly, and Ungratefully towards him, he had power to Arrest them, and carry them before a Judge, by whom, if they were found Guilty, they were depriv'd of their Liberty, and reduc'd to their former miserable Condition; this Suit was call'd *Anθεστής δίκη*, which name was also given to the complaints made by *Servants*, and *Free'd-men* against their Masters, and *Patrons*, which both of them were allow'd to Prefer, if they were not treated with all the Humanity that was thought due to their respective Conditions; but because all the *Free'd-men's* publick Busines, like that of the *Métronix*, was to be manag'd chiefly by Proxies; at their restauration to Liberty, both of them had the Privilege of choosing an *Eriponor*, or *Curator*, who in case his *Client* receiv'd any Injury from his *Patron*, was to Defend him, to Appeal for him, and plead his Cause before the Judges, who out of respect to the *Patron*, were appointed out of his own *Trib'e* (b).

This was the Condition of *Slaves* in *Athens*, which, tho' in it selfe deplorable enough, yet if compar'd with that of their Fellow-sufferers in other Cities, seems very easie, at least tolerable, and not to be repin'd at. I might here give you an account, of the various Conditions of *Slaves* in the several Countries of *Greece*, such as the *Penestæ* in *Theffaly*; the *Claræ*, and *Mnoïæ* in *Crete*; the *Corynephori* at *Sicyon*; the *Gymnite* at *Argos*, and many others; but I shall only at present lay before you the State of the *Helote* in *Sparta*, which, because of the frequent mention made of them in Authors, must not be omitted; and from their Treatment (tho' they were a more Gentile sort of *Slaves*, and enjoy'd more Privileges (c) than the rest) will appear the Truth of what *Plutarch* tells us, was commonly said of *Sparta*, *Ἐν λαχεδαιμονὶ τὸν εἰδέχεται εἶναι, οὐ τὸν μάλιστα δῆλον*. That in *Sparta* he that was Free, was most so; and he that was a *Slave*, was the greatest *Slave* in the World (d).

The *Helote* were so call'd from *Helos*, a *Laconian Town*, Conquer'd by the *Spartans*, who made all the Inhabitants Prisoners of War, and reduc'd them into the condition of *Slaves* (e).

The *Free-men* of *Sparta*, were forbidden the Exercise of any mean or Mechanical Employment, and therefore the whole Care of supplying the City with Necessaries was devolv'd upon the *Helots*, the Ground

(a) *Harpocrat.* (b) *Suidas, Harpocrat.* (c) *Pollux. l. III. s. VIII.* (d) *Plutarch. Lycurg.* (e) *Sirabo l. VIII. Harpocrat.*

was till'd, and all sorts of Trades manag'd by them, whilst their Masters, Gentlemen like, spent all their time in Dancing, and Feasting, in their Exercises, Hunting matches, and the *λεγέα*, or places where good Company us'd to meet (a).

But the being Condemn'd to such Drudgeries all their Lives, had been, at least, supportable, had they not been also treated in the most Barbarous manner, abus'd beyond the patience of Man, and often Murder'd without committing any Fault, and without any shew of Justice. And of this the *Kevnria*, or secret Law, is a sufficient proof; It was an Ordinance, (these are *Plutarch's* own Words,) by which those, who had the care of the Young-men, dispatch'd privately some of the ablest of them into the Country, from time to time, Arm'd only with Daggers, and taking a little necessary Provision with them; these in the Day-time, hid themselves in the Thickets and Cliffs, and there lay close; but in the Night issu'd out into the High-ways, and Murder'd all the *Helots* they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by Day, as they were at work in the Fields, and kill'd them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* reports, in his History of the *Peloponnesian War*. The same Author tells us, (faith *Plutarch*,) that a good number of them being crown'd by Proclamation, (which was a token of their being set Free) enfranchis'd for their good Services, and led about to all the Temples in token of Honour, disappear'd all of a sudden, being about the number of Two-thousand, and no Man either then, or since could give any Account, how they came by their Deaths. *Aristotle* adds, that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were entred into their Office, us'd to declare War against them, that they might be Massacred with a pretence of Law.

It is confess'd on all hands, (proceeds my Author,) that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to Excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their Publick Halls, that their Children might see, *What a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is.* They made them to Dance uncomely Dances, and Sing ridiculous Songs; forbidding them expressly to use any that was Serious, and Manly, because they *Would not have them Prophan'd by their Mouths*. For this reason, when the *Thebans* made an Incursion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Helots* Prisoners, they could by no means perswade them to Sing the Odes of *Terpander, Alcman, or Spendon*, Poets in repute at *Lacedemon*, *For (said they) they are our Master's Songs, we dare not Sing them* (b).

Having given you a Survey of the usage, *Slaves* generally met with amongst the Ancients, it remains that I give you an account how they came to fall into this deplorable Condition, from that Liberty, which all Men are by Nature made Masters of. And it seems to have happen'd these Three ways: First, from Poverty, whereby Men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps, deeply in Debt, were forc'd to

(a) *Plutarch. Lycurg.* (b) *Plutarch. ibidem.*

part with their Freedom, and yield themselves *Slaves* to such as were able to maintain them; or Sell their Bodies to their Creditors, and pay them in Service, what they were not able to do in Money. Secondly, vast numbers were reduc'd to *Slavery* by the chance of War, by which the Conquered became wholly at the disposal of their Conquerors. Thirdly, By the perfidiousness of those that Traded in *Slaves*, who would often Steal Persons of Ingenuous Birth and Education, and Sell them. *Aristophanes* tells us, the *Thebrians* were notorious for this sort of Villainy,

——— ΠΕ. Πόθεν τις ἔξει δερποντας;
ΧΡ. Ουνόπουσ' ἀργεις σύπε. ΠΕ. Τίς δι' ἔσαι πρώτου ὁ πωλῶν,
Οταν ἀργειον κακίον ἔχη; ΧΡ. Κερδαίκειν βαλόμενον τις
Εμπορος, ἵκων ἐκ Θεσσαλίας παρὰ πλείστων ἀνδραποδιστῶν (a).

POV. How will you, Sir, get *Slaves*? CHR. I'll Buy with Coin.
POV. But where? since all the Merchants leave of Sale,
Having got Wealth enough. CHR. I'll warrant you,
Slave-mongers will come here from *Theffaly*,
Driv'n by hopes of getting more. —————

Mr. Abell.

But if any Person were convicted of having betray'd a Free-man, he was severely Punish'd by *Solon's Laws*, except it were a Daughter, or a Sister, for those they were permitted to Sell, if they had caught them with a Man (b).

At *Athens*, they had several places in the *Forum* appointed for the Sale of *Slaves*, of which I have spoken already; and upon the first of every Month, the Merchants, call'd *Ἄνδραποδιστας*, brought them into the Market, and expos'd them to Sale (c), the Cryer standing upon a Stone erected for that purpose, call'd *Πηγας*, and calling the people together (d); whence *Cicero* opprobriously calls the *Tribunes*, *empioi de Lapiде*, because they were suspected to have been hir'd to the management of an Affair (e).

At *Athens*, when a New-hought *Slave* was first brought Home, there was an Entertainment provided to welcome him to his new Service, and certain Sweet-meats were pour'd upon his head, which for that reason they call'd *Karekhorion* (f). But I do not find that this Ceremony was practis'd in other Places; tho' in all Countries, *Slaves* were Bought and Sold like other Commodities; the *Thracians* are particularly remarkable for Purchasing them with Salt, and therefore they were call'd *Πρὸς αὐλὸς ἴγρεσομενα*; *Eustathius* adds, that *Αλώντες διλα-*
εσα, signified those, that were Bought at a very low Rate. The *Chians*

(a) *Plut. Act. II. Sc. V.* (b) *Plutarch. Solone.* (c) *Aristoph. Sc. Equit.* (d) *Pollux l. III. c. VIII.* (e) *Orat. in Pisonem.* (f) *Aristoph. Pluto, & Pollux loc. cit.*

are reported to have been the first that gave Money for them (a); whereas before, they were usually exchang'd for other Commodities; indeed, the Ancient Trade was wholly manag'd that way; *Homer's Heroes* are often said to have exchang'd their Captives for Provisions, and particularly at the end of the Seventh *Iliad*,

Ἐνδέν ἄρ' οἰνίσκοτο χρενομάσωτες Αζελοί,
Ἄλλοι δὲ χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀιδωνὶ σιδήρῳ,
Ἄλλοι δὲ ἔρυνσι, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι βέαντι,
Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνδραποδίσονται, πίθεντο δὲ δαιταὶ Σελεύσιοι.

The *Grecian Chiefs* by bar'ring of their Ware,
Their choice Provisions, and their Wine prepare;
Some Brass exchange, some Iron, some Beast's hydes,
Some *Slaves* of War, some Cattle. —————

Mr. Abell.

Whence it appears, that the Barbarous Oppression, and Cruelty us'd towards *Slaves*, was not an effect of the Pride of later Ages, but practis'd in the most primitive and simple Times; how long it continued, is not certain.

Atrian is said to have been the first, that took away from Masters, the power of putting their *Slaves* to Death, without being call'd to Account for it. And in the Reign of *Nero*, and other Cruel Emperors of *Rome*, the Masters were forc'd to give them Civil Treatment, for fear they should accuse them, as Persons disaffected to the Government.

But the growth of *Christianity* in the World seems to have put a final Period to that unlimited Power, that Lords in former Ages claim'd over their *Slaves*; for the *Christians* behav'd themselves with abundance of Mildness, and Gentleness towards them; partly, to encourage them to embrace the *Christian Religion*, the Propagation of which they aim'd at more, than the Promotion of their own private Interests; and partly, because they thought it Barbarous, and Unnatural, that Persons endu'd by Nature with the same Powers and Faculties, the same Tempers and Inclinations with themselves, should be treated with no more Kindness, than those Creatures, that are without Reason, and have no Power to reflect on their own Condition, nor to be sensible of the Miseries they lie under.

(a) *Cor. Rhod. Antiquitat. I. XXV. c. IX.*

C H A P T E R XI.*Of the Athenian Magistrates.*

THE Magistrates of *Athens* are divided by *Aeschines* (a) into Three sorts, the Ground of which Distinction, is taken from the different methods of their Election, and Promotion.

1. *Xεποντι*, were such as receiv'd their Dignity from the People, met together in a Lawful Assembly, and were so call'd from the manner of their Election, in which the People gave their Votes by holding up their Hands.

2. *Kλεγαροι*, were those that ow'd their Promotion to Lots, which were drawn by the *Thesmothetae*, in *Theseus's Temple*.

3. *Aigeroi*, were extraordinary Officers, appointed by the whole People, or particular *Tribes*, to take care of any Business; such were the Surveyors of the publick Works, and such like.

According to *Solon's Constitutions*, no Man was capable of being a *Magistrate*, except he was possess'd of a considerable Estate; but by *Aristides's* means, the Poorer sort were admitted to a share in the management of the Government, and every Free *Denizor* render'd capable of appearing for the highest Preferments. Yet such was the Modesty of the Commons, that they left the chief Offices, and such as the care of the Common-wealth depended upon, to Persons of superior Quality, aspiring no higher, than the management of petty and trivial Businesses (b).

But tho' no Man's Quality, or Condition, could exempt him from bearing publick Offices, yet his course of Life, and Behaviour might; for if any Man had liv'd a Vicious, and Scandalous Life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest Office; it being improbable that a Person, that could not behave himself so as to gain Reputation in a private Capacity, should be able to demean himself Prudently and Wisely in a publick Station; or that he, who had neglected his own Concerns, or fail'd in the management of them, should be capable of undertaking publick Business, and providing for the Common-wealth. And therefore before any Man was admitted to a publick Employ, he was oblig'd to give an account of himself, and his past Life, before certain Judges in the *Forum*, which was the Place appointed for this Examination, which they call'd *Δοκιμασια* (c). Nor was this alone thought sufficient, for tho' at this time they past the Tryal with Credit, yet in the first Ordinary Assembly after their Election, they were a second time brought to the Test, when, if any thing Scandalous was alledg'd, and made out against them, they were depriv'd of their Honours (d).

(a) *Orat. in Ctesiphont. Ulpian. in Androtiana.* (b) *Xenophon de Rep. Ath.*
(c) *Lysia Orat. in Evandr. Aeschines contra Timarchum.* (d) *Demosthen. in Theoc.*

And

And when their Offices were expir'd, they were oblig'd to give an account of their Management to the *Notaries*, and the *Zogiste*, which was call'd *Eugen*, and if any neglected to do it, or, had not undergon the former Probation, the People were forbidden, by an express Law, to present him with a Crown, which was the usual Reward of such as had gain'd themselves Honour and Reputation, by the careful and wise Management of publick Employments. Also till their Accounts were pass'd, they were not permitted to Sue (a) for any other Office, or Place of Trust, or to Travel into any Foreign Country, or to dispose of their Estates, or any part of them, whether by Will, or Consecrating them to Pious uses, or any other way; but the whole was to remain entire, that in case they should be found to have embezzl'd the Publick Revenues, the City might not loose by them (b).

The Day in which the *Magistrates* entred upon their Offices, was the first of *Hecatombaon*, the first Month in the *Athenian Calendar*; it was a Solemn Festival, which from the occasion had the Name of *Eotaneus*, and was celebrated with all the expressions of Mirth, and Joy us'd at such publick Days. Also Sacrifices were Offer'd to the Gods by the Senators, and most of the other *Magistrates*; and Prayers made for the Prosperity of the City, in the Chappel of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, the *Counsellors* (c).

C H A P T E R XII.*Of the Nine Archons, &c.*

THE chief of *Magistrates* of *Athens* were Nine in Number, and had all the common Name of *Archontes*, or Rulers. They were elected by Lots, but were not admitted to their Offices, till they had undergone a two-fold Tryal, one in the Senate-house, call'd *Anagnoris*, and a second in the *Forum*, call'd *Δοκιμασια*. The Questions which the Senate propos'd to them, were such was these, Whether they were descended from Ancestors, that had been *Citizens of Athens* from three Generations? Of what *Tribes*, and Hundred they were, and whether they bore any Relation to *Apollo*, and *Jupiter Herculis*? Whether they had been Dutiful to their Parents, had Serv'd in the Wars, and had a competent Estate (d)? And, as some are of Opinion, the same Questions were demanded of all the other *Magistrates* (e).

But what was more peculiar to these *Magistrates*, was the Oath required of them, before their Admission, in the *Portico*, call'd *Bxoiatesos*

(a) *Suidas, Hesychius, Aeschin. Orat. de Ement. Legat.* (b) *Aeschin. in Ctesiphont.* (c) *Suidas, Ulpian. in Medianam, Antiquan. Orat. de Chresta.* (d) *Demosthen. in Eubulid. Pollux Onom. I. VIII. c. XIII.* (e) *Dicasterium contra Aristogit.*
Suidas.

to this Effect; That they would observe the Laws, and administer Justice without partiality, would never be corrupted by Bribes, or if they were, would dedicate a Statue of Gold to the *Delphian Apollo*: From thence they went into the Citadel, and there repeated the same Oath.

This done, they undertook their Charge, some parts of which were to be executed by them separately, according to their respective Offices, others equally concern'd them all. They had all the Power of Punishing Malefactors with Death, were all Crown'd with a Garland of Myrtle; they had a joyn Commission for appointing the *Δικαιοτητας*, and *Αθλοτητας* by Lots, Electing out of every Tribe one; as also of Constituting the *Ιεπαρχος*, *Φύλαρχος*, and *Στρατηγος*, of inquiring into the Behaviour, and Management of other Magistrates, and deposing such as were by the Suffrages of the People declar'd to be unworthy of bearing the Office, that had been committed to them (a). And as a recompence for their Services, they were free from all Taxes, and Contributions exacted of other Citizens for the Building of Men of War, which was an immunity never granted to any besides themselves.

And thus much of the Nine *Archons* in common, I shall now speak of them in particular; only first begging leave to tell you, that concerning the first Original of their Names nothing certain is record'd; but Sigenius conjectures, that the Names of *Βασιλευς*, and *Αρχων*, were in imitation of the chief *Magistrates* of former Ages, wherein the City was first Govern'd by Kings, and then by *Archons*; and that of *Πολιμητης*, in memory of the *General* of the Army, an Officer usually created by the first Kings to assist them in times of War. And the *Οισομητης*, as their Name imports, seem to have been constituted in behalf of the People, to protect them in the possession of their Laws and Liberties, from the usurpation of the other *Archons*, whose power before Solon's regulation of the Common-wealth seems to have been far greater; and more unbounded, than afterwards; for by that Law-giver it was Order'd, that their Offices should consist chiefly in these Things, that follow.

Aρχων, so call'd by way of Eminence, was Chief of the Nine, and is sometimes nain'd *Επανων*, because the Year took it's denomination from him. His Jurisdiction reach'd both Ecclesiastical, and Civil Affairs. It was his Business to determine in all Causes betwixt Men and their Wives; concerning Wives brought to Bed after the Death of their Husbands; concerning Wills and Testaments; concerning Dowries, and Legacies; to take care of Orphans, and provide Tutors, and Guardians for them; to hear the Complaints of such as had been injur'd by their Neighbours; and to Punish such as were addicted to Drunkenness; also to take the first cognizance of some publick Actions, such were those they call'd *Εισοχετης*, *Φάστης*, *Ερδεῖχης*, *Εφυγήστης*, of which in their place. He kept a Court of Judicature in the O-

(a) *Tollius* ibid. Idem ubique laudatur in his capitibus.

deum, where Tryals about Victuals, and other Necessaries were brought before him. It was his Duty also to appoint *Curators*, call'd *Επιμεληται*, to make Provision for the Celebration of the Feasts, call'd *Διετίσαι*, and *Θεριζίαι*, with some other Solemnities; to take care for the regulation of Stage-plays, and provide Singers, Choristers, and other Necessaries for them (a).

Βασιλευς, had a Court of Judicature in the Royal Portico, where he decided all Disputes that happen'd amongst the Priests, and the Sacred Families, such as were the *Ceryces*, *Erebusaiae*, &c. to whom certain Offices in the Celebration of Divine Worship belong'd by Inheritance. Such also, as were accus'd of Impiety, or Prophanation of any of the Mysteries, Temples, or other Sacred things were brought before him. It was his Business to assist in the celebration of the *Eleusinian*, and *Lenæan* Festivals, and all those, in which they ran Races with Torches in their hands, viz. *Panathenea*, *Hephæstia*, and *Promethæa*; and to Offer publick Sacrifices for the Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth; in several of which Duties, he had the Assistance of his Wife, whom they call'd *Βασιλισσα*, who, if not descended from a Family that was of the whole Blood of *Athens*, or had been Marri'd to another Husband before the *Βασιλευς*, was not duly qualified for her Place by Law. Beside this, he had some concernment in Secular Affairs, for Disputes about inanimate things were brought before him; as also accusations of Murder, which it was his Business to take an Account of, and then refer them to the *Areopagites*, amongst whom he had a right of Suffrage, but was oblig'd to lay by his Crown, (which was one of the Badges of his Office) during the Tryal (b).

Πολιμητης, had under his care all the Strangers, and Sojourners in *Athens*, and exercis'd the same Authority upon them, that was us'd by the *Archon* towards the Citizens. It was his Duty to Offer a Solemn Sacrifice to *Enyalius*, (who is by some taken for *Mars*, by others for one of his Attendants) and another to *Diana*, Sirnam'd *Aegospotam*, from one of the *Athenian* Burroughs; to celebrate the Exequies of the famous Patriot *Harmonius*; and to take care, that the Children of those Men that had lost their Lives in their Country's Service, should have a competent Maintenance out of the publick Exchequer.

But because these three *Magistrates* were often, by reason of their Youth, not so well skill'd in the Laws, and Customs of their Country, as might have been wish'd, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was Customary for each of them, to make choice of two Persons of Age, Gravity, and Reputation to sit with them upon the Bench, and direct them as there was Occasion. These they call'd *Παρεδροι*, or *Assessors*, and oblig'd them to undergo the same Probation in the Senate-house, and publick *Forum*, with the other

(a) *Tollius* Onomastic. hic & ubique, *Lippas* in *Aleibiadem*, *Demosthen.* in *Macartas*. *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, & ubique in his capitibus. (b) *Demosthenes* in *Lacritum*, & *Nearam*.

Magistrates, and like them too, to give an Account how they had behav'd themselves in their respective Trusts, when their Offices were expir'd.

The six remaining *Archons* were call'd by one common Name, *Themistæcæ*. They receiv'd Complaints against Persons Guilty of false Accusations, of Calumniating, of Bribery, of Impiety, which also was part of the King's Office, but with this difference, that the Accusers did only φαίνειν τὸν αὐτόν, inform against the Impious, by word of Mouth at the King's Tribunal, whereas before the *Themistæcæ*, they did ρεάφειν, deliver in their Indictment in Writing. Also all Causes, and Disputes between the Citizens, and Strangers, Sojourners, or Slaves, and Controversies about Trade and Merchandize were brought before them. Appeals to the People were Preferr'd, the publick Examination of several of the *Magistrates* perform'd, and the Suffrages in publick Assemblies taken by them. They ratified all publick Contracts, and Leagues, appointed the Days upon which the Judges were to sit, and hear Causes in their several Courts of Judicature, took care that no Laws should be establish'd, but such as conduc'd to the Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and Indicted those, that endeavour'd to seduce the unwary Multitude, and perswade them to give their Consent to what was contrary to the Interest of the Common-wealth.

Eúgenoi, were Ten Officers appointed to assist the *Archons*, and pass the Accounts of the *Magistrates*, and to set a Fine upon such as they found to have imbezzl'd the publick Treasure, or any way injur'd the Common-wealth by their male-administration. Aristotle (a) tells us, they were sometimes call'd Εξεργασι, and Συνήγοροι, and others will have them to be the same with the Λεχται; but these are by Aristotle said to be distinguish'd from them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

On the *Eleven*, so call'd from their Number, were elected out of the Body of the People, each of the Ten *Tribes* sending one; to which there was added a Γραμματεύς, or Register, to make up the Number; sometimes they were call'd Νομοφύλακες, Keepers of the Laws, which appellation was taken from their Office, being in some things not unlike that of our Sheriffs; for they were to see Malefactors put to Execution, and had the Charge of such as were committed to the publick Prison. They had also Power to seize Thieves, Kidnappers, and Highway-men upon Suspicion, and, if they confess'd

(a) *Polit.* l. VI. cap. ultimo.

the Fact, to put them to Death; if not, they were oblig'd to Prosecute them in a Judicial Way.

Φύλαρχοι, were *Magistrates* that presided over the *Athenian Tribes*, one of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards, this Name became peculiar to a Military Command, and the Governors of *Tribes* were call'd Ἐπιμεληταὶ φυλῶν. Their Busines was to take care of the publick Treasure, that belong'd to each *Tribe*, to manage all their Concerns, and call them together to Consult, as oft as any thing happen'd, that required the presence of the whole Body.

Φυλοδοσιλεῖς, seem to have had, in most things, the same Office, with respect to particular *Tribes*, that the Βασιλεῖς had, with respect to the Common-wealth. They were chosen out of the Εὐπατριδαι, or Nobility, had the care of publick Sacrifices, and other Divine Worship peculiar to their respective *Tribes*, and kept their Court in the *Portico* call'd Βασιλείου, and sometimes in the Βασιλεῖον.

Φωτιστεῖς, and Τελτινεῖς, had in the several Φρεγτῖαι, and Τετρῆς the same Power, that the Φύλαρχοι Exercis'd over the whole *Tribe*.

Δημοχοι, had the same Offices in the Δῆμοι, took care of their Revenues, out of which they paid all the Duties required of them, assembled the People in the Burroughs under their Jurisdiction, all whose Names they had written in a Register, and presidèd at the Election of Senators, and other *Magistrates* chosen by Lots. Sometimes we find them call'd Ναύαρχοι, and the Burroughs Ναυαρχῖαι, because each of them was oblig'd, besides two Horse-men, to furnish out one Ship for the publick Service.

Αγελαρχοι, were Six in Chief, but were assisted by Thirty inferior Officers, in laying Fines upon such as came not to publick Assemblies, and making Scrutiny amongst thoſe that were present; such also as were bulie in the Market they compell'd to leave their Buying and Selling, and attend on the publick Busines, and this they did by the help of the Τοξόται, who were certain petty Officers, or rather Servants, much like the *Roman Lictors*, and our Sheriff's *Livery-men*, *Bay-liffs*, &c. the City of *Athens* had a Thousand of them, that liv'd in Tents, erected in the middle of the *Forum*, and were afterwards remov'd to the *Areopagus*. Their name seems to have been taken from the Arms they usually carried with them, in the same manner that the Life-guards of Kings are call'd Δογυφέοι. Sometimes they are call'd Δημοσιοι Ἐποντεῖς, a Name, that was taken from their Offices; sometimes Ποισινοι, from *Poisenus*, one of the Primitive *Athenians*, that either first instituted this Office, or gave rules for the Ordering of it; and sometimes Σκύθαι, from the Countrey of *Scythia*, for generally Men of that Countrey were chosen into this Place, as being Brawny, Sturdy Fellows; and therefore one of them is introduc'd by *Aristophanes*, speaking in an uncouth and Barbarous manner (a). But to return to the

(a) *Aristophanes*, ejusque *Schoisast*. *Achren.* & *Thesmoph.*

Lexiarchi, They were the Persons that had the keeping of *λεξιαρχίας γενεμητρίας*, or *λεξιαρχία*, or publick Register of the whole City, in which were written the Names of all the Citizens, as soon as they came to be of Age to enter upon their paternal Inheritance, which they call'd *λέξις*.

Nομοφύλακες, were Officers, whose Business it was to see that both the *Magistrates*, and Common People liv'd conformably to the *Laws*, and to Punish the Stubborn and Disobedient (*a*). To this End in publick Assemblies they had Seats appointed with the *Προεδρος*, that they might be ready to Oppose any Man that should Act contrary to the *Laws*, and receiv'd Customs, or Promote any thing against the publick Good. As a Token of the Honourable Station they were plac'd in, they always wore a white Ribband in the Solemn Games, and publick Shows, and had Chairs erected for them, over-against those of the Nine *Archons*.

Nομοδιτοι, were a Thousand in Number, their Office was not (as the Name seems to imply) to enact new *Laws* by their own Authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the Senate, and the People's ratification; but to inspect the old, and if they found any of them useless, or prejudicial, as the State of Affairs then stood, or Contradictory to another, they caus'd them to be abrogated by an *Act of the People*. Beside this, they were to take care that no Man should Plough, or Dig deep Ditches within the *Peloponnesian Wall*, to apprehend Offenders, and send them to the *Archon*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Treasurers*, and *General Receivers of Athens* were of several Sorts; but before I proceed, to give an Account of their Offices, it will be necessary to premise a word or two concerning the publick Revenues; which are by the Accurate *Sigonius* divided into these four following Sorts;

1. *Tiaria*, signifie those Revenues that were brought in by Lands, Mines, Woods, and other publick Possessions, set apart for the use of the Common-wealth; and the Tributes paid by the *Sojourners*, and the *Free-d-Servants*; as also the Customs required of certain Arts, and Trades, and particularly of Merchants for the exportation, and importation of their Goods.

2. *Φόροι*, were the annual Payments exacted of all their Tributary Cities, which after *Xerxes's Overthrow*, were first levy'd by the *Athenians*, as Contributions to enable them to carry on the War, in case, as was fear'd, the Enemy should make a new Invasion upon them. The first

(*a*) *Cicero de Legib. lib. III. Columella de Re Rust. lib. XII. cap. III.*

Collector of this Tax was *Aristides*, who (as *Plutarch* reports in his *Life*) assesse'd all particular Persons, Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability; and the Sum rais'd by him, amounted to Four-hundred, and Sixty Talents. To this *Pericles* added near a Third part, (proceeds my Author) for *Thucydides* reports, that in the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*, the *Athenians* had coining in from their Confederates Six-hundred Talents. After *Pericles's Death* the *Orators* and Men Powerful amongst the People, proceeded to encrease it by little and little, till it amounted to One-thousand, and Three-hundred Talents; and that not so much because of the extraordinary Expensiveness of the Wars, as by exciting the People to Large-sesses, Play-house-expences, and the erecting of Statues, and Temples.

3. *Εἰσόδαι*, were Taxes laid upon the *Citizens*, as well as *Sojourners*, and *Free-d-Servants*, by the Order of the Assembly, and Senate, for the defraying of extraordinary Charges, occasion'd by long and unsuccessful Wars, or any other Means.

4. *Τιμηπότερα*, were Fines and Amercements, all which were carried into the Exchequer, except the Tenth part, that was given to *Minerva*, and the Fiftieth part, which belong'd to the rest of the Gods, and the Heroes call'd *Επωνύμοι*. Having said thus much of the publick Money, I shall now proceed to the Persons, that had the Disposal, and Management of it.

Επιστόλη, was elected by Lot out of the *Prytanea*, and had in his Custody the Keys of the publick Exchequer, which Trust was thought so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the rest of the Honours and Offices of this *Magistrate* I shall speak in another place.

Παλῆται, were Ten in number, and, together with those that had the care of the Money design'd to be expended upon publick Shows, had the Power of letting out the Tribute-money, and all the Revenues, and Selling Estates that were Confiscated; all which bargains were ratified in the name of their President. Beside this, it was their Office to Convict such as had not paid the Tribute, call'd *Μετρίκοι*, and Sell them by Auction. Under these were certain inferiour Officers, call'd *Εκλογεῖς*, whose business it was to Collect the publick Money, for such as had Leases of the City's Revenues, whom they call'd *Τελῶναι*; these were always Persons of good Credit themselves, and beside their own Bonds, were oblig'd to give other Security for the payment of the Money due according to their Leases, in which if they fail'd any longer than till the Ninth *Prytanea*, they were under a Forfeiture of twice the Principal, to be paid by themselves, or their Sureties, upon neglect of which they were all cast into Prison, and their Estates confiscated (*a*). After the expulsion of the *Thirty Tyrants*, certain Officers, call'd *Συνιδρυτοι*, were Created, with power to take cognizance of all Complaints about the confiscation of Goods, as appears from an Oration of *Lysias* in behalf of *Nicias*.

(*a*) *Suidas, Ulpianus in Demosthen. &c.*

Επιχειρηται, were Officers that Rated all those, of whom Taxes and Contributions were requir'd, according to every Man's Ability, kept the publick Accounts, and Prosecuted such as were behind hand with their Contributions.

Αποδίκται, were Ten General Receivers, to whom all the publick Revenues, Contribution-money, and Debts ow'd to the publick, were paid, which done, they Register'd all their Receptions, and cross'd out of the publick Debt-book, such as had discharg'd their Debts, in the presence of the whole Senate. If any Controversie happen'd about the Money, or Taxes, they had power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty Point, or of high Concern, for such they referr'd to the hearing of some of the Courts of Judicature.

Αντιγραφος τοις Βελτισ, was a publick Notarie, appointed, at the first institution of the Office, by Elec'tion, and afterwards by Lot, to take a Counter-pain of the Accounts of the *Αποδίκται*, for the prevention of all Deceit, and Mistakes.

Επιλογοιαι, or *Επιλογομαιου*, had the same Offices in the Tributary Cities, that belong'd to the *Αποδίκται* in their own Territories.

Πράξτης, were those that receiv'd the Money due to the City, from Fines laid upon Criminals.

Ταξιας τοις Εταιραις, or *Ταξιας τοις Θεωραις*, were those that receiv'd that part of the Fines, which was due to *Minerva*, and the rest of the Gods, which was done before the Senate. They were Ten in Number, were chosen by Lots out of the *Περιηγοτοφεδυνοι*, or Nobles, and had power of remitting any Man's Fine, if it was made appear to them, that the Magistrates had unjustly impos'd it. *Pollux* tells us, they were the same with those they call'd *Κωλαζεται*, and these, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* reports, us'd to receive not only the Money due to the Gods from Fines, but other Incomes design'd for Civil Uses, and particularly the *Τελεώδαι*, distributed amongst the Judges, and therefore call'd *Δικαιοσηγοις μηδος*. They were so nam'd q. *Κωλαζεται*, because they were a kind of Priests, and us'd to claim as their Due the Reliques of Sacrifices; amongst which were the Skins, and the *Κωλαι* (a).

Ζητηται, were Officers appointed upon extraordinary Occasions to enquire after the publick Debts, when thro' the neglect of the Receivers, or by other means they were run up to large Sums, and began to be in danger of being lost, if they were not call'd in.

The distinction of the Officers hitherto mention'd, has been taken chiefly from the different Receptions of the publick Money; I shall proceed in *Sigoni's* method, and give you an account in the next place of those, that were distinguish'd by the different manners of disbursing it. And to this End, you must know the Publick Treasure was divided into Three sorts, according to the variou: Uses in which it was employ'd, the First, they call'd

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Arribus, Vespis.*

1. *Χειρότεραι τοις διοικήσεις*, being such as were expended in civil Uses.

2. *Στρατηπαται*, those that were required to defray the Charges of the War.

3. *Θεωραις*, such as were consecrated to pious Uses; in which they included the Expences at Plays, publick Shows, and Festivals, because most of them were celebrated in Honour of some of the Gods, or in Memory of some deceas'd Heroe; and *Pollux* tells us, the Money given to the Judges, and the People, that met in the publick Assemblies, was call'd by this Name.

Ταξιας τοις Διοικήσεις, otherwise call'd *Επιμελητης τοις καναιν αποστολαις*, was the principal Treasurer, being far superior to all the rest in Honour, and Power, created by the People, and continu'd in his Office for Five Years, after which, if he had behav'd himself with Honesty and Integrity, it was an usual thing for him to be elected a Second and Third time.

Αντιγραφος τοις Διοικήσεις, seems to have been one that kept a Counter-pain of the chief Treasurer's accounts, to preserve them from being falsified, or corrupted.

Ταξιας τοις Στρατηπαται, was the Pay-master General of the Army.

Ταξιας τοις Θιασελκαι, or *O επι τη Θεωραι*, had the disposal of the *Θιασελκαι χειματι*, for the Uses above mention'd. But the greatest and most troublesome part of his Office consisted in distributing them to the Poor Citizens, to buy Seats in the Theater; which Custom was first begun and enact'd into a Law by *Pericles*, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty (a); for, as *Libanius* observes, in the Primitive Ages of the Common-wealth, when the Theaters were compos'd of Wood, the People, being eager of getting places, us'd to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes Beat and Wound one another; to prevent which inconvenience, it was order'd that every one, before he enter'd into the Theater, should pay two *Oboli*, or a *Drachm*, according to *Harpocration*, for admittance; and least by this means the Poorer sorte should be depriv'd of the pleasure of Seeing, every Man was allow'd to demand that Sun of the publick Exchequer (b).

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

Στραται, were so call'd from their Office, which was to lay in Corn for the use of the City, and to this end the *Ταξιας τοις διοικήσεις*, was to furnish them with as much Money, as they had occasion for.

(a) *Plutarch. Pericle.* (b) *In Olynthiac.*

Athens was Seated in a barren and unfruitful Countrey, that was not able to furnish it's own Inhabitants with necessary Provisions, wherefore they were forc'd to fetch Corn from Foreign Nations, and supply their own Wants by the Superfluities of others, and this it was, that caus'd them to institute this Office.

Σιτοφύλακες, were Fifteen in Number, Ten of which Officiated in the City, and Five in the *Piræus*; their business was to take care, that Corn and Meal should not be Sold at too dear a Price, and to appoint the size of Bread. Nearly related to these were the **Σιτουμέργοι**, or **Ἄνθεταιοι**, whose Office was to see, that the Measures of Corn were just and equal.

Aρχαριμοι, were Ten in Number, Five belonging to the City, and as many to the *Piraeus*. Their business lay in the Market, where they had the care of all Vendibles, except Corn; and were especially oblig'd to see that no Man wrong'd, or any way circumvented another in Buying, or Selling (§).

Mitrapæches, were Officers that inspected all sorts of Measures, except those of Corn; there were Five of them in the City, and double that number in the Piræus, in which the greatest Mart in Attica was kept.

Eunuchs impériaux, were Officers that belong'd to the Haven; they were Ten in number, and the Chief part of their business was, to take care, that two parts, at least, of all the Corn, that was brought into the Port, should be carry'd into the City, and that no Silver should be exported by any Private person, except such as design'd to Trade in Corn (b).

Naurodixay, or *Teatidixay*, had Cognizance of Controversies that happen'd between Merchants, and Mariners, and examin'd Persons, that, being the Children of Strangers both by the Father, and Mother's side, had by fraud inserted their Names into the publick Register, thereby claiming the Privileges of Free-born Citizens; this they did upon the Twenty-sixth of every Month. Not much different from these were the *Eπαρχίαις*, according to *Sigoniūs*, and *Emmīus*'s account of them, only they were to hear such Causes in matters of Trade, as requir'd dispatch, and could not be differr'd to the Monthly Sessions of the *Naurodixay*. But *Pollux* tells us, that, beside those Tryals, they had Cognizance of Controversies about Feasts and publick Entertainments.

Asurópigs, were publick Scavengers.

Oddmoris, were the Surveyors of the Ways.

Ἐπιστέλλει τὰ ὑδάτα, were those that took care of the *Aqua-ducts*, and other Conveyances of Waters. But the Fountains belong'd to other Officers, call'd Κερωφύλακες. And the Offices of these Four are by Aristotle comprehended under the name of *Ἄστυοργία*.

Επιστρέψαντες ἐπί τοῦ θάνατον, were Officers, with whom was entrusted the Care, Contrivance, and Management of all publick Edifices, except the City-Walls, for which there were peculiar *Curators*, call'd

from their Offices *Tetxopoviai*, whose number was usually the same with that of the *Tribes*, every one of which had the choice of one *Tetxopovia*, as often as Occasion requir'd.

Σαφεοντες, were in number Ten, and, as their Name imports, took care that the Young-men behav'd themselves with Sobriety and Moderation (*a*). For the same end, the *Thesmophore* us'd ro walk about the City in the Night-time, and correct such as they found committing any Disorder (*b*).

Officers, were Three Officers, that provided Lights and Torches at the publick Entertainments, and took care that every Man drunk his due Proportion (*c*).

Tuwangrogi, also had an Office at publick Feasts, Sacrifices, Marriages, and other Solemnities, and took care that nothing should be done contrary to Custom (d).

Tuwangxouμοι, were *Magistrates*, whose busines it was to Regulate the Women's Apparel, according to the Rules of Modesty and Decency; and set a Fine upon such as were too Nice, and Phantaſtical in their Dresses, which they expos'd to publick View in the *Ceramicus*.

*Aet*teg*z*ji***, were Persons of considerable Estates, who by their own Tribe, or the whole People, were order'd to perform some publick Duty, or supply the Common-wealth with Necessaries at their own Expences. Of these there were divers Sorts, all which were elected out of Twelve-hundred of the richest Citizens, which were appointed by the People to undergo, when they should be requir'd, all the burden-som and chargeable Offices in the Common-wealth, every Tribe electing an Hundred and Twenty out of their own Body; tho', as *Sigonius* has observ'd, this was contrary to *Solon's Constitution*, by which every Man of what Quality soever, was oblig'd to serve the Publick, according to his Ability.*

These Twelve-hundred were divided into two Parts, one of which consisted of such as were possess'd of the greatest Estates, the other of Persons of meaner Abilities. Each of these were divided into Ten Companies, call'd *Συμμορίαι*, which were distinct Bodies, and had distinct Governours, and Officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two Parts, according to the Estates of the Persons that compos'd them; and thus out of the first Ten *Συμμορίαι*, were appointed Three-hundred of the most wealthy Citizens in *Athens*, who upon all Exigencies were to furnish the Common-wealth with necessary supplies of Money, and, together with the rest of the Twelve-hundred, were requir'd to perform all extraordinary Duties in their Turns (*e*).

Xogyz, were at the expence of Players, Singers, Dancers, and Musitians, as oft as there was Occasion for them at the celebration of their publick Festivals, and Solemnities (f).

(a) *Theophrast.*, de Legibus. (b) *Demosthen.*, in Læciphum.

(a) *Aeschin.* in *Axiocho.* (b) *Ulpian.* in *Orat. advers. Mediam.* (c) *Athenaeum*
lib. X. (d) *Idem lib. VI.* (e) *Ulpian.* in *Olynthiac.* II. & *Aeschin.* I. (f) *I. I. I. I.*
Orat. de Muneribus. *Plutarctus de Prudentia Atheniensium.*

Γυμνοῖσιν, were at the charge of the Oil, and such like necessaries for the Wrestlers, and other Combatants (*a*).

Εστιατορεῖς τῷ φυλῶν, were such as upon publick Festivals made an Entertainment for their whole Tribe (*b*).

Τελετήρχεροι, were oblig'd to provide all sorts of Necessaries for the Fleet (*c*).

Εισφέροντες, were requir'd, according to their Abilities, to supply the Publick with Money for the payment of the Army, and other Occasions (*d*).

Beside these, upon extraordinary Occasions, when the usual supplies were not sufficient, as in Times of long and dangerous Wars, the Rich Citizens us'd generously to Contribute as much as they were able to the publick Necessities, beside what was requir'd of them, and could not be avoided. These are by *Pollux* call'd *πολιτεῖται πόλεις*, *εἰσφέροντες ἔργα*, *ἱθελονταί*, &c.

Others there were, that were not properly *Magistrates*, yet, because they were employ'd in publick Busines, must not be omitted in this Place.

Such were the *Σωδίης*, or *Orators* appointed by the People, to Plead in behalf of any Law, that was to be abrogated, or enacted, of which I have spoken in another place.

Πρύτανες, were Ten in number, elected by Lots, to Plead publick Causes in the Senate-house, or Assembly, and for every Cause wherein they were retain'd, they receiv'd a *Drachm* out of the publick Exchequer. They were sometimes call'd *Σωνιζοτοι*, and their Wages *τὸ σωνιζεῖν* (*e*).

Πέτραις, were *Emassadors* chosen by the Suffrages of the People to treat with Foreign States. Sometimes they were sent with full Power to act according as themselves should judge most conduicive to the Safety and Honour of the Common-wealth, and then they were *Πέτραις αὐτοκράτορες*, or *Plenipotentiaries*, and were not oblig'd, at their return home, to render an Account of their Proceedings; but their Power was usually limited, and they liable to be call'd in Question, if they exceeded their Commission, by concluding any Busines, besides what they were sent about, or in any other Manner, than what was prescrib'd them.

The *Πέτραις* were usually attended by a *Κῆρυξ*, or *Herald*; and sometimes the *Κῆρυξ* were sent upon *Embassies* by themselves, as *Sismonius* observes, especially in the primitive Times, when all *Embassies* were perform'd by these Men, who were accounted Sacred and Inviolable, not only as being descended from *Mercury*, and employ'd in his Office, but because they were publick *Mediators*, without whom all Entercourse, and hopes of Reconcilement between Enemies must be at an End. Therefore, as *Eustathius* observes (*f*), whenever *Ulysses*

(*a*) *Ulianum in Leptinian.* (*b*) *Demosthen.* *Metiana, & Leptiniana.* (*c*) *Fla-*
rarch. loc. citato. (*d*) *Lysias Orat. de Muneribus.* (*e*) *Αὐτοκράτορας. Scholiast. in*
Vespas. (*f*) *Iliad. xii. p. 183. Edit. Basil.*

in his Travels dispatch'd his Scouts to discover what sort of Countrey and People, the Winds and Seas had brought them to, he always sent a *Κῆρυξ* along with them, whereby they were secur'd from receiving any harm in all parts of the World, whither they were driven, except in the Countries of the *Lastrygones*, *Cyclopes*, and such Savages, as were altogether Barbarous, and void of Humanity.

Beside the fore-mention'd *Magistrates* and *Officers*, there were several others, as the *Πρυταῖς*, *Πρεσβεῖς*, &c. But of these, and such as had Military Commands, or were employ'd in the divine Service, I shall give an Account in their own places.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Council of the Amphictyones.

BEING, in the next place, to speak of the *Athenian Councils*, and Courts of Justice, I cannot omit the famous *Council of the Amphictyones*; which, tho' it sat not at *Athens*, nor was peculiar to that City, yet the *Athenians*, and almost all the rest of the *Grecians* were concern'd in it.

It is commonly thought to have been first instituted, and receiv'd it's Name from *Amphictyon*, the son of *Deucalion* (*a*); but *Strabo* is of Opinion, that *Acrisius*, King of the *Argives*, was the first that founded, and gave Laws for the Conduct and Management of it (*b*); and then it must have it's Name from *Auxiliators*, because the Inhabitants of the Countries round about met in that *Council* (*c*); and *Andronit in Pausanias* tells us, that the primitive Name of those Senators was *Amphictiones*, however in later Ages it hath been chang'd into *Amphictyones*. But the former Opinion receives confirmation from what *Herodotus* reports of the Place, where this *Council* was Assembled, viz: That in it was a Temple Dedicated to *Amphictyon*, and *Ceres Amphictyonis* (*d*); and *Strabo* also reports, that this Goddess was Worshipp'd by the *Amphictyones*.

The Place, in which they Assembled, was call'd *Thermopylæ*, and sometimes *Pyle*, because it was a strait, narrow Passage, and, as it were, a *Gate*, or Inlet into the Countrey. Hence these *Councillors* are often call'd *Πυληγέται*, and the *Council Πυλαις* (*e*); But the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* tells us, that this Name was given them from *Pylades*, the Friend of *Orestes*, who was the first that was arraign'd in this Court, having affilid in the Murder of *Clytaemnestra*. Sometimes they met at

(*a*) *Pausanias Phocicus, Suidas, &c.* (*b*) *Geogr. I .IX.* (*c*) *Suidas.* (*d*) *Lib. VII. cap. CC.* (*e*) *Herodot. Herod. Suidas, Harpocration, Strabo, Pausanias A-*
cticitus.

Delphi, where they were entrusted with the care of *Apollo's Temple*, and the *Pythian Games*, which were celebrated in that Place (*a*), the Situation of which rendered it very commodious for them to Assemble in, for it was Seated in the midst of *Greece*, as the *Geographers* tell us.

The Persons, that compos'd this Assembly, were, according to *Pausanias*, the Representatives of the *Ionians*, amongst whom the *Athenians* were included, *Dolopeans*, *Thessalians*, *Ænianians*, *Magnesians*, *Melceans*, *Phthians*, *Dorians*, *Phocians*, and the *Locrians*, that Inhabited near Mount *Cnemis*, and were call'd, upon that account, *Eponemidi*. *Strabo* reports, that, at their first Institution, they were Twelve in Number, and were delegated by so many Cities. *Harpocration* also, and *Suidas* reckon up Twelve Nations, of which this Council consisted, viz. *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Perrhaebians*, *Bœotians*, *Magnesians*, *Acheans*, *Phthians*, *Melians*, *Dolopians*, *Ænianians*, *Delphians*, *Phocians*. *Æschines* reckons only Eleven, instead of the *Acheans*, *Ænianians*, *Delphinians*, and *Dolopians*, placing these Three only, viz. *Thessalians*, *Oeteani*, and *Locrians* (*b*).

Afterwards, in the Time of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander the Great*, the *Phocians*, having ransacked and spoil'd the *Delphian Temple*, were by a Decree of the *Amphictyones* Invaded by the rest of the *Grecians*, as a Sacrilegious and Impious Nation, and after a Ten-Years War, depriv'd of the Privilege of fitting amongst them, together with their Allies, the *Lacedæmonians*, who were one part of the *Dorians*, and, under that Name, had formerly Sate in this Assembly; and their vacant Places were supply'd by the *Macedonians*, who were admitted, in return of the good Services they had done in the *Phocian War*. But about Sixty-eight Years after, when the *Gauls*, under the Command of *Brennus*, made a terrible Invasion upon *Greece*, Ravaging and Destroying all before them, sparing nothing Sacred or Prophane, and with a Barbarous and Sacrilegious Fury, Robb'd and Despoil'd the *Delphian Temple*; the *Phocians* behav'd themselves with so much Gallantry, signalizing themselves in the Battel above the rest of the *Grecians*, that they were thought to have made a sufficient Atonement for their former Offence, and restor'd to their Ancient Privilege and Dignity (*c*).

In the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar* they suffer'd another Alteration, for that Emperour, having worsted *Antony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*, in Memory of that Victory Founded a new City, call'd it *Nicopolis*, and was delirous that it's Inhabitants shou'd be admitted into this Assembly, and to make Way for them, ordered, that the *Magnesians*, *Melceans*, *Phthians*, and *Ænianians*, who till that Time had distinct Voices, should be number'd with the *Thessalians*, and send no Representatives, but such as were common to them all; and that the Right of Suffrage, that formerly belong'd to those Nations, and the *Dolopians*

(*a*) *Pausan. Phocicis, &c. Achæis, aliisque.* (*b*) *Orat. Necl Παρεπεμψ.* (*c*) *Pausan. Phocicis.*

(a People whose State and Name were extinct long before) should be given to the *Nicopolitans* (*a*).

Strabo, who flourish'd in the Reigns of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*, reports that this *Council*, as also the general Assembly of the *Achæans*, was at that Time dissolv'd; but *Pausanias*, who liv'd many Years after, under *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that in his Time it remain'd entire, and that the number of the *Amphictyones* was then Thirty, being delegated by the following Nations, viz. the *Nicopolitans*, *Macedonians*, *Thessalians*, *Bœotians*, (who in former Times were call'd *Æolians*, and Inhabited some Parts of *Thessaly*) *Phocians*, *Delphians*, *Locrians*, call'd *Ozole*, with those that lie oppolite to *Eubœa*, *Dorians*, *Athenians*, and *Eubœans*.

This Assembly had every Year only two set Meetings, one in the beginning of Spring, the other in Autumn (*b*), except some extraordinary Occasion called them together. The Design of their Meetings, was to determin publick Quarrels, and decide the Differences that happen'd between any of the Cities of *Greece*, when no other Means were left to compose them. Their Determinations were always receiv'd with a great deal of Respect and Veneration, and held inviolable, the *Grecians* being always ready to joyn against those that rejected them, as common Enemies.

An Assembly of Neighbouring Cities, met to Consult about the common Good, seems usually to have been call'd *Αμφικτυωνια*, and, beside the Famous one already spoken of, *Strabo* mentions another held in the Temple of *Neptune*, at *Træzen*, at which the Delegates of the Seven following States were present, viz. *Hermione*, *Epidaurus*, *Ægina*, *Athens*, the *Prasians*, *Nauplians*, and the *Orchomenians* of *Bœotia* (*c*).

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Athenian *Εκκλησίαι*, or Publick Assemblies.

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, was an *Assembly* of the People met together according to Law, to Consult about the Good of the Commonwealth. It was of two sorts, the First of which they call'd *Kueia*, the other *Σύγκλητος*.

Kueia, were so call'd, διὰ τὴν κυρεῖν τὸν ψηφισματο, because in them the People confirm'd and ratified the Decrees of the Senate; or rather, because they were held upon ἡμέρα κυρεῖα, or ἡερομενη τῇ νομιμῃ, Days constant, and appointed by Law (*d*).

They were held four Times in Five and Thirty-days, which was

(*d*) *Idem ibid.* (*b*) *Strabo. loc. cit.* (*c*) *Geogr. lib. VIII.* (*d*) *Suidas, Arioph. Schol. Achæa.*

the time that each Πρυτανεῖα, or Company of *Prytanes*, presidèd in the Senate. The first *Assembly* was employ'd in approving, and rejecting *Magistrates*, in hearing Actions call'd *Eisimyelia*, and proposals concerning the publick Good; as also in hearing the Catalogue of such Possessions, as were confiscated for the Service of the Common-wealth, and several other things. The second made Provision both for the Community, and Private Persons; and it was permitted every Man to prefer any Petition, or speak his Judgement concerning either of them. In the third, Audience was given to the Embassadors of Foreign States. The fourth was wholly taken up with Religion, and matters relating to the Divine Worship (a). The First *Assembly* was upon the Eleventh Day of the *Prytanæa*; the second, upon the Twentieth; the third, upon the Thirtieth; the fourth, upon the Thirty-third. Some there are, that reckon by the Month, and tell us, that they had three *Assemblies* every Month, upon the First, Tenth, and Thirtieth Days; or upon the Tenth, Twentieth, and Thirtieth (b). But the former Computation seems to be more agreeable to the Custom of the Ancient *Athenians*, amongst whom were Ten Πρυτανεῖαι, according to the number of their *Tribes*, each of which Rul'd Thirty-five Days, in which they had Four *Assemblies*. Afterwards, the number of the *Tribes* being increas'd by an Accession of two New ones, the Πρυτανεῖαι, were also Twelve in number, each of which rul'd a Month, and then perhaps *Ulpian's* Computation might take place.

Σιγκλῆποι Εκκλησίαι, were so call'd διὸ τὸ συγκλεῖν, because the People were summon'd together, whereas in the *Kvēia*, they met of their own Accord, without receiving any Notice from the *Magistrates*, as *Ulpian* observes (c). The Persons, that summon'd the People, were commonly the Στρατηγοὶ, or the *Kingues* in their Names, because the Occasion of these extraordinary *Assemblies* was, for the most part, the coming on of some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous War; sometimes the *Prytanei*, if the Senate so order'd it, as they usually did, when any Civil Affairs, in which the Στρατηγοὶ were not concern'd, requir'd a quicker Dispatch, than could be given them in the *Kvēia*.

Κατεκλησίαι, as *Pollux*, or *Κατεκλησίαι*, as *Hesychius* calls them, were *Assemblies* held upon some very weighty and momentous Affair, to which they summon'd not only those *Citizens*, that resided in the City, but all that liv'd in the Country, or were in the Ships, then at Anchor in the Haven.

The places, where the *Εκκλησίαι* were Assembled, were several, as First, *Ἄρεα*, or the Market-place; and there, not the *Athenians* only, but most other Cities, had their publick Meetings, because it was usually very capacious. Hence the *Assemblies* themselves came to be call'd *Ἄρει*, and to make a Speech, ἀρεότερος, as *Harpocration* observes.

Πύλη, was a Place near the Cittadel, so call'd Διὰ τὸ πινυκιῶδες τοῖς λαθοῖς, ή τοῖς κρεπίδαις, ή Διὰ τὸ πινυκιῶδες in αὐτῇ τὸς γελάστρος,

(a) *Pollux* l. VIII. c. VIII. (b) *Ulpian*. in *Demosthen.* *Aristoph.* Schol. (c) In *Orat. de falsi Legat.*

because

because it was fill'd with Stones, or Seats set close together, or from the Crowds of Men in the *Assemblies*, and therefore πινυκίς, is by the Comedians taken for the Thronging and Pressing of a Multitude (a). It was remarkable for nothing more, than the meanness of it's Buildings, and Furniture, whereby in Ages, that most affected Gaiety and Splendor, it remain'd a Monument of the Ancient Simplicity (b).

The Theater of *Bacchus*, in later Times was the usual place, in which the *Assemblies* were held (c), but even then *Pnyx* was not wholly forsaken, it being against Law to Decree any Man a Crown, or Elect any *Magistrates* in any other Place, as *Pollux*, or, at least, the Στρατηγοὶ, as *Hesychius* reports.

The Ordinary *Assemblies* were held in the fore-mention'd Places, but such as were call'd upon extraordinary Occasions, were not confin'd to any certain Place, being sometimes held in the *Piræus*, where there was a *Forum*, call'd Ιαπωνίας ἄρεα, *Munychia*, or any other Place capacious enough to contain the People.

The *Magistrates*, that had the care and management of these *Assemblies*, were the *Prytanes*, *Epistata*, and *Proedri*.

The *Prytanei* sometimes call'd the People together, and always before their meeting set up a Πρόζευμα, in some place of general Concourse, in which was contain'd the Matters to be consulted upon in the following *Assembly*, to the end that every Man might have time to consider of them, before he gave his Judgment (d).

Προεδροί, were so call'd from the first places, which they had in the *Assemblies*. Whilst the *Tribes* of *Athens* were no more than Ten, the *Proedri* were Nine in number, being appointed by Lots out of the Nine *Tribes*, which at that time were exempted from being *Prytanei*. Their Busines was to propose to the People the Things they were to deliberate upon, and determin in that Meeting (e), at the End of which their Offices expir'd.

Ἐπιστάτης, the President of the *Assembly*, was chosen by Lots out of the *Proedri*; the chief part of his Office seems to have consisted, in granting the People Liberty to give their Voices, which they were not permitted to do, till he had given the Signal (f).

If the People were remiss in coming to the *Assemblies*, the *Magistrates* us'd their utmost Endeavours to compel them; they shut up all the Gates, that only excepted, thro' which they were to pas to the *Assembly*, they took care that all Vendibles should be carried out of the Market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and if this was not sufficient, the *Logiste* (whose busines this was) took a Cord dy'd with Vermilion, with which they detatch'd two of the *Tetrapodes* into the Market, where one of them standing on one side, and another on that which was opposite, pursu'd all they found there, and mark'd with the Cord as many as they caught,

(a) *Aristoph.* Schol. *Acharn.* *Equit.* &c. (b) *Pollux* lib. VIII. c. VIII. (c) *Demosthen.* *Medicina.* (d) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (e) *Ulpianus in Timocrat.* (f) *Harpocration*, *Demosthenes Androtiana*, *Aeschines in tessiphon.*

all which had a certain Fine set upon them, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* observes at this Verse,

Oīδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λελεῖται, καὶ νῦν καὶ κάτω
Τὸ χοινίον φύγει τὸ μεμλητωρίον (a).

They in the *Forum* chat, and up and down
Scamper t'avoid the Cord Vermilion-dy'd.

Mr. Abell.

If any Boisterous and Tempestuous Weather, or sudden Storm, which they call'd *Διονυσία* (b), or Earth-quake happen'd, or any Inauspicious Omen appear'd, the *Assembly* was immediately adjourn'd. But if all things continu'd in their usual Course, they proceeded in this Manner.

First, the place, where they were appointed to meet, was purified by killing young Pigs, which, as was usual in such *Lustrations*, they carried round about the utmost Bounds of it; on the outside of which no Man was permitted to stand, because those places were accounted Profane and Unsanctified, and therefore unfit for the transacting business of so great consequence, as that in which the Welfare and Safety of the State was nearly concern'd; this we learn from *Aristophanes*, in whom the publick *Cryer* warns the People to stand on the inside of the *κρηπήμα*, for so they call'd the Sacrifices Offer'd at Expiations,

Πλέιστος, οὐδὲ εἴτε ήτε τὸ κρηπήματος.

The Person, that Officiated in the *Lustration*, was call'd *Kaθηγητής*, and *Πειστής*, from *Πεισία*, another Name for *Kaθηγητής* (c), and *Επικέχει*, according to *Pollux*.

The *Expiatory Rites* being ended, the publick *Cryer* made a Solemn Prayer for the Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and the good Success of their Counsels and Undertakings (d). For amongst the Primitive Heathens, all things were carried on with a great shew of Piety and Devotion; and so great a share they thought their Gods had in the management of Human Affairs, that they never undertook any thing of Weight or Moment, especially in publick Business, without having first invok'd their Direction, and Assistance.

Then he pronounc'd a bitter Excrection against such, as should endeavour any thing in that *Assembly* to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth, praying, That he, and his whole Family might be made remarkable examples of the Divine Vengeance (e).

Then the *Proedri* propos'd the things, that were to be Consulted about, and repeated the Decree of the Senate, which, in most businesses of Importance, took care that nothing should be propos'd to

(a) *Achern.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol.* ibid (c) *Aristoph. Schol.* ibid. & *Concionatric.* &c. *Suidae, Harpocration.* (d) *Demosthen. Timoer. st.* (e) *Demosthen. Neg. Parap. p. 25.*

the

the *Assembly*, before it had pass'd their House. Then the People were ask'd, whether the Senate's Decree should pass into a Law; and this they call'd *Προχωροτονία*, as being antecedent to the final determination. If they approv'd it, Good; if not, a Consultation was to be held about it, in this Method;

The *Proedri* having given the Command, the *Cryer* proclaim'd with a loud Voice, *Tis ἀρρεβέσθαι βάλεται*; Who will make an Oration? Then first those, that were above Fifty Years of Age, rose up, and ascending the *Suggestum* deliver'd their Opinions, after them the next in Years, and so on to the Youngest (a). For as they judg'd it unreasonable, that any Man's Quality or Age (so he were not under Thirty) should debarr him from uttering what he had conceiv'd for the good of the Common-wealth, so on the other Hand, it was thought very undecent, and unbecoming for Young-men to give their Opinions, before they had heard what were the Sentiments of such, as Years and Experience had render'd more fit and able to judge.

But the Wisdom of the Law-giver thought it not expedient to permit every Man without distinction to deliver his Opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous Crime, of Impiety, Prophaneness, or Debauchery, had Fled from their Colours, or were deeply Indebted to the Common-wealth, he excluded from having any thing to do in such Consultations (b); it being scarce probable that Persons of wicked Lives, or desperate Fortunes should endeavour any thing conducive to the Peace and Prosperity of the State, but rather that they should design the Confusion and Ruin of it, that themselves might be enrich'd with the Spoils of Honest Men, and be at Liberty to take their full Career in their unlawful Pleasures, without the restraint of Laws, and fear of Punishments.

When the debates were ended, the *Cryer* by the Command of the *Epistata*, or *Proedri* as others report, ask'd the People, Whether they would Consent to the Decree? permitting them to give their Voices, and thereby either establish, or reject it, the doing which they call'd *Επιψήφιζεν τὸ Φύσισμα*, or *Διδίνει Αξιογοτονίαν τῷ δῆμῳ*.

The manner of giving their Suffrages, was by holding up their Hands, and therefore they call'd it *Χειροτονία*; and *Χειροτονεῖ* signifies to Ordain, or Establish any thing; *διπλανοτονεῖ*, to disannull by Suffrage. This was the common Method of Voting, but in some Cases, as particularly when they depriv'd *Magistrates* of their Offices for Male-administration, they gave their Votes in private, least the Power and Greatness of the Persons accus'd, should lay a restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their Judgments and Inclinations.

As soon as the People had done Voting, the *Proedri*, having carefully examin'd the number of the Suffrages, pronounc'd the Decree ratified, or thrown out, according as the Major-part had approv'd, or

(a) *Aristophan. Achern. Demosthenes, &c. Schines in Ctesiphon..* (b) *Demosthen. in Aristot. Schines in Ctesiphon.*

M

rejected

rejected it. The Business being over, the *Prytanes* dismiss'd the Assembly, as we read in *Aristophanes* (a),

Οἱ τὸ Πρύτανες λύσσι τὰ Εκκλησίαν.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Senate of the Five-hundred.

By Solon's Constitution the whole Power and Management of Affairs were plac'd in the People, it was their Prerogative to receive Appeals from the Courts of Justice, to abrogate old Laws, and enact new, to make what Alterations in the State they judg'd convenient, and, in short, all Matters, whether Publick or Private, Foreign or Domestick, Civil, Military, or Religious were determin'd by them.

But because it was dangerous, that Things of such vast Moment, and Concern should be without any farther care committed to the Disposal, and Management of a giddy and unthinking Multitude, that every cunning and subtil Fellow might impose upon by smooth Words, and fair Pretences, and perswade to enact Things contrary to their own real Interests, and destructive of the Common-wealth; the wise Law-giver to prevent such pernicious Consequences, judg'd it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State, to institute a great Council, consisting only of such as were Persons of the best Credit and Reputation in the City, whose business it should be to inspect all Matters before they were propounded to the People; and take care that nothing, but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general Assembly (b). At the same time he instituted, at least, regulated another Council, I mean that of the *Aeopagites*, which, tho' inferiour to the former in Order and Power, yet was superiour to it in Dignity and Esteem, and therefore was call'd *πάνω Βολές*, or the upper Council; to this he gave the Inspection and Custody of the Laws, supposing that the Common-wealth being held by these two, as it were by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be toss'd by tumults, and made a prey to such as had Knavery enough to design, and Cunning and Eloquence to entice the People to their own Destruction (c).

At the first Institution of the former-Council, it consisted only of Four-hundred Senators, one Hundred of which were appointed out of each Tribe, for the Tribes in Solon's time were only Four in Number (d).

They were elected by Lots, in drawing of which they made use of

(a) *Acharnens.* (b) *Plutarch. Solone.* (c) *Idem.* (d) *Idem.*

Beans, and therefore Thucydides calls them *Βελάτης δῶν κύανος*, and the Senate, *Βελᾶς δῶν κύανος*. The manner of their Election was thus: On a certain Day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombaeon*, the President of every Tribe gave in the Names of all the Persons within his District, that were capable of this Dignity, and had a mind to appear for it; these were engraven upon Tablets of Brats, call'd *Πλάκαι* (a), and cast into a Vessel set there for that purpose; into another Vessel were cast the same numbers of Beans, an Hundred of which were White, and all the rest Black. Then the Names of the Candidates, and the Beans were drawn, one by one, and those, whose Names were drawn out together with the White Beans, were receiv'd into the Senate (b).

About Eighty-six Years after Solon's regulation of the Commonwealth, the number of Tribes being increas'd by *Clithenes* from Four to Ten; the Senate also receiv'd an Addition of one Hundred, which being added to the former, made it to consist of Five-hundred, and from that Time, it was call'd *Βελᾶς τῆς πολιτείας*.

Afterwards, two new Tribes were added to the former in Honour of *Antigonus*, and his Son *Demetrius*, from whom, they receiv'd their Names; and then the Number of the Senators was augmented by the accession of another Hundred (c); for in both these last Alterations, it was order'd, that out of every Tribe Fifty should be elected into the Senate. As to the manner of Election, that continu'd the same, excepting only, that instead of an Hundred White Beans drawn by each Tribe, they had now only Fifty, according to the Number of their Senators.

After the Election of Senators, they proceeded in the next place to appoint Officers to preside in the Senate, and these they call'd *Περιφέρεις*. The manner of their Election was thus; The names of the Tribes being thrown into one Vessel with Nine Black Beans, and a White Bean cast into another, the Tribe, whose Fortune it was to be drawn out together with the Whiite Bean, presidèd first, and the rest in the Order, in which they were drawn out of the Vessel; for every Tribe presidèd in its Turn, and therefore, according to the Number of Tribes, the Attick Year was divided into Ten parts, each of which consisted of Thirty-five Days; only the Four first Parts contain'd Thirty-six, thereby to make the *Lunar* Year compleat, which, according to their Computation, consisted of one Hundred and Fifty-four Days (d). Others are of Opinion that those four Supernumerary Days were employ'd in the Creation of *Magistrates*, and that, during that Time, the Athenians had no *Magistrates* at all (e), and therefore they call'd them *Ανεξιχείας*, and *Αεγειστοις*. Afterwards, when the Tribes were increas'd to Twelve, every one of them presidèd a Full Month in the Senate, as we learn from *Pollux* (f). The Time, that every Compa-

(a) *Harpocrat.* (b) *Siganius & Emnius de Rep. Athen. & ubique in hac parte hujus libri.* (c) *Stephan. Byzant. de Urbib. & Populis.* (d) *Harpocrat.* (e) *Liban. Argument. in Andonian.* (f) *Lib. VIII. cap. IX.*

ny of *Prytanes* continu'd in their Office, was term'd *Περιστατικός*, during which they were excus'd from all other publick Duties (a).

Beside these, there were other Officers in the *Senate*, all which were elected by Lots. The first was *Επισήμος*, or *President* of the *Prytanes*, who had the Custody of the publick Seal, and Keys of the publick Exchequer; which was accounted a Trust so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above one Day, or to be elected into it a second Time (b).

Every Time the *Senate* was assembled, the *Επισήμος* appointed Nine *Πρεσβεῖοι* by Lots, electing one out of every *Tribute*, except that which had the Honour of Presiding (c). Both of these were different from the *Επισήμος*, and *Πρεσβεῖοι* in the Popular Assemblies.

One thing more there is remarkable in the Election of *Senators*, that beside those, who were immediately admitted into the *Senate*, they chose Subliaries, who, in case any of the *Senators* were depos'd for Male-administration, or died before the expiration of their Offices, should without any farther trouble supply their Places; and these they call'd *Επιλεγόμενοι* (d).

The Authority of the *Prytanes* consisted chiefly in assembling the *Senate*, which, for the most part, was done once every Day, (Festivals only excepted) and oftner if occasion requir'd. And that they might be ready to give Audience to all such as had any thing to propose, that concern'd the Common-wealth, they constantly resorted to a Common-hall near the *Senate-house*, call'd *Prytanum*, in which they offer'd Sacrifices, and had their Diet together (e).

If any Man offer'd any thing, that deserv'd to be taken into Consideration, they engrav'd it upon Tablets, that all the *Senators* might before-hand be acquainted with what was to be discuss'd at their next Meeting; in which, after the *Prytanes*, or *Epistata* had propounded the Matter, every Man had liberty to declare his Opinion, and give his Reasons either for, or against it. This they did standing, for it is every where observable in ancient Authors, that no Person, of what Rank or Quality soever, presun'd to speak sitting, and therefore whenever a Poetical *Heroe* makes an Oration, he is always first said to rise,

Toῖοι δὲ ἀντίστημεν μετέπει πόδας ωκεῖος Αχαιός,

Saith *Homer*; and *Ovid*, to trouble you with no more Instances, mentions the same Custom,

Surgit ad hos clypei Dominus semplicis Ajax.

When all had done speaking, the Business design'd to be pass'd into a Decree, was drawn up in Writing by any of the *Prytanes*, or other *Senators*, and repeated openly in the *House* (f); after which, leave

(a) *Ibid.* cap. ult. (b) *Idem* l. VIII. c. VIII. (c) *Ibid.* & *Harpocr.* (d) *Harpocr.* (e) *Pausanias* (f) *Demosthen.* Orat. in *reipubl.* & in *Nearam.*

being

being given by the *Epistata*, or *Prytaneis*, the *Senators* proceeded to Vote, which they did in private, by casting Beans into a Vessel plac'd there for that purpose. The Beans were of two Sorts, Black, and White, and if the Number of the former was found to be greatest, the Proposal was rejected; if of the latter, it was enacted into a Decree (a), which they call'd *Υἱφισμα*, and *Προσθέλωμα*, because it was agree'd upon in the *Senate* with a design to have it afterwards propounded to an Assembly of the People, that it might receive from them a farther Ratification, without which it could not be pass'd into a Law, nor have any Force or Obligatory Power, after the end of that Year, which was the Time that the *Senators*, and almost all the other *Magistrates* laid down their Commissions.

The Power of this *Council* was very great, almost the whole care of the Common-wealth being devolv'd upon them; for the Commonalty being by *Solon's* Constitutions invested with supreme Power, and entrusted with the Management of all Affairs, as well publick, as private, it was the peculiar charge of the *Senate* to keep them within due Bounds, to take cognizance of every thing before it was referr'd to them, and to be careful that nothing should be propounded to them, but what they upon mature Deliberation had found to be conducive to the publick Good. And beside the care of the Assembly, there were a great many things, that fell under the cognizance of this Court, as the Accounts of *Magistrates* at the expiration of their Offices (b), and the care of poor Persons, that were maintain'd by an Allowance out of the publick Exchequer (c). It was their busines to appoint Gaolers for the publick Prisons, and to examine and punish Persons accus'd of such Crimes, as were not forbidden by any positive Law (d), to take care of the Fleet, and look after the Building of new Men of War (e), with several other Things of great Consequence.

Now because these were Places of great Trust, no man could be admitted to them, till he had undergon a strict *Δοκιμασία*, or Probation, whereby the whole Course of his Life was enquir'd into, and found to have been manag'd with Credit and Reputation, else he was rejected (f).

And to lay the greater Obligation upon them, they were required to take a Solemn Oath, the substance whereof was this; That they would in all their Counsels endeavour to promote the publick Good; and not advise any thing contrary to the Laws. That they would fit as Judges in what Court soever they were elected to by Lots, for several of the Courts of Justice were supply'd with Judges out of the *Senate*. That they would never keep an *Athenian* in Bonds, that could give Three Sureties of the same Quality, except such as had bought or collected, or been engag'd as a Surety for the publick Revenues, and did not pay the Common-wealth, and such as were guilty of treasonable Practices against the Government. But this (as *Demosthenes* interprets it) must

(a) *Ulpianus.* (b) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (c) *Harpocrat.* (d) *Pollux.* (e) *Aristoph.* *Avibus*, & *Libanius Argument.* in *Androtionam.* (f) *Echines* in *Timarch.*

be understood only of Criminals before their Condemnation (a), for to put them in Fetters after Sentence pass'd upon them, was no breach of the Law.

If any of the *Senators* was convicted of breaking his Oath, committing any Injustice, or behaving himself otherwise, than as became his Order; the rest of his Brethren expell'd him, and substituted one of the *Amplykides* in his place. This they call'd *Euphylectes*, from the Leaves, which they made use of in giving their Suffrages, in the same manner that the *Ostracism* were us'd by the Commonalty in decreeing the *Ostracism*. But this Custom was not very ancient, being invented upon the account of one *Xenotimus*, an Officer, that by changing the Beans (which till that time were always made use of) was found to have corrupted the Suffrages (b).

On the contrary, such as had behav'd themselves with Justice and Integrity, were rewarded with an Allowance of Money out of the publick Exchequer (c). And if any Men of War had been built during their Regency, the People in their publick Assembly Decree'd them the Honour of wearing a Crown; if not, the Law prohibited them from Suing for this Privilege, as having been wanting to the Common-wealth, whose Safety and Interest depended upon nothing so much, as the Strength and Number of their Ships (d).

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Senate and Court of Areopagus.

THE Name of this *Senate* was taken from the place, in which it was wont to be assembled, being an Hill not far distant from the Cittadel (e), call'd *Agora*, or *Agora* πάγος, that is, *Mars's Hill*, from *Mars*, the God of War and Blood, because all wilful Murders came under the cognizance of this Court (f); Or, as Fables tell us, from the arraignment of *Mars*, who was the first Criminal that was Try'd in it (g); Or, lastly, because the *Amazons*, whom the Poets feign to have been the Daughters of *Mars*, when they besieg'd *Athens*, pitch'd their Camps, and offer'd Sacrifices to the God of War in this place (h).

When this *Court* was first instituted it is uncertain, some there are, that make it as ancient as *Cecrops*, the first Founder of *Athens*, others think it was begun in the Reign of *Cranaus*; and lastly, others

(a) Demosthen. Timocrat. (b) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. V. Harpocrate. Etymolog. Suidas. (c) Demosthen. Timocrat. (d) Idem Androtianus. (e) Herodotus lib. VIII. (f) Suidas. (g) Pausan. Ariobito Panathen. Suidas. (h) Eschylus Eumenidib. Etymologici Author.

bring

bring it down as low as the times of *Solon*. But this Opinion, tho' defended by Authors of no less Credit than *Plutarch* (a), and *Cicero* (b), is in express terms contradicted by *Aristotle* (c), and one of *Solon's Laws* cited by *Plutarch* himself, wherein there is mention of Judgments made in this *Court*, before *Solon* had reform'd the Common-wealth. What seems most probable, is, that the *Senate* of *Areopagus* was first instituted a long time before *Solon*, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superior to the *Ephoria*, another *Court* instituted by *Draco* (d), and invested with greater Power, Authority, and larger Privileges, than ever it had enjoy'd before.

The number of the Persons that compos'd this venerable Assembly is not agree'd upon, by some it is restrain'd to Nine, by others enlarg'd to Thirty-one, by others to Fifty-one, and by some to more. *Maximus* tells us, it consisted of Fifty-one, πλέω τε διπάρτιδαν επιλέσθαι εἰς σώφρον ἀγρόφειται, beside such of the Nobility, as were eminent for their Virtue, and Riches; by which Words he seems to aim at the *Nine Archons*, who were the constant Scininary and Nursery of this great Assembly, and, having discharg'd their several Offices, pass'd every Year into it (e). This was the reason, why their Number was not always the same, but more, or less, according as those Persons happen'd to continue a greater, or lesser Time in the *Senate*. Therefore when *Socrates* was condemn'd by this *Court*, (as the nature of his Crime makes it evident he was) we find no less than Two-hundred-four-score and one giving their Votes against him, besides those who Voted for his Absolution: And in an Ancient Inscription upon a Column in the Citadel at *Athens*, erected to the Memory of *Rufius Festus*, Pro-consul of Greece, the *Senate* of *Areopagus* is said to consist of Three-hundred.

All, that had undergon the Office of an *Archon*, were not taken in to this *Senate*, but only such of them, as had behav'd themselves well in the discharge of their Trust; and not they neither, till they had given an account of their Administration before the *Logiste*, and obtain'd their Approbation, after an enquiry into their Behaviour, which was not a bare piece of Formality, and a Thing of Course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular (f). This being done, after the performance of certain Sacrifices at *Limne*, a place in *Athens* Dedicated to *Bacchus*, they were admitted upon set Days (g). Thus it was order'd by *Solon's Constitutions*, which were nicely and punctually observ'd for many Ages; but towards the Declination of the Athenian Grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent Ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observ'd. And then, not the *Archons* only, but others, as well those of loose Lives, and mean Fortunes, as Persons of high Quality, and strict Virtue, nay, and even

(a) Solone. (b) De Offic. I. I. (c) Polit. I. II. (d) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X. (e) Plutarch. Solone, & Pericle. (f) Plutarch. Pericle, Pollux I. VIII. c. X. Demosthen. Timocrat. (g) Demosthen. in Nearam.

For-

Forreigners too were taken into this Assembly, as appears by several Instances produc'd by the Learned *Meurfus*, and particularly that of *Rufus Feslus*, mention'd in the afore-said Inscription, as a Member of it.

Aristides tells us, this Court was *τὸν τοῦ Ἑλλῶν δικαιοσύνην πειρώντα* & *ἄγιον*, the most sacred and venerable Tribunal in all *Greece*; and if we consider the Justice of all their Sentences, and judicial Determinations, the unblameableness of their Manners, their wise and prudent Behaviour, and their high Quality, and Station in the Common-wealth, it will easily appear, that this Character was not unreasonable, or undeserv'd. To have been sitting in a Tavern, or publick House, was a sufficient Reason to deny an *Archon's* admission into it (a); and tho' their Dignity was usually continu'd to them as long as they liv'd, yet if any of the Senators was convicted of any Immorality, he was without Mercy or Favour presently expell'd. Nor was it enough that their Lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was requir'd of them, their Countenances, Words, Actions, and all their Behaviour must be compos'd, serious, and grave to a Degree beyond what was expected from other (the most vertuous) Men. To laugh in their Assembly, was an unpardonable piece of Levity (b), and for any of them to write a Comedie, was forbidden by a particular Precept of the Law (c):

Nay, so great an Awe and Reverence did this solemn and grave Assembly strike into those that sat in it that *Isoocrates* (d) tells us, That in his Days, when they were some-what degenerated from their primitive Virtue, however otherwise Men were Irregular and Exorbitant, yet once chosen into this Senate, they presently ceas'd from their vicious Inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, *πειράντων χαριάς εὐπειρεῖν*, than to continue in their wild and debauch'd Course of Life. And so exactly upright and impartial were their Proceedings, that *Demosthenes* (e) tells us, that to his Time there had never been so much as one of their Determinations, that either Plaintiff or Defendant had any just reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all Part of *Greece*, that even Forreign States, when any Controversies happen'd among them, would voluntarily submit to their Decision: *Pausanias* (f) reports in particular of the *Messenians*, that, before their first Wars with the *Spartans*, they were very desirous that their Quarrel should be referr'd to the *Areopagites*, and both Parties stand to their Determination.

It is reported that this Court was the first, that sat upon Life and Death (g); and in later Ages, a great many capital Causes came under its Cognizance; before it were brought all Incendiaries, all such as Deserted their Countrey, against whom they proceeded with

(a) *Athenaeus lib. XIV.* (b) *Aeschin. in Timarch.* (c) *Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens.* (d) *Areopagitica.* (e) *Aristocratea.* (f) *Messeniacis.* (g) *Ezymelos V. Apud τάξος.*

no less Severity, than was us'd to those that were convicted of Treason, for both were alike punish'd with Death (a); such also as had laid wait for any Person's Life, whether their wicked Contrivances were Succesful, or no, for the very designing to murder any Man was thought to deserve no less than Capital Punishment; others are of Opinion, that such Cautes were try'd at the Tribunal of the *Palladium* (b). However that be, it is certain, that all Wounds given out of Malice, all wilful Murders, and particularly such as were effected by Poyson, came under the Cognizance of this Court (c). Some say that there was no appeal from the *Areopagites* to the People; but others, amongst whom is *Meurfus*, are of a contrary Opinion, and assure us, that not only their Determinations might be call'd in Question, and, if need was, retract'd by an Assembly of the People (d), but that themselves too, if they exceed'd the due Bounds of Moderation in inflicting Punishments, were liable to Account for it to the *Logistæ* (e). The same Author tells us afterwards, that this Court had power to cancel the Sentence of an Assembly, if the People had acquitted any Criminal that deserved punishment (f), and to rescue out of their hands such innocent Persons, as were by prejudice or mis-information condemn'd by them. Perhaps in both these Opinions there is something of Truth, if you understand the former of the *Areopagus* in it's primitive State; and the other, when it's Power was retranch'd by *Pericles*.

Their Power in the Common-wealth was very great, for by *Solon's* Constitution, the Inspection, and Custody of the Laws were committed to them (g), the publick Fund was dispos'd of and manag'd according to their Discretion (h), the Care of all Young-men in the City belong'd to them, and it was their Busines to appoint them Tutors, and Governours (i), and see that they were educated suitably to their several Qualitics (k). Nor did they only superintend over the Youth, but their Power was extended to Persons of all Ages, and Sexes; such as liv'd disorderly, or were guilty of any Impiety, or Immorality, they punish'd according to the merit of their Offences; and such as were eminent for a virtuous course of Life they had Power to reward. To this End, they went about with the *Gynæcomi* to all publick Meetings, such as were Marriages, and solemn Sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a Banquet, to see that all things were carried on with Decency, and Sobriety (l). Idleness was a Crime that came more especially under their Cognizance, and (which seems to have been an Institution peculiar to *Solon*) they were impower'd and commanded to enquire strictly after every Man's course of Life, and to examine by what means he maintain'd himself in the Station he was in, that so there might be no Room for such as liv'd by unlawful Arts, by

(a) *Lycurgus in Leocratem.* (b) *Harpocrat. Suidas.* (c) *Demosthen.* *Aristocrat.* *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X. aliisque.* (d) *Dinarchus Orat. in Aristegiron.* (e) *Demosthen.* *In Nearam,* *Aeschin.* *In Cresiphont.* (f) *Demosthen. pro Coronis.* (g) *Plutarch. Solone.* (h) *Plutarch. Themistocle.* (i) *Aeschines Philosophus in Axiocho.* (k) *Iosephus Areopagitæ.* (l) *Athenaeus I. VI*

Cheating and Cozenage, or Theft and Rapine (a). Beside this, matters of Religion, Blasphemy against the Gods, Contempt of the Holy Mysteries, and all sorts of Impiety, the Consecration also of new Gods, erection of Temples and Altars, and introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worship, were refer'd to the Judgment of this Court; therefore *Plato*, having been instructed in the knowledge of one God in *Egypt*, was forc'd to dissemble or conceal his Opinion, for fear of being call'd to an Account for it by the *Areopagites* (b); and *Saint Paul* was arraign'd before them, as a *sefet forth of strange Gods, wh:n he preach'd unto them Iesu,* and *Az-sus-*, or the Resurrection (c). These were the chief Businesses that this Senate was employ'd about, for they seldom intermedled in the Management of publick Affairs, except in cases of great and imminent Danger, and in these the Common-wealth usually had recourse to them, as their last and surest Refuge (d).

They had three Meetings in the *Areopagus* every Month, upon the Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, and Twenty-ninth Days (e). But if any Business happen'd that required dispatch, it was usual for them to assemble in the *Βασιλικὴ Στοά*, or Royal Portico, which they compass'd with a Rope, to prevent the Multitude from thronging in upon them (f), as was usual also in other Courts of Justice.

Two things are very remarkable in their Judgments; First, that they sat in the open Air (g), a Custom practis'd in all the Courts of Justice, that had Cognizance of Murder; partly, because it was unlawful for the Accuser and Criminal in such Cases to be under the same Roof; and partly, that the Judges, whose Persons were esteem'd Sacred, might contract no Pollution from conversing with Men prophane and unhallowed, for such they were accounted, that had been guilty of so black and heinous a Crime (h). Secondly, they heard and determin'd all Causes at Night, and in the Dark, to the End, that having neither seen the Plaintiff, nor Defendant, they might lye under no Temptation of being byassed or influenced by either of them (i).

Actions about Murder were usher'd into the *Arcopagus* by the *Βασιλεὺς*, who was allow'd to sit as Judge amongst them, laying aside his Crown, which was one of the Badges of his Office (k).

The common Method, they proceeded in, was this: The Court being met, and the People excluded, they divided themselves into several Committees, each of which had their Causes assign'd to be heard and determin'd by them severally, if the multitude of business was so great, that the whole Senate could not take Cognizance of them singly. Both these designations were perform'd by Lots, to the End, that every Man coming into the Court before it was determined

(a) *Plutarch. Solon. Vater. Mex. I. II. c. VI.* (b) *Justinus Martyr.* (c) *Act. Apostol. XVIII. 18, 19.* (d) *Argument Orat. Androt.* (e) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X.* (f) *Demosthen. Orat. I. in Arisopagit.* (g) *Pollux loc. citat.* (h) *Antiphon. Orat. de exde Herodis.* (i) *Lucian. Heros.* (k) *Pollux.*

what Causes would fall to his Share, none of them might lye under any Temptation of having his Honesty corrupted with Bribes (a).

Before the Tryal began, the Plaintiff and Defendant took solemn Oaths upon the Testicles of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull, by the *Σφραγίδες*, or Furies. The Plaintiff (in case of Murder) swore that he was related to the deceased Person, (for none but near Relations, at the farthest a Cousin, were permitted to prosecute the Murderer) and that the Prisoner was the cause of his Death. The Prisoner swore that he was innocent of the Crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirm'd their Oaths with direful Imprecations, wishing, That, if they swore falsely, Themselves, their Houses, and their whole Families might be utterly destroy'd and extirpated by the Divine Vengeance (b), which they look'd upon to be so dreadful, and certain, that the Law inflicted no Penalty upon those that at such a Time were guilty of Perjury, remitting them, as it were, to be punish'd by an higher Tribunal.

Then the two Parties were plac'd upon two silver Foot-stools; the Accuser was plac'd upon the Stool of *Ἐρεψ*, or Injury; the Prisoner upon the Stool of *Ἄνερεδα*, or Impudence, or, according to *Adrian Junius's Correction*, of *Αραιτία*, or Innocence; these were two Goddesses, to which Altars, and afterwards Temples, were erected in the *Areopagus* (c). The Accuser in this place propos'd three Questions to the Prisoner, call'd by *Aeschylus*, *τρία παλαιώματα* (d), to each of which he was to give a distinct Answer. The first was, *εἰ κατέπιπτος*; Are you guilty of this Murder? to which he made answer, *ἐκπίπτω*, or *καὶ επόπτω*, Guilty, or, Not guilty. Secondly, *Οπός κατέπιπτος*; Why did you commit this Murder? Thirdly, *Τιοῦ βασιλεὺς κατέπιπτος*; Who were your Partners and Accomplices in the Fact?

In the next place the two Parties impleaded each other, and the Prisoner was allow'd to make his Defence in two Orations, the first of which when he had ended, he was permitted to secure himself by Flight, and go into voluntary Banishment, if he suspected the goodnes of his Cause; which Privilege if he made use of, all his Estate was confiscated, and expos'd to Sale by the *Πωληταί* (e). In the primitive Times both Parties spoke for themselves (f), but in later Ages they were permitted to have Counsel to plead for them. But whoever it was that spoke, he was to represent the bare and naked Truth, without any Preface, or Epilogue, without any Ornaments, Figures of Rhetorick, or any other insinuating Means to win the Favour, or move the Affections of the Judges (g).

Both Parties being heard, if the Prisoner was refolv'd to stand the Tryal, they proceeded to give Sentence, which they did with the

(a) *Lucian. Bis accusato.* (b) *Demosthen. Aristocrat. Dinarchus in Demosthen.* (c) *Iasias in Theomnestum. Pollux I. VIII. c. X.* (d) *Pausanias. Cicero de Legib. I-II.* (d) *Eumenidibus.* (e) *Demosthen. in Aristocrat. Pollux. I. VIII.* (f) *Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathemat. I. II.* (g) *Aristoteles Rhetic. I. I. Lucianus Anacharsis, Demosthen. Quintilian. aliquae innumerari.*

most profound Gravity and Silence ; hence *Agoraias omnia lores* (a), and *Agoraias sepiores* (b) came to be proverbial Sayings ; tho' some derive them from their Reserve, and severe Gravity, and therefore *Agoraias*, is usually taken for a grave, majestick, rigid Person ; and others, from the great care they took to conceal the Transactions of their Senate, of which the Poet speaks,

Ergo occulta reges, in Curia Martis Athenis (a).

The manner of giving Sentence was thus ; There were plac'd in the Court two Urns, one of which was of Brats, and they call'd it ὁ ἔργον-ων, from the place it stood in ; νομός, because the Votes cast into it pronounce the Accusation valid ; and δικίας, because they decree'd the death of the Prisoner. The second Urn was of Wood, being plac'd behind the former, into it they, that acquitted the Prisoner, were to cast their Suffrages ; for which reasons it was call'd ὁ ὑστερός, or ὁ δικίας, ὁ νομός, and ὁ δικίας (b). Afterwards the Thirty Tyrants, having made themselves Masters of the City, order'd them to give their Voices in a manner more publick and open, by casting their Calculi upon two Tablets, the former of which contain'd the Suffrages, that acquitted, the latter those, that condemn'd the Prisoner, to the End, that it might be known, which way every Man gave his Voice, and how he stood affected to their interest and Proceedings (c).

Beside the Crimes that came peculiarly under their Cognizance, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their Sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an Appeal to the Court, to which they properly belong'd, as *Sigonius* observes.

The Senators of *Areopagus* were never rewarded with Crowns for their Services, being not permitted to wear them (d) ; but receiv'd a sort of Maintenance from the Publick, which they call'd *Kesae*, (e) ; and, *Messius* has observ'd out of *Lucian* (f), that they had the same Pension, that was allotted to some other Judges, viz. three *Oboli* for every Cause, they gave judgment upon.

Their Authority was preferr'd to them entire, till the time of *Pericles*, who, because he could not be admitted amongst them, as never having born the Office of an *Archon*, employ'd all his Power and Cunning against them, and having gotten a great Interest with the Commonalty, so embroil'd and routed their Senate by the assistance of *Ephialtes*, that most of the Causes and Matters, which had been formerly try'd there, were discharg'd from their Cognizance (g). From this time the *Athenians*, being, in a great measure, free'd from the restraint, that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient Virtue, and in a short time let loose the Reins to all manner of Licentiousness (h), and therefore are compar'd by

(a) *Juv. Sat. IX.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol. Vesp. Equit.* (c) *I. J. I. in Agorai.* (d) *Aeschines in Ctesiphont.* (e) *Hesychius in Ksiae.* (f) *Bis accusato.* (g) *Plutarch. Pericle.* (h) *Iocrates Areopagit.*

Plutarch to a wild unruly Horse, that, having flung his Rider, would be govern'd and kept in no longer. The same Vices and Excesses, that were practis'd in the City, crept in by degrees amongst the *Areopagites* themselves ; and therefore *Demetrius*, one of the Family of the *Phalerean*, being censur'd by them as a loose Liver, told them plainly, that if they design'd to make a Reformation in the City, they must begin at Home, for that even amongst them there were several Persons of as bad, and worse Lives, than himself, and (which was a more unpardonable Crime, than any that he had been guilty of) several, that debauch'd and corrupted other Men's Wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduc'd by Bribes (a).

CHAPTER XX.

Of some other Courts of Justice.

Ἐπὶ Πανδέην, was a Court of Judicature instituted in the Reign of *Demophon*, the Son of *Theseus*, upon this Account : Some of the *Argives* under the Conduct of *Diomedes*, or, as others say, of *Agamemnon*, being driven in the Night upon the Coasts of *Attica*, landed at the Haven of *Phalerus*, and, supposing it to be an Enemies Country, went out to spoil, and plunder it. The *Athenians* presently took the Alarm, and having united themselves into one Body under the Conduct of *Demophon*, repuls'd the Invaders with great Loss, killing a great many of them upon the place, and forcing the rest to retire into their Ships ; but upon the approach of Day, *Acamas*, the Brother of *Demophon*, finding amongst the dead Bodies the *Palladium*, or Statue of *Minerva* brought from *Troy*, discover'd that the Persons, they had kill'd, were their Friends, and Allies ; whereupon (having first advis'd with an Oracle) they gave them an honourable Burial in the place where they were slain, consecrated the Goddess's Statue, erecting a Temple to her, and instituted a Court of Justice, in which Cognizance was taken of such as were indicted for involuntary Murders. The first that was arraign'd in it, was *Demophon*, who, in his return from the fore-mention'd Conflict, kill'd one of his own Subjects by a sudden turn of his Horse. Others report, that *Agamemnon* being enrag'd at the loss of his Men, and divisa'd at *Demophon's* rash and hasty Attempt upon them, refer'd the Quarrel to the decision of Fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argians*, whom they call'd *Eφε*, ἐφενται ἀνθρώποις εἰς λιγύον αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη, because both Parties committed the Determination of their Cause to them.

(a) *Athenaeus Δικτυοφ.*

Afterwards, the *Argians* were excluded, and the number of the *Ephœre* reduc'd to Fifty-one by *Draco*, whom some affirm to have been the first Instituter of them; but others with more probability report, that he regulated and reform'd them, augmented their Power, honour'd them with many important Privileges, and made them Superior to the Senate of *Arcopagus*. In this State they continu'd till *Solon's* Time, by whom their Power was lessen'd, and their Authority restrain'd, the Causes which had formerly been tryed by them, were discharg'd from their Cognizance, and only those about Man-slaughter, and Chance-medly, and, as some say, Conspiracies against the Lives of Citizens, that were discover'd before they took effect, left to them.

Fifty of them were appointed by Election, Five being chosen out of every *Tribe*, but the odd Man was appointed by Lots; all of them were Men of good Characters, and vertuous Lives, of severe Manners, and a settled Gravity, for no Person under the Age of fifty Years was admitted into their Number.

Causes were entred in this Court by the *Bœbœs*, and the Proceedings were in some things agreeable to those of the *Areopagus*, for both Parties, the Plaintiff, and Defendant, were oblig'd to confirm their Allegations by solemn Oaths, and Curses, and then, the Orators having perform'd their parts, the Judges proceeded to give Sentence (a).

Ἐπὶ Διλφίῳ, was a Court of Justice in the Temple of *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Diana Delphina*. Under it's Cognizance came all Murders, wherein the Prisoner confess'd the Fact, but pleaded that it was committed by permission of the Laws, as in the case of self-preservation, or adultery, for it was allow'd any one to kill an Adulterer, if he caught him in the Act (b). The first Person that was tryed in this Court, was *Theseus*, who, in his Journey to *Athens*, had slain the Robbers, that infested the Way between *Træzen* and that place; and afterwards the Sons of *Pallas*, that rais'd a Rebellion against him (c).

Ἐπὶ Ηὐτρεῖῳ, was a Court of Judicature, which had Cognizance of Murders committed by Things without Life, or Sence, as Stones, Iron, Timber, &c. which, if they kill'd a Man by Accident, or by the direction of an unknown Hand, or of a Person that had escap'd, had Judgment pass'd upon them in this place, and were order'd to be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* by the *Φυλοσοποι*. This Court was as ancient as *Erechtheus*, and the first thing, that was brought to Tryal in it, was an Ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter's* Priests kill'd an Ox, (an Animal accounted very sacred in those Days) that had eaten one of the consecrated Cakes, and as soon as he had committed the Fact, secur'd himself by Flight (d). This place also was the Convocation-Hall, in which publick Entertainments were made, and the sacred Lamp, that burn'd

(a) *Pausanias*, *Harpocrat.*, *Suidas*, *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X.* (b) *Plutarch Solone.* (c) *Pollux loc. cit.* *Pausanias.* (d) *Ibidem. Elgin. V. H. lib. VIII. cap. III. Harpocrat.*

with

with a perpetual Fire, was kept by Widows, that had pass'd the years and defiles of Marriage, and were devoted to the Mother of the Gods, which Lamp, as *Plutarch* in the Life of *Numa* tells us, was extinct under the Tyranny of *Aristion*; it was always manag'd with the sacre Rites and Ceremonies, that were us'd at *Rome*, about the *Veſtal* Fire, which he saith was ordain'd and instituted after the Pattern of this, and another holy Fire of the same Nature among the *Delphians*.

Ἐν Φειττῷ, ἐν Φειττῷ, was feare'd upon the Sea-shore in the *Pireus*, and receiv'd it's Name δῶλος τῆς φειττᾶς, because it stood in a Pit, and therefore *Pollux* calls it *Ἐν Φειττᾷ*, or, as is more probable, from the Heroe *Phreutus*. The Causes heard in this Court, were such as concern'd Persons that had fled out of their own Countrey for Murder, or, those that fled for involuntary Murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate Murder. The first Person, that was try'd in this Place, was *Teucer*, who, as *Lycophron* reports, was banish'd out of *Salamis*, by his Father *Telamon*, upon a groundles suspension, that he had been accessory to *Ajax's* Death. The Criminal was not permitted to come to Land, or so much as to cast Anchor, but pleaded his Cause in his Bark, and if found guilty, was committed to the Mercy of the Winds, and Waves; or, as some say, suffer'd condign punishment: if innocent, was only clear'd of the second Fact, and (as 'twas customary) underwent a Twelve-month's Banishment for the former (a).

The Judges that presidèd in all these Courts, were (after *Draco's* Time) the *Ephœre*, as *Harpocrat.* observes (b). The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c), speaks of other Judges that were elect'd by Lots to hear Causes in all the Courts of Justice, which, however it might be done in later Ages, it is certain was never practis'd among the primitive *Athenians*, except it may be understood of some of the inferiour and less remarkable Courts, which I am inclin'd to believe. The Method of electing these Judges is describ'd in this Manner: At *Athens* there were Ten Courts of Justice, according to the Number of the *Tribes*, upon each of these were engraven large Capital Letters, all painted with Red, or, as others report, with different Colours, from some of which several of the Courts receiv'd their Names, as *Φοινικὲς*, *Βεργαζὲς*, &c. Now when Causes were to be heard, the *Thesmophore*, accompanied with a Register, appointed the Judges to take Cognizance of them by Lots, on which were inscrib'd the Letters belonging to the Courts; the Lots being drawn, the Judges took each of them his Chance, and went to the Court, on which the same Letter, which was upon his Lot, was engrav'd, where he receiv'd from the publick Cryer a Tablet, on which he was to write the Heads of the Orations of both Parties, and a Staff, which was in former Ages the constant, and perhaps only Badge of Judicial, and Sovereign Power, therefore the Σωπτεῖα in *Homer* are accounted sacred, and the most solemn Oaths taken by them,

(a) *Demosthen.* in *Arist. Harpocrat. Pollux. loc. cit. He'cylus.* (b) *Voce Εἰττῶς.* (c) *Plato.*

Αλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέο, καὶ δὴ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀρύματα,
Ναι μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ δὲ ψυτεῖ φύλα καὶ ὅρκος
Φύσει, ἐπιδί τορῶτα τομεῖ ἐν ὅρεοι λέλοιπεν,
Οὐδὲ ἀναθηλίκεις, ποιεὶ γὰρ ἔδει ξελκὸς ἔλεγε
Φύλα τε, καὶ φλοιὸν· νῦν διέτε μν ὑπερ Αχαιῶν
Ἐν παλαιῷ φορέοις δικαιώτοις, οἵ τε θέωσας
Πέρης Δίος εἰρύσσει. ——— (a)

But this I do with solemn Oath declare,
An Oath, which I'll by this same Scepter swear,
Which in the Wood hath left it's native Root,
And sapless n're shall boast a tender shoot,
Since from it's sides relentless Steel has torn
The Bark, but now by Grecian Chiefs is born,
Chiefs that maintain the Laws of mighty Jove
Committed to their Charge. ———

Mr. Hugh Finch of Linc. Coll.

Sometimes we find the Scepters of Kings, and great Persons adorn'd
with Studds of silver, or gold,

———— Ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαῖη
Χειροῖσιν ἡλιος πεπλεψύρον. ——— (b) ———

———— he cast his Scepter on the Ground
Emboss'd with Studs of Gold. ———

To return, the Athenian Judges, having heard the Causes, they were appointed to take Cognizance of, went immediately and deliver'd back their Scepter to the *Prytanes*, from whom they receiv'd the reward due to them.

And thus much may suffice concerning the Courts for Capital Offences; it remains that I give you an account of those, which had the Cognizance of Civil Affairs.

(a) Iliad. a. v. 233. (b) Iliad. a. v. 245.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of some other Courts of Justice, their Judicial Pro-
cess, &c.

Παράστατος, was, as the Name seems to import, a Court of no great Credit or Reputation, having Cognizance only of trivial Matters, whose value was not above one *Drachm*. *Pollux* reports, there were two Courts of this Name, one of which was call'd **Παράστατος μείζον**, and the other **Παράστατος μικρὸν**. The Persons, that sat as Judges, were the Eleven Magistrates, call'd *oi Erdēgoi* (a).

Τείχουνος, was, in all probability, so call'd, because it was Triangular (b).

Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκη, receiv'd it's Name from the Temple of the Heroe *Lycus*, in which it was erected. The same Person had a Statue in all the Courts of Justice, by which he was represented with a Wolf's face, and therefore *Λύκη δικαῖος* signifies Sycophants, who by Tens, that is, in great Numbers, frequented those Places (c).

Τὸ Μητίχεος, was so call'd from one *Metichus*, an Architect, by whom it was built. It was a Court much frequented, and of better Note than the Three former; and the Persons that sat as Judges were required to be of good Birth and Credit, free from publick Debts, and, at the least, thirty Years of Age (d).

The Judges in all these Courts were oblig'd to take a solemn Oath, by the *Paternal Apollo*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the King*, that they would give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law; which Oath, as also that which was taken by those that judg'd in the *Heliæa*, was given in a Place near the River *Illiuss*, call'd *Ardetus*, from a Heroe of that Name, who in a publick Sedition united the contesting Parties, and engag'd them to confirm their Treaties of Peace by mutual Oaths in this Place. Hente it was, that common and profane swearers were call'd *Ἄρδητοι* (e).

Of all the Judicatories, that handled Civil Affairs, *Hælia* was far the greatest, and most frequented, being so call'd *Δῶρος τοῦ αἰλιζεοδοτοῦ*, from the People's thronging together (f), or rather *Δῶρος τοῦ Ηλία*, because it was an open place, and therefore expos'd to the Sun (g).

The Judges, that sat in this Court, were, at the least, Fifty, but the more usual Number was Two, or Five-hundred, being appointed

(a) *Harpocrat.* *Suidas* &c. (b) *Idem.* (c) *Aristoph.* *Schol.* *Vesp.* *Zenobius*, *Harpocrat.* *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c. (d) *Pollux* &c. (e) *Eymolog.* *Pollux*, *Suidas*, *Hesych.* *Harpocrat.* (f) *Ulpian.* in *Demosthen.* (g) *Idem.* *Aristoph.* *Schol.* *Nub.* *Equit.* *Vesp.* *Suidas*.

by Lots out of the Body of the People ; but if the Exigency of the Causes required, they were encreas'd to a Thousand, and then they were forc'd to joyn two Courts together, sometimes to Fifteen-hundred, or Two-thousand, and then Three, or Four Courts were united, to contain so vast a Multitude (a).

They had Cognizance of Civil Affairs of the greatest Weight and Importance, and were not permitted to give Judgment till they had taken a solemn Oath, the Form whereof was this, as we find it in Demosthenes (b) ; "I will give Sentence according to the Laws, and the Decrees of the People of *Athens*, and the Council of Five-hundred; "I will not consent to place the supreme Power in the hands of a single Person, or a Few; nor permit any Man to dissolve the Commonwealth, or so much as give his Vote, or make an Oration in defence of such a Revolution : I will not endeavour to discharge private Debts, nor to make a Division of Lands, or Houses : I will not restore Persons sent into Banishment, nor pardon those that are concieinn'd to die, nor expel any Man out of the City, contrary to the Laws, and Decrees of the People, and Council of Five-hundred, nor permit any other Person to do it : I will not elect any Person into any publick Employ, and particularly I will not create any Man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, *Emassador*, *publick Herald*, or *Synedrus*, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those Offices, that are elected by Lots upon the same Day with the *Archons*, who has undergon any former Office, and not given in his Accounts; nor that any Person shall bear two Offices, or be twice elected into the same Office in one Year : I will not receive Gifts myself, nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit any other Person to do the like, by any means, whether direct, or indirect, to pervert Justice in the Court of *Helicea* : I am not under Thirty Years of Age : I will hear both the Plaintiff, and Defendant, without Partiality, and give Sentence in all the Causes brought before me : I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I violate this Oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole Family, but if I religiously keep and observe it, may we live and prosper.

These seem to have been the Ten publick Courts in *Athens*; others there were of less Note, where particular Magistrates, or the *Dicasts*, or the *Treasurers*, took Cognizance of Causes belonging to their several Offices; such was the Court at *Cynosarges*, *Odeum*, *Theseus's Temple*, *Bucoleum*, and some others.

The method of Judicial Process was thus;

When any Man had receiv'd an Injury, for which he required satisfaction, he went to the Magistrate, whose business it was to take Cognizance of such Complaints, and report them to the Court; to him he deliver'd in a Tablet, wherein was written his own (the Plaintiff's) Name, and the Criminal's, together with an account of the Crime

(a) *Pollux lib. VIII cap. X. Stephan. Byzantin. V Hesychia. Harpocrat.* (b) *Orat. in Timotheus.*

laid to his charge, and the Name of the *Kλητής*, or Bayliff, by whom he was summon'd to make his appearance before the Magistrate, which was the first thing to be done in these Proceedings, and call'd *Kλητούσιν* (a). But before this, the Magistrate ask'd the Plaintiff, Whether he was resolv'd to prosecute his Action, and had Witnesses that would swear to his Indictment; and whether he had all things in readiness to proceed to a Tryal ? This Examination was call'd *Αἰνεῖσθαι* (b).

The Person accus'd, being summon'd to appear before the Magistrate, had a certain Day appointed to answer for himself, and was oblig'd to give sufficient Bail, that he would make his appearance at the Time appointed (c).

This being done, the Magistrate proceeded to the election of Judges, which was perform'd by Lots; and they, upon the *κυρίας ημέρα*, or appointed Day, came to the Tribunal, and took their Places; the publick Cryer having before commanded all those that had no Business to depart in these Words, *Μετίσητε εἴω*. Then to keep the Crowds from thronging in upon them, the Court was surrounded with a Rope, by the command of the Magistrate, and Sergeants appointed to keep the Doors, which they call'd *Κρυκλίδες*, being the same with those which the Romans call'd *Cancellaria* (d). Now least any of the Judges should be wanting, Proclamation was made in this manner, *Εἰ τις ἔχει πάντας Ηλικίας, εἰσέρω*, If any Judge be without the Door, let him enter; for if any Man came after the Cause began to be discuss'd, he could not have Admission, as not being capable of giving Sentence, because he had not heard all that both Parties could say for themselves (e).

Then the Magistrate propos'd the Cause to the Judges, and gave them Power to determine it; the doing which they call'd *εισέργεια* τὸ δικιλοῦ εἰς τὸ δικαγόνεον, the Cause it self *Δίκη εισεργόμενος*, and the Person that enter'd it *Εισομένας*. For by the Laws of *Athens*, there were certain Causes brought before several of the Magistrates, who had no Power to determine them by a final Decision, but were only to examine into the Matter, and, if it deserv'd to be heard in the Court, refer it to the Cognizance of Judges appointed for that purpose, upon a Day fix'd by himself, and this is what they call'd *Ημερία δικαγονίας*.

Then the Indictment was read by the publick Cryer, in which were contain'd the reasons of the Accusation, with an account of the Injury said to be receiv'd, the manner also of it, and the damage suffer'd by the Plaintiff; the Heads of which the Judges took in writing (f).

If the Person accus'd did not make his appearance, Sentence was given against him without any farther trouble, and this they call'd Εἰς ιρήμονα καταδικασθῆναι, and εἰρήμονα διφλισκέσθαι. But if in the space

(a) *Ulpian. in Demosthen. Aristoph. Scholiast.* (b) *Demosthen. in Olympiod. Idem in Nicostrat.* (c) *Aristoph. Concion.* (d) *Pollux l VIII. c. X.* (e) *Aristophan. ejusque Schol. Vesp.* (f) *Demosthen.*

of Ten Days he came and presented himself, proving that he had been detain'd by Sickness, or any other extraordinary and unavoidable Necessity, the former Sentence was disannull'd, and therefore this Proceeding they call'd Δικη μὴ θω. Then the Tryal was to be brought on afresh within the space of two Months by the Defendant, and this they call'd Απίλησις, and the doing ἀπλησία δικεω; but if he neglected to have the Cause decided in that Time, the former Sentence was to stand good, and be put in Execution upon him (a).

Beside this, the Defendant was permitted to make three Pleas for himself, before the Cause was put to a final Decision :

1. Παρεχεχρή, or Παρεμφέτεια, whereby he alledg'd that the accusation was not Δικη εἰσεγένετο, or capable of being tryed at that time ; as, for instance, if the Injury, said to be receiv'd from him, had been done so long before, that the Law could take no hold of him for it ; or, if he had been before tryed, and acquitted, or condemn'd, and punish'd for it. This Plea the Defendant obviated by proving the contrary of what the Plaintiff objected ; and this, with the Παρεχεχρή, was by one common Name call'd Διεμφέτεια (b).

2. Υπαργοία, whereby he desired the Judicial Proces might be defer'd, giving in upon Oath, that some urgent Occasion, such as the sickness of himself, or Relations, hindred him from attending the Court at that Time (c).

3. Απηγεφή, whereby the Defendant turn'd Plaintiff, and refuted the Accusation upon his Adversary (d).

If the Defendant urg'd none of these Pleas, but was willing that the Tryal should immediately go forward, he was said Δικητεῖν, and the Proces was call'd Δικητία. Then both Parties took solemn Oaths ; the Plaintiff swore, That he had been injur'd by the Defendant : the Defendant, That he had not injur'd the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff's Oath was call'd Απωμοσία, the Defendant's Προωμοσία, as most of the Grammarians are of Opinion, but in Pollux, the Defendant's Oath is Απωμοσία, and Plaintiff's Προωμοσία ; and both of them were nam'd Διωμοσία. These Oaths, together with the allegations of the Witnesses, were deliver'd in writing to the Judges, by whose order they were put together into a Vessel of Brats, or sometimes of Earth, call'd Εὔρος (e). In Causes wherein the Publick was concern'd, the Plaintiff took a farther Oath, that he would accept no bribes, nor be by any means prevail'd upon to act treacherously in the Cause, or desist from the legal prosecution of it (f).

Before the Tryal began, both Parties were oblig'd to deposite a certain summ of money, which they call'd Πευταία, into the hands of the Magistrate that enter'd their Cause into the Court, who, upon failure of the payment immediately expung'd the Cause out of the Roll,

(a) Ulpian. in Demosthen. Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VI. (b) Pollux loc. cit. Harpocrat. &c. (c) Harpocrat. (d) Hesych. Pollux loc. cit. (e) Pollux, Suidas, Harpocrat. Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. (f) Eſchines in Timarch.

and

and hindred it from proceeding any farther. If the Cause in Debate was concerning the value of an Hundred Drachms, or upwards to a Thousand, they deposited three Drachms ; if it's value was upwards of a Thousand, and not above Ten-thousand, they deposited Thirty, which, after the Decision of the Cause were divided among the Judges, and the Person, that was Cast, was oblig'd, beside the payment of other Charges, to restore the Money to his Adverſary (a).

Παραχρησία, was a summ of Money deposited by those that sued the Common-wealth for confiscated Goods, or any others that were claim'd by the publick Exchequer, or private Persons for the inheritances of Heireſſes ; the former deposited the fifth ; the latter the tenth part of the Estate contended for (b).

Παράστασις, was one Drachm deposited in Law-suits about small and private Matters, which were decided by the Διαιτηταί (c).

Ἐπωδία, was a Fine laid upon those that could not prove the Indictment they had brought against their Adversaries, so call'd, because they were oblig'd to pay the sixth part of the Value of the thing they contended for, from ὁσσός, because out of every Drachm, they deposited one Obolus, which is the sixth part of a Drachm (d). Some of these summs were deposited in all Law-suits, a very few excepted, before the Tryal could proceed.

Then the Witnesses were produc'd, and if any of them refus'd to make his Appearance, he was summon'd by a Sergeant, whom they call'd Κλητης, and if he seem'd unwilling to be an Evidence, had three things propos'd to him, viz. To swear to the Fact ; To abjure it, or deny that he was privy to it ; or, lastly, to pay a Mulct of a Thousand Drachms ; he that was fin'd for refuting the Oath, or that took it out of fear, was said ικαλητοῦσθαι ; he that was only summon'd, and took it voluntarily κλητοῦσθαι (e). The Oath was taken at the Altar with all the Solemnity imaginable, to which end they erected Altars in all the Courts of Judicature.

The Persons that gave Evidence, were Men of Credit, Free-born, and disinterested ; for no Man's Oath was taken in his own Cause, and such as by their ill Behaviour had forfeited their Privileges, and were ἀνηρι, or, disfranchis'd, had not Reputation enough to deserve belief ; the Slaves were not permitted to have any Concern in publick Busines, and therefore could neither be Evidences, except they were examin'd upon the Rack, nor plead in any Court of Justice (f).

There were two sorts of Evidences ; the first of which they call'd Μαρτυρία, when the Person that swore, was an Eye-witness of the Fact : The other Ερμηγετεία, when the Juror receiv'd what he testified from a third Person, that had been an Eye-witness of it, but was at that time either dead, or in a Forreign Countrey, or detain'd by Sickness, or hindred by some other unavoidable Accident from mak-

(a) Pollux, Harpocration. (b) Iidem. (c) Iidem. (d) Iidem. (e) Iidem. (f) Vide Petrum de Legibus Atticis.

ing his Appearance; for, except in such Cases, the Allegations of absent Persons were never taken for Lawful Evidences (a).

When the Witnesses were sworn, the Plaintiff being plac'd upon the left hand of the Tribunal, and the Defendant upon the right (b); both of them spoke set Orations in their own behalf, that were, for the most part, compos'd, by some of the Orators, which Custom was first introduc'd by *Antiphon* a *Rhamnusian* (c). Sometimes, if they desired it, the Judges granted them Σωμάτεοι, or, Advocates to plead for them, the doing which they call'd ἐπὶ μισθῷ σιωνγέειν, to plead for a Fee (d). And least by the length of their Orations they should weary the Judges patience, and hinder them from proceeding to other Busines, they were limited to a certain Time, call'd Διαρρημετρήμινησία (e), which was measur'd by a Κλεψυδρα, or Hour-glass, differing from ours in this, that instead of Sand, they made use of Water; and to prevent all Fraud and Deceit, there was an Officer constituted on purpose to distribute the Water equally to both sides, whom, from his busines, they call'd Εφύδωρ, or Ερ' ὕδωρ. When the Glass was run out, they were permitted to speak no farther, and therefore we find them very careful not to loose, or mispend one drop of their Water, and whilst the Laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other busines happen'd to intervene, they gave order that the Glass should be stopp'd (f). Yet if any Person had made an end of speaking, before the Time allotted him was expired, he was permitted to resign the remaining part of his Water to any other that had Occasion, and this is meant by the Orator when he saith, τῷ ὕδαι τῷ ἴριῳ λαλεῖτω, let him speak till what remains of my Water be run out.

When both Parties had made an End of speaking, the publick Cryer, by the Command of the Magistrate that presidèd in the Court, order'd the Judges to bring in their Verdict; and in such Cases, as the Laws had made Provision, and appointed Penalties for, (which were call'd Αγάνες ἀνυπτοί) a single Verdict, whereby the Person was declar'd Guilty, or, not Guilty, was sufficient; but in those Cases, that the Laws were silent in, (which they call'd Αγώνες πυρτοί) a second Sentence was required, if the accused Person was brought in Guilty, to determin what punishment was due to his Offence (g). And here, before they proceeded to give Sentence, the condemn'd Person was ask'd, What damage he thought his Adversary had receiv'd from him, and what recompence he ought in Justice to make him? And the Plaintiff's account, which, together with the Indictment he had deliver'd in before, was taken into consideration; and then, the circumstances on both sides being duly and impartially weighed, the final and decretory Sentence was given.

The most ancient way of given Sentence was by Black and White

(a) *Harpocrat.* *Pollux.* (b) *Aristotel.* *Problem.* (c) *Idem Rhetor.* lib. I. cap. XXXIII. (d) *Clemens Alexandrin.* (e) *Harpocrat.* (f) *Demosthen.* (g) *Harpocrat.*

Sea-shells, call'd Χοεῖα; or Pebbles, call'd Ψῆφοι, Ovid hath taken notice of this Custom,

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa (a).*

Black, and White stones were us'd in ages past,
These to acquit the Pris'ner, those to cast.

Mr. Hutchin.

After them, ἀνιόντια, which were pellets of Brass, came into use; which, when laid aside, κύκνοι, or Beans succeeded; they were of two sorts, White, and Black; the White were whole, and were made use of to absolve, the Black were bor'd through, and were the instruments of condemnation (b).

Hence it is, that in *Aristophanes* (c) Judges, that liv'd upon the Gifts they receiv'd for doing Justice, are call'd Κυακεργάτες, Eaters of Beans; and λασκάν ψῆφος is a Proverb, not much different from αἴσθεται, or *Amaltheæ capra*, being usually applied to things that bring in large gains, and are a maintenance to their Masters (d).

These Beans the Judges took from the Altar, and two Urns, which they call'd Καΐδη, or Καϊδονγι, being plac'd, they cast in their Beans thro' a little Tunnel call'd Κηρὺς, holding them only with three Fingers, viz. the Fore-finger, Middle, and Thuimb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in above one at a Time. The rest of their customary Rites, are much-what the same with those I have already describ'd in the Judgments of the Court of *Areopagus*, except that in private Causes there were four Urns plac'd in the Court, as *Sigoniūs* has observ'd out of *Demosthenes* (e).

But this perhaps might be occasion'd by the Number of the Persons concern'd in the Tryal, for if there were more than two Competitors, that laid claim to an Estate, each of them had a distinct Urn, into which those, that pass'd Sentence on his side, were to cast their Beans, and he that had the greatest number, obtain'd the Victory, which *Sigoniūs* seems not to have observ'd.

When all had given over Voting, least any Man out of Favour should suspend his Suffrage, the Cryer made Proclamation in this manner, Εἴ τις ἀψήφεται, ἀντιστῶται, If there be any that has not given his Voice, let him now arise, and give it.

Then the Urns were open'd, and the Suffrages number'd in presence of the Magistrate, who stood with a Rod in his Hand, which he laid over the Beans, as they were number'd, least any Person should, thro' Treachery, or Mistake, omit any of them, or count the same twice. If the number of the Black Beans was greatest, he pronounc'd the Person guilty, and as a mark to denote his condemnation, drew a long Line, whence ἄπαντα πικάντια μαργαρῖται in the Comedian, signifies

(a) *Metamorph.* lib. XV. (b) *Pollux.* *Hesychius.* *Harpocrat.* *Aristoph.* *Schol.* *Ran.* & *Vesp.* &c. (c) *Equit.* (d) *Hesychius.* *Eustathius* *Iliad.* γ'. pag. 884. Edit. *Basil.* (e) *Orat. in Macart.*

to condemn All ; on the contrary, he drew a short Line in token of Absolution, if the white Beans exceeded, or only equall'd the number of the Black (a), for such was the Clemency of the *Athenian Laws*, that, when the case seem'd equally disputable on both sides it was provided, that the severe and rigorous Commands of Justice should give place to the milder Laws of Mercy and Compassion ; and this Rule seems to have been ever observ'd in all the Courts of *Athens*. *Euripides*, to omit a great many others, has mention'd this Custom in several places,

Ious δέ ο' ἐκούσιος μὴ σαρεῖν δίκη
Υἱός τελεῖοι· λοξίας γὰρ αἰτία
Εἰς αὐτὸν οἶστι, μητέρας ξένιας φόνου·
Καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅδε νόμος τεθίστεται,
Νικᾶν ίous ψήφοις ἢ φούγοις ἀεί (b).

Courage *Orestes*, if the Lots hit right,
If the Black pebbles don't exceed the White,
You'r safe ; and since it awful *Phæbus* was
The *Parricide* advis'd, your tottering cause
He'll on himself transfer : and hence shall be
This Law transmitted to Posterity,
That Lots, if equall, shall the Pris'ner free.

Mr. Hutchin.

And again to the same purpose, in another Tragedy,

Τυρψος δικαίας εἴν' ἐγέωστά σε,
Καὶ πείν' γ' Αρετοῖς εὐ πάγοις ψήφοις ίσας
Κείνας, Οφέστα, καὶ νόμοισι εἰς ταῦτα γε
Νικᾶν, ισηγεις ὅσιος δὲ ψήφος λάβῃ (c).

Since you with equal Suffrages I free'd,
When Justice ample Vengeance had decree'd,
And once before when we debating sat
At *Areopagus* on your dubious Fate,
And there the dooming Sentence must have pass'd,
Had I not you with equal Lots releas'd,
On this account shall after-ages save
Such Criminals, as equal Voices have.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Plaintiff was call'd *Διώκων*; the whole Suit, *Διώξεις*; and the Defendant, *Φεύγων*. The Indictment before Conviction was nam'd

(a) Aristophan. ejusque Schol. Ran. & Vesp. (b) Electra. v. 1265. (c) Iphigenia Taurica. v. 1459.

Aίτησις; after Conviction, *Ελεγχός*; and after Condemnation, *Αδίκημα*. All the Time the Cause was in suspence and undetermin'd, it was expos'd to publick View, being engrav'd in a Tablet, together with the Name of the Person accus'd, and hung up at the Statues of the Heroes surnam'd *Ἐπανυμένοι*, than which there was not a more publick place in the whole City ; this they call'd *Επεικείων* (a), and it seems to have been done with a design, that all Persons, who could give any Information to the Court, having sufficient Notice of the Tryal, might come and present themselves.

If the convicted Person was guilty of a Capital Crime, he was deliver'd into the hands of the *Eidikoi*, to receive the punishment due to his Offence : but if a pecuniary Mulct was laid upon him, the *Taxiarχαι* & *Ωραῖοι* took care to see it paid ; but in case his Estate was not able to make payment, they issued out a Writ of Outlawry against him, and confin'd him to perpetual Imprisonment (b).

If, on the contrary, the Plaintiff had accus'd his Adversary unjustly, and produc'd false Evidence against him, he was, in some places, oblig'd to undergo the punishment due by Law to the Crime, of which he had falsly accus'd an innocent Person, but at *Athens* had only a Fine laid upon him. And both the Villain that had forsworn himself, and he that suborn'd him were severely prosecuted, the former by an Action of *Ψευδομαρτυρία*, the latter, of *Κακογραφία*. Of these, and the punishments due to such Offenders, I shall speak more in another place.

When the Tryals were over, the Judges went to *Lycus's* Temple, where they return'd their *Ραῖδη*, or Staffs, or Scepters, which were a badge of their Office, and receiv'd from certain Officers call'd *Κωλωνεῖς*) a piece of Money for their service, which, at the first, was only one *Obolus*, afterwards it was enreas'd to two, then to three, and at the length to a *Drachm*, which was six *Oboli*, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c). And tho' these rewards may seem trifling and inconsiderable Expences, yet the troublesome temper of the *Athenians*, their nice and critical exactation of every little Duty, or Privilege, occasion'd so great a Number of Law-suits, that the frequent payment of these small summs by degrees so exhausted the Exchequer, that they became a burden to the Common-wealth, and are particularly reflected upon by *Aristophanes* (d), who takes occasion every where to ridicule, and expose this quarrelsom, litigious Humour, which was grown to such a height amongst them, that every Corner of the Streets was pester'd with whole swarms of turbulent Rascals, that made it their constant busines, to pick up petty Stories, and catch at every occasion to accuse Persons of Credit and Reputation ; these they call'd *Συκεφάται*, which word sometimes signifies False-witnesses, but is more properly taken for what we call common Barretors, being deriv'd *ἀπὸ* & *τα σύγε φάται*, from indicting

(d) Demosthen. ejusque Schol. in Median. (b) Demosthen. Androtian. Cornel. Nep. Miltiade. (c) Ran. Vesp. Item Suidas, Pollux, Hesychius. (d) Ran. pag. 280. Edit. Emil. Paris, & Scholiast. ibid.

Persons, that exported Figs; for amongst the primitive *Athenians*, when the use of that Fruit was first found out, or in the time of a Dearth, when all sorts of Provision were exceeding scarce, it was enacted that no Figs should be exported out of *Attica*; and this Law, not being actually repeal'd, when a plentiful Harvest had rendred it useles, by taking away the reason of it, gave occasion to ill-natur'd, and malicious Fellows, to accuse all Persons they caught transgressing the Letter of it, and from them all busie Informers have ever since been branded with the Name of *Sycophants* (*a*).

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the Τεσαράκοντα, and Διαιτηταί.

ΟΙ Τεσαράκοντα, were Forty Men, that went their Circuits round the several Burroughs, and had Cognizance of all Controversies about Money, when the summ exceeded not ten *Drachms*; also, as *Demosthenes* reports (*b*), had Actions of Assault and Battery brought to their hearing. *Pollux* tells us, that, at their first Institution, they were no more than thirty in Number; but *Hesychius* reports, the Magistrates, or Judges call'd Οἱ Τεσαράκοντα, were those, that amer'd the People for absenting themselves from the publick Assemblies.

Διαιτηταί, or Arbitrators, were of two sorts,

Ι. Κληρωτοί, who were Fourty-four Men, above the Age of sixty, as *Pollux*, or fifty, as *Suidas* reports, drawn by Lots out of each Tribe, to determine Controversies about Money, when the summ was above ten *Drachms*. Their Sentence was not final, so that if either of the contesting parties thought himself injur'd by it, he might appeal to the superior Courts of Justice (*c*). At their first Institution, all Causes whatsoever that exceeded ten *Drachms* were heard by them, before they could be receiv'd into the other Courts (*d*). They pass'd Sentence without obliging themselves by any Oath, but in other things acted in the same manner with the rest of the Judges, they receiv'd a *Drachm* of the Plaintiff, which was call'd Παρέστασις, and another of the Defendant when they administred his Oath to him; and in case the Parties did not appear at the appointed Time and Place, they staid expecting them till the Evening, and then laid a Fine upon them. Their Office continued a whole Year, at the end of which they gave up their Accounts, and if they were prov'd to have refus'd to give Judgment, or to have been corrupted (*e*), a Writ of Outlawry was issu'd out

(*a*) *Suidas*, *Aristoth. Schol.* *Plato*, *Equit.* &c. (*b*) *Orat. in Pantanet.* (*c*) *Demosthen. Orat. in Aphobum.* (*d*) *Pollux*, *Ulpian.* (*e*) *Demosthen. Et Ulpian. Median. Petri. Misc. lib. VIII.*

against

against them. Under them were certain Officers call'd Εἰσαγγεῖλοι, whose busines was, εἰσῆγειν τὰ δικῆς, to receive the Complaints that fell under the Cognizance of the Διαιτηταί, and enter them into their Court (*a*).

2. Διαρρήματα, or *Compromissarii*, were such, as two Parties chose to determine any Controversie betwixt them; and these the Law permitted any Person to request, but oblig'd him to stand to whatever they determin'd, without any farther appeal, and therefore, as a greater obligation to Justice, they took an Oath, that they would give Sentence without Partiality (*b*).

The determination of the Διαιτηταί, was call'd Διαιτηταί, and διαρρήματα, and to refer any thing to them, διατίθεσθαι (*c*).

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Publick Judgments, Actions, &c.

ΤΗΕ *Athenian* Judgments were of two sorts, Publick, and Private, the former were about such Crimes, as tended to the prejudice of the State, and were call'd Κακηγεία; the latter comprehended all Controversies that happen'd between private Persons, and were call'd Δίκαια (*d*). Nor did they only differ as to their Matter, but in the whole Process, and Management of them, and particularly in this, that in private Actions, no Man could prosecute the Offender, beside the Party injur'd, or some of his near Relations, whereas in the Publick, the Laws encourag'd all the Citizens to revenge the publick wrong, by bringing the Criminal to condign punishment (*e*).

The publick Judgments were these,

1. Γέφεψ, was an Action, laid upon such as had been guilty of any of the following Crimes (*f*),

Φόνος, Murder.

Τελευτὴ ἐπενοτασία, a Wound given out of Malice.

Πυρεψία, Firing the City.

Φάρμακον, Poysen.

Βέλεστις, a Conspiracy against any Person's Life; or, the Crime of the City-Treasurers, that enter'd into the publick Debt-book Persons not indebted to the City (*g*).

Ιερευλία, Sacrilege.

Ασεβεία, Impiety.

(*a*) *Pollux.* (*b*) *Demosthen.* (*c*) *Pollux.* (*d*) *Iocrates.* (*e*) *Plutarchus Solone.*

(*f*) *Pollux. lib. VIII. cap. VI. Sigenius de Rep. Athen.* (*g*) *Harpocrat.*

Προδοσία, Treason.
Επιφρόνεια, Uncleanness.
Μοιχεία, Whoredom.
Αγαμία, Cœlibacy.
Αστρατεία, Refusing to serve in the Wars.
Δειπνορέντη, Desertion of the Army.

Λειποντία, Desertion of a Man's Station, as when any Person refus'd to serve on Foot, and listed himself amongst the Horse-men, which by Solon's Laws was esteem'd as great a Crime as a total Desertion of the Army.

Δειλία, Cowardice.
Λεπτομάντη, Desertion of the Fleet.

Ακυρότητα, Refusing to Serve, and Fight in the Fleet.
Τρόπιζας τὸ αστίδια, Loosing a Man's Shield.

Ψευδογενερή, was an Action, against those that falsely charg'd others, and sued them for publick Debts, which Harpocration calls *ψευδολητεία*; but this seems rather to have been an Action for false Arrests, according to Pollux.

Συκοφαντία, Barretry, or false Accusation.

Δέρεια, taking Bribes to manage any publick Affair, or pervert Justice; nor was it thought enough to punish the Receiver, but the Person also that offer'd Bribes was prosecuted, and the Action laid against him call'd *Δειγαργής*. The same Action in Causes about Freedom of the City, was by a peculiar Name term'd *Δωροζενία*.

Τροχεῖα, Beating a Free-man, or binding him, as they us'd to do Slaves.

Αγρεξία, Erasing a Name out of the publick Debt-book, before the Debt was discharg'd.

Αγραφὴ μετατοιχία, Digging a Mine without acquainting the publick Officers; For before any Person could dig a Mine, he was oblig'd to inform certain Officers, appointed by the People, of his Design, to the end that the twenty-fourth part of the Metal might be reserv'd for the publick Use.

Αλόχοια, was against Magistrates, that had neglected to give up their Accounts.

Παραβίωσις γερεφῆ, against such as in proposing a new Law, acted contrary to the old and established Laws.

Εὐθύνη, was against Magistrates, Embassadors, or other Officers that had mis-employ'd the publick Money, or committed any other Offence in the Discharge of their several Trusts. That against Embassadors was sometimes by a peculiar Name call'd *Παρεπεπτεῖα*.

Δουκυρεσία, was a Probation of the Magistrates, and Persons employ'd in publick Business.

Προσολὴ, was an Action against Persons disaffected to the Government, and such as impos'd upon the People; against Sycophants, and such as at the celebration of any Festival had caus'd an uproar, or committed any thing undecent, and unsuitable to the Solemnity.

Απογευφῆ,

Απογευφῆ, was when any Person, being sued for Debts said to be due to the Publick, pleaded that they were falsely charg'd upon him, withall producing all the Money he was posses'd of, and declaring by what means it came into his Hands. *Suidas* adds, that *Απογευφῆ* is sometimes taken for an Action against such as neither paid the Fines laid upon them, before the ninth *Prytanea* following their Sentence, nor were able to give sufficient Security to the City.

Απίφωσις, was sometimes the same with *Απογευφῆ*, as we learn from *Suidas*; but was also usually taken for the Account of Estates given at the Exchange of them together with publick Employments. For when any Man would excuse himself from any troublesome and chargeable Trust, by casting it upon another richer than himself, the Person produc'd by him, had power to challenge him to make an Exchange of Estates, and thereby compell him to undergo the Office he had before refus'd.

2. *Φάσις*, was commonly taken for the discovery of any hidden and conceal'd Injury, but more peculiarly signified an Action laid against such as exported Corn out of *Attica*, imbezzled the publick Revenues, and converted them to their own private Use, or appropriated to themselves any of the Lands, or other Things, that of right belong'd to the Common-wealth. It is sometimes taken for an Action against those, that were Guardians to Orphans, and either wholly neglected to provide Tenants for their Houses, and Lands, or let them at too easie a rate.

3. *Ερεύνης*, was against such, as committed any Action, or affected any Place, of which they were uncapable by Law; as when a Person disfranchis'd, or indebted to the Publick sued for Offices in the State, or took upon him to determine Controversies in a judicial Way. Also against those, that confess'd the Crimes laid to their charge, without standing the Tryal.

4. *Απηγωγῆ*, was the carrying a Criminal taken in the Fact to the Magistrate. If the Accuser was not able to bring him to the Magistrate, it was usual to take the Magistrate along with him to the House, where the Criminal lay conceal'd, or defended himself, and this they call'd *Ερηγεῖθαι*, and the Action *Ερηγυστος*.

5. *Αιδροληψία*, or *Αιδροληψία*, was an Action against such as protect'd Persons guilty of Murder, by which the Relations of the deceased were impower'd to seize three Men in the City, or House, whither the Malefactor had fled, till he were either surrendred, or satisfaction made some other way for the Murder.

6. *Εισαγγελία*, was of three sorts; the first was about great and publick Offences, whereby the State was brought into Danger, such Actions were not referr'd to any Court of Justice, but immediately brought before the Senate of Five-hundred, or the popular Assembly, were the Delinquent was severely punish'd, but the Plaintiff underwent no danger, altho' he could not prove his Indictment, except he fail'd of having the fifth part of the Suffrages, for then he was fin'd a thousand Drachms. The second sort of *Εισαγγελία*, was an Action of *Κακωσία*, of which I shall speak in another place; it was brought before the

Archon, to whom the Plaintiff gave in his Accusation, but was not liable to have any Fine laid upon him, tho' Sentence was given against him. The third was an Action against the *Διαιτητας*, preferr'd by Persons that thought themselves unjustly dealt with by them, who ran the hazard of being disfranchis'd, and forfeiting their Freedom, if they were not able to make good their Accusation. Indeed, in all the fore-mention'd Accusations, the *Εσωγελια* only excepted, this Penalty, together with a Fine of a thousand *Drachms*, was inflicted upon the Plaintiff, if he had not the fifth part of the Suffrages.

C H A P T E R XXIV.

Of the Private Judgments, Actions, &c.

K *Ακριοειδης δίκη*, was an Action of Slander, by which the Criminal was fin'd five-hundred *Drachms*.

Aixias δίκη, was an Action of Battery, in which case there was no set Penalty inflicted by the Laws, but the Judges took an account of the Damages suffer'd by the Plaintiff, and compell'd the Delinquent to make sufficient retribution.

Biaior, or, *Bias δίκη*, was an Action against such as ravish'd Women, or had us'd Violence towards any Man's Person.

Bræcis δίκη, was an Action of Trespass, being against those, that had endammag'd another man's Estate, Lands, Houses, Cloaths, &c.

Kauwetras δίκη, *χειρὶ*, or *εισαγγελία*, was an Action enter'd by Heiresses against their Husbands, by Parents against their Children, and Orphans against their Guardians, when they were ill us'd, or injur'd by them.

Anopouritis δίκη, was an Action of Divorce, when the Husband had put away his Wife. On the contrary, when the Woman fled from her Husband, the Action was call'd *Anoleitras δίκη*.

Krotis δίκη, was against Theives. *Demosthenes* (a) reports, that if any Man had stoln above fifty *Drachms* in the Day-time, he was to be indicted at the Tribunal of the *Eleven*. But if any Theft was committed in the Night, it was lawful to kill the Criminal, if he was caught in the Fact, or to pursue him, and, if he made any resistance, to wound him, and so hale him to the *Eleven*, by whom if he was convicted of any of those Crimes, that bore an Action of *Anarwyji*, he was not not permitted to give Bail, but immediately suffer'd Death. If any

(a) *Timocrates*.

Person surreptitiously convey'd any thing of the smallest value out of the *Lyceum*, *Academy*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia*, or out of Havens above the value of ten *Drachms*, he was adjug'd to dye. If any Man was convicted of Theft by a private Judgment, he was to make retribution to the Person he had injur'd, by paying him double the value of what he had depriv'd him of; nor was this punishment alone thought sufficient to expiate his Offence, but it lay in the Judges Power to keep him in Bonds five days, and as many nights, and expose him in that condition to the view of all the People.

Παρεχεγγυειδης δίκη, was against such as refus'd to restore any thing committed to their Charge.

Xeëtes δίκη, was a Suit betwixt Debtors and Usurers.

Συμβολαις δίκη, was an Action against those that would not stand to their Contracts, or Bargains. Not much different from this was *Συδικῶν δίκη*, only, *Σύμβολαια* are distinguish'd from *Συδίκαια* in this, That these chiefly imply private Contracts about the Lome of Money, Division of Inheritances, and References to the *Διαιτητας*, whereas the other are extended, as well to publick Negotiations between Cities and Kingdoms, as to Bargains made by private Persons. Others there are, that acknowledge no such difference betwixt them.

Eis διατητῶν αἰρετον δίκη, was an Action against such Persons as would not consent to make a division of Goods, or Estates, wherein other Men were sharers with them.

Διαδικογοιας δίκη, was about publick Duties, whereby it was required that the Person design'd to undertake them, should have a Time appointed, wherein he should enter upon his charge. It is also taken for *Αμφισβήτησις*, and *Επισκόπημα*.

Επιδικογοιας δίκη, when Daughters inherited the Estates of their Parents, they were oblig'd by Law to marry their nearest Relation. This was the occasion of this Suit, which was commenc'd by Persons of the same Family, each of which pretended to be more nearly allied to the Heiress than the rest. The Virgin, about whom the Relations contested, was call'd *Επιδικη*. *Επικληνες* was a Daughter, that had no Brothers lawfully begotten, and therefore inherited her Father's whole Estate. *Επιταρουης* was one that had Brothers, and shar'd the Estate with them.

Αμφισβήτησις, was a Suit commenc'd by one that made pretensions to the Estate of a deceased Person, as being his Son either by Nature, or Adoption.

Ηεραπαταβολὴ, was an Action enter'd by the Relations of the deceased, whereby they claim'd a right to the Estate, as belonging to them by reason of their Consanguinity, or bequeathed by Will. It was so call'd *Ἐπὸ τῆς παραπαταβολῆς*, because the Plaintiff deposited the tenth part of the Inheritance, if the Cause was private, and the fifth,

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if it was a publick Estate he contended for : this he was to forfeit, if he could not make his Plea good.

Αυτιρρεψη, was a Law-suit about Kindred, whereby any Person claim'd a Relation to such, or such a Family, and therefore it seems to have been of the same Nature with *Παραναραλον*.

Διαμαρτυρια, was a Protestation that the deceased Person had left an Heir, made to hinder the Relations from entering upon the Estate.

Επιοντης, was an Action, whereby the *Διαμαρτυρια* was prov'd to be false, and groundless.

Επινομηση, was when any Person claim'd some part of another man's Goods, which were confiscated, and sold by Auction.

Σιτη δίκη, when a Husband divorc'd his Wife, the Law oblig'd him to restore her Portion, or, in case he refus'd that, to pay her for each Pound nine Oboli every Month, upon the failure of which he was liable to have this Action enter'd against him in the *Odeum* by his Wife's *Επιτεγηση*, or, Guardian, whereby he was forc'd to allow her a separate Maintenance.

Μισθωτος λοιξ, &c. δίκη, sometimes call'd *Φάσις*, was an Action against Guardians, that were negligent in the management of the Affairs of their Pupils, and either let out their Houses, or Estates, at too small a price, or suffer'd them to lye void of Tenants. When any House was vacant, it was Customary to signifie so much by fixing an Inscription upon the Door, or other part of it, as Mr. Rous has observ'd from these words of *Terence*,

*Inscripti illico
Ædes mercede (a).*

Over the Door I Writ,
This House is to be Let.

Επιτεγηση δίκη, was an Action against Guardians, that had defrauded their Pupils. It was to be commenc'd within five Years after the Pupil was come to Age, otherwise it was of no Force.

Ενοικια δίκη, when any Man laid claim to an House, he enter'd an Action against the Person that inhabited it, whereby he demanded the Rent of the House. If he claim'd an Estate of Land, the Action was call'd *Xεικια δίκη*, or, *Kαπτη δίκη*, because the Fruits of the ground were demanded. If the Plaintiff cast his Adversary in either of the former Suits, he enter'd a second Action against him, whereby he laid claim to the House, or Land, as being a part of his Estate, for which reason it was call'd *Ουδιας δίκη*. After this, if the Person in possession continued obstinate, and would not deliver up

(a) *Heaut. Act. I. Scen. I.*

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the Estate to the lawful Owner, there was a third Action commenc'd, and a Writ of Ejectment issued out against him, which was nam'd *Εξέλιξις δίκη*, from *εξέλλω*, to eject. The same Name is us'd for all Writs of Ejectment upon what account soever.

Βιαιωτης δίκη, was an Action whereby the Buyer compell'd the Seller to confirm, or stand to his bargains.

Εις ἐμπαρῶν κατάστω δίκη, was design'd as an enquiry into some thing that was conceal'd, as stolen Goods.

Εξαιγεωτης δίκη, was against a Free-man, that endeavour'd to give a Slave his Liberty, without his Master's consent.

Ανοστατης δίκη, was an Action against Sojourners, that neglected to choose a Patron, of which custom I have spoken in another place.

Ανοστατης δίκη, was an Action commenc'd by a Master, or Patron against his *Cientes*, such as were the Free'd Slaves, when they refus'd to perform those Services, they were bound to pay to him.

Αρρωγης δίκη, was a Suit about Money put into the Bankers hands, which the ancient Athenians call'd *Αρρηγη*, and the modern *Ευδίκη*.

Αρροτης, was, when a Person deeply indebted desired the People to remit part of his Debt, upon pretence that he was unable to make payment.

Ψυχοδημαρχεια δίκη, was against false Witnesses.

Κακοτεχνια δίκη, was against those that suborn'd false Witnesses.

Λειπομαρχεια δίκη, was against such, as, having promis'd to give Evidence in a Cause, disappointed the Person that rely'd upon them.

Several other Judgments we meet with in ancient Authors, some of which I have already spoken of in other places, and the Names of the rest are so well known, that I need not give you any explication of them; such were *Βολιτη δίκη*, *Αχειεσια δίκη*, and some others (a).

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Athenian Punishments, and Rewards.

THE most common and remarkable Punishments inflicted at ~~them~~ on Malefactors are these,

Zuēs, which, tho' sometimes it be us'd in a large and general sense for any punishment, yet has often a more limited and restrain'd signification, being taken for a pecuniary Mulct, or Fine, laid upon the Criminal according to the merit of his Offence.

(a) *Heschius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, Ulpianus in Demosthen. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. & Rousam in Arch. Attic. Idemque ubique in his capitibus sunt consulendi.*

Ατιμία, Ignominy, or publick Disgrace, whereby the Offender was rendred incapable of bearing any Office, pleading in the Courts of Judicature, or giving his Voice in the publick Assemblies, and depriv'd of all other Privileges of a Citizen, that gave him any Title to the management of the Common-wealth. Out of these Men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (a) tells us, they appointed whom they pleas'd to labour at the Oars, to which Drudgery, *Plutarch* reports, it was usual to put their Prisoners of War (b).

Δελέα, Servitude, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was reduc'd into the condition of a Slave. It was never inflicted on any besides the *Ατιμοι*, Sojourners, and Free'd-servants, because it was forbidden by one of Solon's Laws, that any Free-born Citizen should be treated as a Slave.

Στίγματα, was a severity seldom exercis'd upon any but Slaves, or some very notorious Malefactors, of which before I have spoken more at large.

Στήλη, was, as the word imports, a Pillar, wherein was engraven in legible Characters an account of the Offender's Crime. The Persons thus expos'd to the laughter and reproaches of the World, were call'd *Στηλῖται*. Hence *stultitiae abusus* is taken for any invective, or defamatory Oration.

Δεσμος, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was condemn'd to Imprisonment, or Fetters. The Prison was call'd by a lenitive Name *Οἰκημα*, or House; for the *Athenians* us'd to mitigate and take off from the badnes of things, by giving them good and innocent appellations; as a Whore, they would call a Mistress; Taxes, Rates; Garrisons, Guards; and this (faith *Plutarch*) seem'd at first to be *Solon's contrivance*, who call'd the releasing the People from their Debts *Στρουχεῖν*, a throwing off a burthen (c). *Plato* tells us, the *Athenians* had three sorts of Prisons; The first was near the *Forum*, and was only design'd to secure Debtors, or other Persons from running away. The second was call'd *Σωφρονιστεῖον*, or a House of Correction, such as our *Bride-well*. The third was seated in an uninhabited and lonesome place, and was design'd for Malefactors guilty of Capital Crimes (d). One of their Prisons was call'd *Νομοφυλάκιον*, and the Gate, thro' which Criminals were led to Execution, *Χαρωνεῖον*, from *Charon*, the infernal Ferry-man. At the Prison-door was erected the Image of *Mercury*, the Tutelar Deity of the place, call'd *Στερρᾶς*, from *Στερρᾶς*, the hinge of a Door.

Of Fetters there were divers sorts, the most remarkable are these: *Κύρων*, a Collar usually made of Wood, so call'd from *κύρων*, because it constrain'd the Criminal to bow down his head. This punishment

(a) Ranis. (b) Lysandro. (c) Plutarch. Solone. (d) Plato de Legib. lib. X.

was call'd *Κυρωνικός*, and hence pernicious Fellows, or Things, are sometimes nam'd *Κύρωνες* (a); others call it *χλοῖς*, or *χλοῖν*, or *κολοῖς*, from *χλεῖν*, because the Criminal's Neck was shut, or enclos'd within it. Some Grammarians tell us, the Neck, Hands, and Feet were made fast in it, and therefore it is probable, it was the same with the *ξύλον πεντεστερόν*, or Fetter with five holes, mention'd by *Pollux*, and seems to resemble the punishment of binding Neck and Heels, us'd amongst our Souldiers. *Aristophanes* calls it *ξύλον τετραπλόν*, as his Scholiast informs us in his Comment upon these words in *Lysistrate*,

τὰς δὲ Αγαθόνες σκέπτει,
Ας Μίκων ἔχειτε εὐφρόνης παππών μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδρίσιν.
Αλλὰ τέπων χειλῖς ἀπασῶν ἐς τετραπλόνος ξύλον
Εγκυθαρμόσας λαζαντας τετονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Women must have their stiff and haughty Necks
With Fetters cramp't, least they grow insolent
And us of our Authority divest,
For see here, in this *Canvas-pourtrraiture*
By skilful *Micon* drawn, how th' *Amazons*
Mounted on prancing Steeds with burnish'd spears engage.

Mr. Abell.

Χοῖνιξ, signifies Fetter in which the Feet, or Legs were made fast, as we are inform'd by *Aristophanes* in his *Pluto*, where speaking of an impudent, and insolent Slave, he saith, he deserves to be set in the Stocks,

τὰς κοῖνιξας δέ σε βοῶτιν
Ικ, ικ· τὰς χοῖνιξας, καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθόσαι.

You're ripe, you Rogue, for Fetters, the Stocks groan for you.

Not much unlike this seems to have been the *ποδογύρη*, *ποδογύρην*, or *ποδοστέλη*, sometimes call'd *ξύλον*, from the matter it was made of (b). *Στερνίς*, was a piece of Wood, to which the Malefactor was bound fast, as the same Poet reports (c),

δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων,
Ω τοξότ', ἐν τῇ σαΐδι. —————

Here, *Lictor*, bring him in, and bind him to the Rack.

(a) Aristophan. Schol. Pluto. (b) Aristophan. Schol. Equit. (c) Thesmophor. And

And a little after,

— γυμνὸν ἀστράπαντα με
Κέλος τῆς ταῦτη δεῖν τὸ τόξον.

Order the Executioner to strip
Me naked, and to cord me to the Rack.

Mr. Abell.

Beside these, many others occur in Authors, which barely to mention would be both tedious, and unnecessary.

Φυγὴ, perpetual Banishment, whereby the condemned Persons were depriv'd of their Estates, which were publickly expos'd to Sale, and compell'd to leave their Countrey without any possibility of returning, except they were recall'd (which sometimes happen'd) by the same Power that expell'd them; wherein it differ'd from *Ostracismus*, which only commanded a Ten years absence, at the end of which, the banish'd Persons were permitted to return, and enjoy their Estates, which were all that time preserv'd entire to them (a). It was instituted not so much with a design to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacifie the furie of the Envious, that delighted to depress those, who were eminent for their Virtues, and glorious Actions, and by fixing this disgrace upon them, to exhale part of the venomous rancour of their Minds. The first, that underwent this condemnation was, as *Plutarch* reports, *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian*, a Kinsman to the Tyrant of the same Name. *Eustathius* makes it much ancienter, and carries it as high as *Theseus's* Time, who, he tells us out of *Theophrastus* and *Pausanias*, was the first that suffer'd it (b). *Heraclides* will have it to have been first instituted by *Hippias*, the Tyrant, a Son of *Pisistratus* (c); *Phocion*, by one *Achilles*, the Son of *Lyco* (d); and *Aelian*, by *Clitophenes*, who also, as he tells us, was the first that underwent it (e). It was never inflicted upon any but great Persons; *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, (as *Plutarch* reports) will have it to have happen'd to none but Men of great Estates, and therefore as an argument to prove the plentiful condition of *Aristides*, (whom he maintains to have been posses'd of a large Fortune, contrary to the opinion of most other Writers) he allow'd, that he was banish'd by *Ostracism*. But my Author is of another opinion, and not without reason, for all Persons were liable to the *Ostracism*, who for Reputation, Quality, Riches, or Eloquence, were esteem'd above the common level, and expos'd to the envy of the People, insomuch, that even *Damon*, Preceptor to *Pericles*, was banish'd thereby, because he seem'd a Man of more than ordinary Sence. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villainous Fel-

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit. &c Vesp.* (b) *Iliad. I.* (c) *Lib. de Rep.* (d) *Excerpt. ex Platon. Hephæst. I. VI.* (e) *V. r. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. XXIV.*

lows

lows became subject to it, they quite left it off, *Hyperbolus* being the last, whom they banish'd by *Ostracism*. This *Hyperbolus* was a very rascally Fellow, who furnish'd all the Writers of Comedy in that Age with matter for their Satirical invectives; but he was wholly unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of glory was also insensible of shame; he was neither lov'd, nor esteem'd by any body, but was a necessary tool for the People, and frequently made use of by them, when they had a mind to disgrace, or calumniate any Person of Authority, or Reputation. The cause of his Banishment was this; *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Phœax* at that time were of different Factions, and each of them bearing a great sway in the City, lay open to the envy of the inferior Citizens, who, at *Hyperbolus's* perswasion, were very eager to decree the Banishment of some one of them. *Alcibiades* perceiving the danger they were in, consulted with *Nicias*, or *Phœax*, (for it is not agree'd whether) and so contriv'd matters, that by uniting their several parties, the *Ostracism* fell upon *Hyperbolus*, when he expected nothing of it. Hereupon the People, being offended, as if some contempt or affront had been put upon' the Thing, left off, and quite abolish'd it. It was perform'd, to be short, in this manner; Every one taking an *Ostracum*, or Tyle, carried it to a certain part of the Market-place surrounded with wooden Rails for that purpose, in which were ten Gates, appointed for the ten Tribes, every one of which enter'd at a distinct Gate. That being done, the *Archons* number'd all the Tyles in gross, for if there were fewer than six-thousand, the *Ostracism* was void; then laying every name by it self, they pronounced him, whose name was written by the major part, banish'd for ten Years, enjoying his Estate (a). This punishment was sometimes call'd *Kρεμακὴν μάστιξ*, from *κρεμακή*, because the *Ostraca*, by which the People gave their Suffrages were Earthen Tyles, or pieces of broken Pots (b). The like was us'd at *Argos*, *Megara*, and *Attilenum* (c); and the *Syracusan Πεταλίος* was instituted upon the same account, in the third Year of the eighty-sixth *Olympiad*, but differ'd from it in this, That this Banishment was but for five Years, and instead of *Ostraca*, the People made use of *Πέταλα*, or Leaves, usually those of the Olive-tree, in giving their Voices (d).

Ωδύτης, Death, was inflicted on Malefactors several ways, the chief of which were these,

Σίφη, with which the Criminal was beheaded.

Βέρχως, with which he was either strangled after the Turkish fashion, or hang'd in the manner usual amongst us, for that this was a very ancient, but withal a very ignominious Punishment, appears from *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* and *Telemachus* punish the Men, that took part

(a) *Plutarch. Aristide, Alcibiade, Nicia, Themistocle.* (b) *Hesych. in V.* (c) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (d) *Dio.ior. Sic. lib. XI*

with

with the young Gentlemen, who made love to *Penelope*, only with common and ordinary Death ; but the Maid-servants that had submitted to their Lust, and behav'd themselves with scorn and contempt towards their Masters, as being guilty of a more heinous and notorious Crime, they order'd to be hang'd; the manner of it the Poet has describ'd in these words (a),

πεῖσμα νέως κνάνοποσθεγίο
Κίον^Ορ ἔξαλας μεγάλης, πεῖσταλλε δόλιο,
Τύφος ἐπενταύτας, μή τις ποσὶ θάνατος ἵκη.
Ως δὲ οὐτ' ἀνὴρ κακού πειθεῖται, οὐδὲ πέλειας
Ἐργεις ἐνταῦτων, τό, θ' ἐστίνει ἐνὶ δάμνῳ,
Αὖλιν ἐπέριψει, συγέρεις δὲ τοῦτο κοῖτος.
Ως δὲ γέρεις κερατεῖς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσους
Δειρήσιν βεβήσονται, ὅπως σύκηται δάνοιον.
Ηστιαῖον δὲ πάστοι μίνυσθα πεις, ἐπι μάλα διεῖ.

Then young Telemachus a cable ty'd
Hardned with pitch t'a lofty Pillar's side,
That he might there make swings above the floor
For all his nasty Queans, who'd play'd the Whore;
In hempen Twists they all hung in a Row
Tossing their Legs, and moving to and fro.
So have I seen the warbling Larks beset
With knotty mazes of the Fowler's net,
How they do make a flutter and a rout
With wings expanded, tho' they can't get out.

Mr. Abell.

Φάρμακον, Poyson, of which there were divers sorts, yet what they most commonly made use of, was the juice of the Herb *κάνεκον*, *Cicuta*, not much unlike *Hemlock*, which thro' it's extreme coldness is poisonous; it was a draught of this gave Socrates his death,

Rem populi tractas, barbatum hoc crede Magistrum
Diceret, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutæ.

You, who sustain the weight of Government,
To these prudential *Maxims* be attent,
Maximus, not mine, but that grave Sir's, whose fate
A draught of *Hemlock* did precipitate. (Mr. Abell.)

Saith Persius, meaning Socrates (b).

Kεντρίς, a Precipice, from which the Malefactor was tumbled headlong.

(a) Odyss. x. v. 465. (b) Satir. IV. v. 1.

Túpanava,

Túpanava, or Túpanva, were Cudgels of wood, with which Malefactors were beaten to death (a), being hang'd upon a Pole, which was also call'd Túpanavor, and therefore πύπανίς (b) is by *Suidas*, and the *Etymologist* expounded χρέματα (c), and ἐπιπάνισταν, ἐπιπάνισταν by *Hesychius*; for their conceit is vain and ridiculous, that would thence inferr it to have been a kind of Gallows, or Crots. No less groundless and frivolous is their opinion, that imagine it to have been an instrument, on which Criminals were distended, like the Covering of a Drum, which the Greeks call Túpanavor, and to have been of the same nature with the Roman *Fidiculae*, which were little Cords, by which Men were stretch'd upon the Rack, and seem to have resembled the Greek Σχοῖνες, us'd in the punishment call'd Σχοίνιοις.

Σταυρός, the Cross, mention'd in *Thucydides* (b), was us'd in *Greece*, but not so frequently as at *Rome*: it consisted of two Beams, one of which was plac'd cross the other; the figure of it was muchwhat the same with that of the letter T, as *Lucian* tells us (c), differing only from it, because the transverse Beam was fix'd a little below the top of the straight one. The Malefactor was hang'd upon the Beam that was erect, his Feet being fix'd to it with Nails, and his Hands to each side of that which was transverse.

Βάραθρον, was a deep Pit belonging to the Tribe *Hippothoontis*, into which condemn'd Persons were cast headlong, it is sometimes call'd Ογύμενον, whence the publike Executioner receiv'd the appellation of Ο δῆτα τῷ ογύμενον. It was a dark, noisome hole, and had sharp Spikes at the top, that no Man might escape out, and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment such as were cast in (d). From it's depth and capaciousnes, it came to be us'd proverbially for a covetous, Miser, or voracious Glutton, that is always craving, and can never be satisfied; and such an one the *Latinis* call'd *Barathro*, hence *Lunatus* (e),

Auer abhinc lacrymas, Barathro, & compescere querelas.

Forbear thy sighs,
Thou Miser, cease complaints, and dry thine Eyes.

And Horace,

Mendici, mime, Barathrones, hoc genus omne. (f).

Beggars, Jack-puddings, Rooksters, and such like.

A place of the same Nature was the *Lacedæmonian Kauâdas*, into which Aristomenes the Messenian being cast, made his escape after a wonderful manner, as *Pausanias* reports (g).

(a) Aristoph. Schol. Pluto, Suidas, Hesychius, Etymolog. Pollux, & ubique in hoc capite. (b) Lib. I. (c) Δικη φωνήστρων. (d) Aristoph. Pluto. Schol. (e) Lib. III. (f) Satir. lib. I. Sat. II. (g) Messenico.

Λιδοβούνια,

Λιθοσολία, or Lapidation, was a common punishment, and usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks upon such as were taken in Adultery, as we learn from Homer's third *Iliad*, where *Hector* tells *Paris*, he deserves to dye this death,

Ἄδιον ἔως χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔειν, δαστογγάσ.

For all your villanies you shall be ston'd to death.

Many other punishments there were, which they inflicted for particular Crimes, some of which I shall treat of in their proper places.

As the Laws inflicted severe Penalties upon Offenders, thereby to deterr Men from Vice and Wickedness, and from base and dis-honourable Designs, so again they conferr'd ample Rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to incite others to the practice of Virtue and Honesty, and the performance of good and glorious Actions; and upon the just and equal dispensation of these two Things, it was *Solon's* Opinion, that the Safety of any Common-wealth chiefly depended (a). Now not to mention publick Honours and State-preferments, to which even those of the inferiour Sort might not despair of advancing themselves in a popular State, if by their eminent Services they approv'd themselves to the People; beside these, I say, there were several publick Rewards, and Honours conferr'd upon such as had merited enough to be thought worthy of them; The chief of which were these;

Πρεσβεία, or, the privilege of having the first place at all Shows, Sports, Banquets, and publick Meetings (b).

Εἰκὼν, or, the Honour of having their Pictures, or Statues erected in the Cittadel, *Forum*, or other publick places of the City (c). With such monuments of Virtue *Athens* seems to have abounded more than any City in the World, as will evidently appear to any, that will be at the pains to peruse *Pausanias's* accurate description of them.

Στέφανοι, or, Crowns, were conferr'd in the publick Assemblies by the Suffrages of the People, or by the Senators in their Council; but of these, because they were for the most part bestow'd upon those that had signaliz'd themselves by their Valour, as also of other Military rewards, I shall give you an account of in another place.

Ατέλεια, was an immunity from all publick Duties, Taxes, and Contributions, except such as were requir'd for carrying on the Wars, which no man was excus'd from. This Honour was very rare, but yet there want not instances of it, as particularly those of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton's* whole Families, which enjoy'd it for a great many generations (d).

Στίχια, παρεγονία, σίτησις ἐν Περιπλανήσιῳ, was a maintenance al-

(a) *Ciceron. Epist. ad M. Brutum.* (b) *Aristoph. Equit.* (c) *Demosthen. Orat. de Falsa Legat. aliisque.* (d) *Demosthen. Orat. in Leptinem.* Ejusque Interpret. low'd

low'd such as deserv'd well of the Common-wealth in the Common-hall, call'd *Prytaneum*. This Privilege was granted sometimes to whole Families for the Services of their Ancestors, as particularly to those of *Hippocrates*, *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*. Their common Fare was a sort of Cakes, or Puddings call'd *Mέλια*, upon Holy-days they had an allowance of Bread (a); and beside other provissons, the Tenth's of all the Bellies of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice were always reserv'd for them, which if any Man neglected to send, he was liable to be punish'd by the *Prytanes*, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b).

Καὶ οἱ φρυγῶν τοῖς Πρυτάνεσι,

Αδεκατούτες τῷ Σεών ιε-

πᾶς ἔχοντα κοινίας.

Your Frauds I'll to the *Prytanes* disclose,
Since you with sacrilegious Stealth keep back
The Tithes of sacred Victims Bellies.

A great deal more might be said about the Honours conferr'd after Death upon such, as had been eminently serviceable to the Common-wealth, in the celebration of their Funerals, and the pious care of their Memories, but this I shall leave to be spoken of in another place. I shall only add that not themselves only, but their Posterity reap'd the fruits of their Virtues, for if any of their Children were left in a poor condition, they seldom fail'd of obtaining a plentiful provision from the Publick; Thus *Aristides's* two Daughters were publickly marry'd out of the *Prytaneum*, the City decreeing each of them three-hundred *Drachms* for her Portion. Nor is it to be wondred (saith my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those that live in the City, since hearing that *Aristogiton's* Grand-daughter was in a low condition in the Isle of *Lemnus*, and, by means of her poverty, like to want Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to a Person of considerable Quality, and bestow'd upon her a large Farm, as a Dowry. Of which Bounty, and Humanity (saith he) this City of *Athens*, even in this Age, hath given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly had in great Honour and Admiration (c).

(a) *Demosthen. loc. cit. Pollux lib. IX. cap. V. Athenaeus lib. IV. &c.* (b) Equitibus. (c) *Plutarch. Aristida.*

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Athenian Laws.

IT was Tully's observation, that most of the Arts and Inventions, which are necessary to the management of Human life, owe their first Original to the *Athenians*, from whom they were deriv'd into the other parts of *Greece*, and thence carried into foreign Countries, for the common benefit of Mankind. But of all the Inventions commonly ascrib'd to them, none has been of greater, or more general use to the World, than that of Laws, which, as *Aelian* (a), and others report, were first establish'd in *Athens*. Most other ingenious contrivances respect the conveniences of Human life, but upon this depends the very foundation of all Civil Government, and of all mutual Society amongst Men; for by them the Magistrate is directed how to govern, and the People how far to obey; the Magistrate by them is settel'd in the possession of his Authority over the People, and the People too by them are secur'd from the arbitrary Power, and unreasonable demands of the Magistrate, as well as from the Fraud, Violence, and Oppression of each other.

The Poets tell us, that *Ceres* was the first, that taught the *Athenians* the use of Laws; in memory of which benefit, they celebrated the Festival call'd *Georgophelia*, in which she was Worshipp'd by the Name of *Georgophos*, which exactly answers to the Latin Name of *Legifera* in *Virgil* (b),

mactant letcas de more bidentes
Legiferæ Cereri.

To Ceres, who first shew'd the use of Laws,
They offer Lambs cull'd out of bleating Flock.

Some of the Laws of her Favourite, *Triptolemus*, are still extant, and I have spoken of them in another place. But to pass by Poetical and groundless fictions, thus much is certain, and evident, viz. That the *Athenians* were govern'd by Laws before the dissolution of their Monarchy, as may be observ'd from what *Plutarch* relates of *Theseus*, viz. That when he divest'd himself of Sovereign Power, and establish'd a Common-wealth in *Athens*, one of the Prerogatives that he thought fit still to retain, was the Custody, or Protection of the Laws.

The first, that gave Laws to the *Athenians* after *Theseus's* Time, was

(a) Lib. III. cap. XXXVIII. (b) Æneid. IV. v. 57.

Draco, who was *Archon* in the first Year of the thirty-ninth Olympiad. His Laws, *Aelian* (a) tells us, are properly call'd *Gezouoi*, but are remarkable for nothing but their unreasonable severity; for by them every little offence was punish'd with death, and he that stole an Apple was proceeded against with no less rigour, than he that had betray'd his Country. But these extremities could not last long, the People soon grew weary of them, and therefore, tho' they were not abrogated, yet by a tacit consent they were laid asleep till

Solon, the next Law-giver, repeal'd them all, except those that concern'd Murder, call'd *Phorikoi vphuois*; and, having receiv'd from the People Power to make what alterations he thought necessary, new modell'd the Common-wealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent Laws, which, to distinguish them from *Draco's* *Gezouoi*, were call'd *Nouoi*. And least, thro' the connivance of the Magistrates, they should in time be neglected, like those of his Predecessor, He caus'd the Senate, to take a solemn Oath to observe them, and every one of the *Thesmophore* vow'd, that if he violated any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a golden Statue as big as himself to the *Delphian Apollo*, and the People He oblig'd to observe them for a hundred Years (b).

But all this care was not sufficient to preserve his Laws from the innovations of lawless, and ambitious Men; For shortly after, *Pisistratus* so far insinuated himself into the People's favour, that the *Democracy* institut'd by *Solon* was dissolv'd, and himself invested with Sovereign Power, which at his Death he left in the possession of his Sons, who maintain'd it for some Years; and tho' *Pisistratus* himself, as *Plutarch* reports (c), and his Sons after him, in a great measure, govern'd according to *Solon's* directions, yet they follow'd them not as Laws, to which they were oblig'd to conform their Actions, but rather seem to have us'd them as wise and prudent Counsels, and vary'd from them, whenever they found them interfere with their interest, or inclinations.

Pisistratus's Family being driven out of *Attica*, *Clitisthenes* took upon him to restore *Solon's* Constitutions, and enacted many new Laws (d), which continued in force till the *Peloponnesian War*, in which the Form of Government was chang'd first by the *Four-hundred*, and then by the *Thirty Tyrants*. These storms being over, the ancient Laws were again restor'd in the *Archonship of Euclides*, and others establish'd at the instance of *Diocles*, *Aristophon*, and other leading Men of the City. Last of all, *Demetrius the Phalerean*, being intrusted with the Government of *Athens* by the *Macedonians*, was the Author of a great many new, but very beneficial and laudable Constitutions (e). These seem to have been the chief Legislators of *Athens*, before they submitted to the *Roman* yoke; two others are mention'd by *Suidas*, viz. *Thales* and *Aeschylus*, but are not taken notice of in other Authors.

(a) Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. X. (b) Plutarch. Solone, Diogen. Lass. & Erian. loc. cit. (c) Solone. (d) Herodotus, Plutarch. Tericle, Isocrat. Areopag. (e) Plutarch. Aristide.

Beside these, the *Athenians* had a great many other Laws, enacted upon particular occasions, and exigencies of the Common-wealth, by the Suffrages of the People; For I shall not in this place speak of the Ψηφισματα τῆς Βελᾶς, the Decrees enacted by the Senate, because they were not settled and constant Laws, but only, as it were, so many Proclamations, which, being enacted by no greater Authority than that of the Senators, whose Power was only annual, lost all their force and obligation when their Offices expir'd. The manner of making a Law was thus; When any Man had contriv'd any thing, that he thought might conduce to the good of the Common-wealth, he first communicated it to the *Prytanes*, who were certain Officers appointed to receive all sorts of informations of things that concern'd the Publick; the *Prytanes* then call'd a meeting of the Senate, in which the new Project being propos'd, after mature deliberation was rejected, if it appear'd hurtful, or unserviceable; if not, was agree'd to, and then call'd Ηέγεγμα. Then the *Prytanes* took a Tablet, and wrote upon it the matter that was to be enacted into a Law, and the time in which the People were to meet in a publick Assembly, and determine it, and this was call'd Ηέγεγμα.

No Law was to be propos'd to the Assembly, except it had been written upon a white Tablet, and fix'd up some Days before the Assembly at the Statues of the Heroes call'd Επώνυμοι, that so all the Citizens might read what was to be propos'd at their next Meeting, and be able to give a more deliberate judgment upon it. When the multitude was come together the Decree was read, and every Man had libertie to speak his mind about the whole, or any clause of it, and if, after due consultation, the Populacy thought it inconvenient, it was rejected; if they approv'd of it, it pass'd into a Ψηφισμα, or Νόμος, which, as we learn from *Demosthenes*, were the same as to their obligation, but differ'd in this, that Νόμος, was a general, and everlasting Rule, whereas Ψηφισμα respect'd particular Times, Places, and other Circumstances (a).

No Man without a great deal of caution, and a thorough understanding of the former Laws, and Constitutions durst presume to propose a new one, the Danger being very great if it suited not with the customs and inclinations of the People; *Eudemus* a Cydiathenian is said to have lost his Life on that account, being made a Sacrifice to the rage of the Multitude. Not much unlike this severity was the ordinance of *Zaleucus*, the Locrian Law-giver, by which it was appointed, that whosoever propos'd the enacting of a new Law, or the abrogation of an old one, should come into the Assembly, with an Halter about his Neck, and in that dress give his reasons for what he propos'd, which if they were thought good and sufficient, his proposal was embrac'd; if not, he straight-way pour'd out his Soul under

(a) *Demosthen. ejusque enarrator. Ulpian. in Leptin. &c alibi.*

the Hang-man's hands. But the *Athenians* were not quite so rigid, except upon some extraordinary occasion, when the giddy Multitude was hurry'd on with unusual rage and vehemence, as happen'd in *Eudemus's* case; yet if any Man establish'd a Law, that was prejudicial to the Common-wealth, he might be call'd in question, and brought to Tryal for it any time within the space of one Year, but if he was let alone any longer, the Laws took no notice of him. In these cases especially, a writ for transgressing the Laws, call'd Παρενομίας γραφή, might take hold of him; First, if he had not taken care to publish his Proposal in due time; Secondly, if he propos'd it in ambiguous and fallacious Terms; Thirdly, if he propos'd any thing contrary to any of the former and received Laws; and therefore if any of the old Laws were found to oppose what they design'd to offer, they always took care to have them repeal'd before-hand (a). Because, notwithstanding all this caution, it sometimes happen'd that new Laws were enacted contrary to the old, it was order'd that the *Thesmophoræ* should once every Year carefully peruse the Laws, and if they found any of them oppose another, it was to be propos'd to the People, who were to proceed about it in the method that was us'd in abrogating other Laws, and so one of the Laws made void. In other cases it was unlawful for any Man to endeavour to have any Law repeal'd, without preferring a new one in it's place.

Now because the change of Time, and other Circumstances might make a great many alterations in Affairs, and Ordinances, that had formerly been useful and necessary, by the different State of Things become unprofitable, and perhaps inconvenient, and prejudicial; it was ordain'd by *Solon* that once every Year the Laws should be carefully revis'd and examin'd, and if any of them were found unsuitable to the present State of Affairs, it should be repeal'd; this was call'd Επιχειρεταία τῷ νόμῳ, from the manner of giving their Suffrages by holding up their hands. The method of doing it was thus; On the eleventh Day of the month *Hecatombaeon*, after the Κίρκος had, according to custom, made a solemn Prayer before the Assembly, the Laws were read over in this Order, first those, that concern'd the Senate; then those that respected the People, the nine *Archons*, and then the other Magistrates in their Order. This being done, it was demanded, Whether the Laws then in being were sufficient for the Common-wealth? and if it seem'd necessary to make any alteration in them, the consideration was differr'd till the fourth of *Metagittion*, upon which Day, was the last Ordinary Assembly, under the first Rank of the *Prytanes*, as the Repetition of the Laws had been at the first. In all this, the Θεσμοί, or Laws concerning such matters, were nicely and punctually observ'd, and the *Prytanes*, and *Proedri* severely punish'd, if any thing was omitted. Upon the first of *Metagittion*, another Assembly was call'd, and the *Proedri* reported the matter to the People, who did not

(a) *Iidem.*

proceed to the determination of it themselves, but substituted the *Nemotheræ* to do it; and appointed five Orators, call'd Συνίσκοι, to Patronize the ancient Laws in the Name of the People. If the calling of this Assembly was neglected, the *Prytaneis*, by Solon's Command, had a Fine of a thousand *Drachms* laid upon each of them, and the *Proedri* one of four-hundred; all which the *Thesmothetæ* were oblig'd to see paid into the Treasury of *Minerva's* Temple in the Cittadel, but in case they refus'd, the *Thesmothetæ* were to bring an Indictment against them at the Court of *Helicea*; which if they neglected to do, themselves were to be deny'd admission into the *Areopagus*. To return, the *Nomothetæ*, having heard what the Orators could say in defence of the old Law, gave their Opinions accordingly, and their Sentence was ratified by the People in the following Assembly (*a*).

Solon, and after his example, the rest of those that enacted Laws in *Athens*, committed their Laws to writing, differing herein from *Lycurgus*, and the Law-givers of other Cities, who thought it better to imprint them in the minds of their Citizens, than to ingrave them upon Tablets, where it was probable they might lye neglected and unregarded, as *Plutarch* hath inform'd us in his Life of *Numa Pompilius*; "It is reported (faith he) that *Numa's* Body by his particular command was not burn'd, but that he order'd two stone Coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed his Body to be laid, and the other to be a Repository for his sacred Books and Writings, and both of them to be interr'd under the Hill *Ianiculum*; imitating herein the Legislators of *Greece*, who having wrote their Laws in Tablets, which they call'd *Kύραι*, did so long inculcate the contents of them, whilst they liv'd, into the Minds and Hearts of their Priests, that their Understandings became, as it were, living Libraries of those sacred Volumes, it being esteem'd a prophanation of such Mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead Letters". In some places, especially before the invention of Letters, it was usual to sing their Laws, the better to fix them in their memories; which custom, *Aristotle* tells us, was us'd in his Days amongst the *Agathyrſi*, a people near the *Scythians*; and this he phansies was the reason, why the Musical rules for keeping Time were call'd *Nόμοι* (*b*).

But *Solon* was of a contrary Opinion, esteeming it the safest way to commit his Laws to writing, which would remain entire, and impollible to be corrupted, when the unwritten Traditions of other Law-givers, thro' the negligence and forgetfulness of some, and the cunning and knavery of others, might either wholly perish in oblivion, or by continual forgeries and alterations be rendred altogether useless and unprofitable to the Publick, but abundantly serviceable to the designs and innovations of treacherous and ambitious Men. The Tables in which *Solon* penn'd his Laws, *Plutarch* tells us, were of wood, and call'd *Aξονες*, and so fashion'd that they might be turn'd round

(a) *Iidem.* (b) *Problem. Sect. X. cap. XXIX.*

in oblong Cases, some of them, he saith, remain'd till his Time, and were to be seen in the *Prytaneeum* at *Athens*, being (as *Aristotle* affirms) the same with the *Kύραι*. But others are of Opinion, that those are properly call'd *Kύραι*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices, and the Rites of Religion, and all the rest, *Aξονες*. Thus *Plutarch* (*a*). But *Apollodorus*, as he is quoted by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (*b*), will have *Kύραι*, to be of Stone, and to signify any Tablets, wherein Laws, or publick Edicts were written, and to have receiv'd their Name ὁντὶ τὸ κεροφόδιον εἰς ἄνθη, because they were erected up on high; or from the *Corybantes*, the first inventors of them, as *Theropompus* reports in his Treatise of Piety. *Aristotle* adds, that they were triangular, in his Treatise about the Republick of *Athens*, and is seconded hincin by *Pollux* (*c*), who farther remarks, that the *Aξονες* were quadrangular, and made of Brass. *Ammonius* (*d*), to trouble you with no more Opinions about them, will have the distinction to consist in this, That the *Aξονες*, were four-square, containing the Laws that concern'd civil Affairs; whereas the *Kύραι*, where Triangular, and contain'd Precepts about the publick Worship. What number there was of them, it is impossible to divine, since none of the ancient Authors have given us any light in this particular. They were kept in the Cittadel, but afterwards were remov'd to the *Prytaneeum*, that all Persons might have recourse to them upon any occasion (*e*); tho' some report that only Transcripts of them were carried thither, and that the Original, written by *Solon's* own hand, remain'd still in the Cittadel. Hence, as *Pollux* is of Opinion, came the Laws to be distinguish'd into τὰς κύραις, and τὰς ἀνώνυμαν νόμους, the former signifying the Laws that were in the *Prytaneeum*, which was in the lower City; the latter, those that were kept in the Cittadel, or upper City. Others are of Opinion, that by ὁ κάτωθι νόμος, *Demosthenes*, whose expreſſion it is, meant no more, than the lower part of the Tablet, but then, without dispute, he would have mention'd the number of the Tablets, as in other places He, and others usually do, and not have left us in the dark which of the Tablets he meant; Again, the lower part of the Tablet might sometimes happen to contain the first part of the Law, which it is improper to call ὁ κάτωθι, because that word seems to import something beneath the rest, and towards the latter End; for one Tablet was not always large enough to contain a whole Law, as appears from *Plutarch* (*f*), in whom we find that the eighth Law was engrav'd in the thirteenth Tablet. *Petit* will have *Demosthenes* to mean no more by ὁ κάτωθι νόμος, than the Law, which beneath, or, afterwards in the same Oration is cited by him. Others understand it of the lower Line, because the Laws are said to have been written βερπονδή, that is, as *Pausa-*

(a) *Solone.* (b) *Nubibus, &c Avibus.* (c) *Lib. VIII. cap. X.* (d) *Lib. de Different. Voc.* (e) *Pollux ibid.* (f) *Solone.*

nias explains it (a), when the second line is turn'd on the contrary side, beginning at the end of the former, as the Husband-men turn their Oxen in ploughing, in this manner,

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· VΘΞ Ι W U X

It was against the Law for any Man to erase a Decree out of any of the Tablets, or to make any alterations in them; and for the greater security of them, there were certain Persons call'd from their Office Γραμματεῖς, whose business it was to preserve them from being corrupted (b), and, as their Name imports, to transcribe the old, and enter the new ones into the Tablets; they were elected by the Senate, and, to render their Office more creditable, had several badges of Honour conferr'd upon them, of which in their proper place. Thus much of the Athenian Laws in general; their particular Laws have been with great Industry collected by Petit, and are now englisht from the Original Greek by Mr. Abell.

Attick L A W S.

Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

LE T Sacrifices be perform'd with fruits of the Earth. Let it be a Law among the Athenians for ever sacred and inviolable, always to observe due Homage in publick towards their Gods, and native Heroes, according to the usual Customs of their Country; and with all possible sincerity to offer in private First-fruits with anniversary Cakes.

One Drachm shall be the price of a Sheep, eighteen of a Medimn.

Cattle design'd for Sacrifice shall be culld.

It's order'd, that the Sacrificer carry part of his oblation home to his Family.

All the remains of the Sacrifice are the Priest's Fees.

Whoever easeth Nature in Apollo's Temple, shall be Indicted, and Sentenc'd to Death.

All Slaves and Forreigners are permitted to come to the publick Temples, either out of curiosity of seeing, or devotion.

They, who survive the report of being Dead, are prohibited entrance into the Furies Temple.

Let no violence be offer'd to any one, who flyes to the Temples for succour.

While the Celebration of the monthly Festival continues at A-

(a) Eliac. (b) Pollux. lib. VIII. cap. VIII.

thens, it's order'd, that no one be defam'd or affronted in Private or Publick, and that no busines be carry'd on, which is not pertinent to this Feast.

All, who frequent the Panathenæa, are forbid the wearing of gaudy and foppish Apparell.

It's enacted that at the institution of Panathenæa Majora Homer's Rhapsodies be repeated.

Sojourners are commanded to carry about at publick Processions little Vessels fram'd after the model of a Boat, and their Daughters Water-pots with Umbrellas.

No Foreigner is to be initiated into the *Holy Mysteries*.

Death shall be his penalty, who divulges the *Mysteries*.

The Persons initiated shall dedicate the Garments they were initiated in, at Ceres and Proserpina's Temple.

No Woman shall go in her Chariot to Eleusis, and whoever commits Theft, during the Feast kept at that place, shall be fin'd 6000 Drachms.

Let no petitionary Address be made at the *Mysteries*.

No one shall be Arrested, or Apprehended, during their Celebration.

An Assembly of the Senate shall convene in the Eleusinian Temple, the day following this Festival.

The Festival call'd Θεοφορεια is to be annual, at which time there's to be a Gaol-delivery.

Evagoras hath caus'd it to be enacted, that when there's a Procescion in the Piræus to the honour of Bacchus, and likewise at the Lenæan Procescion, Comedies shall be acted, and that during the celebration of the Διονυσια in the Citadel, Young-men shall dance, and Tragedians with Comedians act, and that at these times, and while the Θεοφορεια continue, no suit of Law, Bailment, or Suretyship shall be made; if trespass be made against any one of these particulars, let the Person herein offending be prosecuted in the usual manner at the popular Assembly held in Bacchus's Theater.

It's establisht, that the Prytanes the day subsequent to these observances call a Senate in the Theater of Bacchus, upon the Παρδία, where the first thing in debate shall be touching the sacred Rites, after that, the drawing up all the Indictments to be executed on the fore-mention'd Criminals at the Feasts.

No Arrestment shall be attempted on the Διονυσια.

Execution of condemn'd Prisoners shall be defer'd till the Θεοφορεια return from Delos.

No oblation of Victims shall be on the Αλώα.

He, who comes off Conqueror at the Olympick Games, shall receive as his reward 500. Drachms, at the Isthmick, an 100.

Fifteen shall go to the constitution of a Tragick Chorus.

It's forbid that Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides be brought on the Stage, wherefore License is given, that the City-clerk read them publicly.

An emulatory performance among the Tragedians is order'd to be in the Theater, on the Feast call'd *Xυρέα*, and that he, that acts his part best, shall be chosen *Denizon*.

No one under 30 Years of age shall be an Actor.

Let no *Archon* be expos'd by any malignant aspersion in a Comedy.

If any reflections are design'd, let them be palliated under a feign'd Name.

Let all the different Airs, and specifick kinds of Musick be observ'd, and each of them be made use off at it's peculiar Festival.

All spectators shall sit with due Attention and *Decorum* in the Theatre, and the Beadles are hereby impower'd to turn him out, who shall cause any noise or disturbance, but if any one contradict their commission, and persevere in his rudeness, a Fine shall be his punishment.

Sports exhibited in Honour of *Neptune* are to be in the *Piræus*, grac'd with three Dances perform'd in a ring, where the reward to them who come of best shall be ten *μισθίοντα*, to them whose performance is one degree below, eight, and six to the third rated Victors.

One day Yearly there's to be a publick Cock-fighting.

Sacrifices are required to be at the beginning of every Month.

Laws concerning them who Officiate in holy Rites.

TH E *Bouleus* is to take care that the *Parasites* be created out of the People, whose duty 'tis, each of them to reserve out of his allowance an *Hecteum* of Barley without the least deceit, for the maintenance of the *Genuine Citizens* Feast, to be kept in the Temple, according to the custom of the Countrey. The *Acharnenian Parasites* are to lay up an *Hecteum* of their dole in *Apollo's* Refervoiry, to which Deity they are to Sacrifice; their Chief likewise, the Old men, and Women who have had but one Husband, are oblig'd to joyn in the Sacrifices.

Out of those of spurious Birth, or their Children, the *Parasites* shall elect a Priest, who shall officiate in the *Monthly* Sacrifices, and against him who declines it an Action shall be enter'd.

Two of the sacred *Ceryces* must undergo *Parasitship*, for the space of one Year in *Apollo's* Temple at *Delos*.

The third part of the choicest of the Oxen is to be conferr'd on the Victor of a prize, the two remaining shall be divided between the Priests and *Parasites*.

Let there be given a just value of Money, to be disburs'd by the Priests for the reparation of the *Agyētōn* (or Treasury) of the Temple, and the *Παρασίτων*, or place set apart for the *Parasites* Executing of their Office.

Out of the most vigorous of the Old men, there are to be created *Oath-*

Οὐλοφόροι, i. e. Persons to carry sprigs of Olive in the *Panathenæa*, in Honor of Minerva.

It is hereby appointed that the Consort of the *Bouleus* shall be a Citizen of *Athens*, and never before Marri'd.

Nothe Priests only shall give an account of their demeanour in the Priest-hood, but likewise the *sacred Families*.

No impure Person shall be elected into the Priest-hood.

Laws relating to the Laws.

As for the Review of the Laws, I have purposely omitted it, as being spoken of in the foregoing sheets.

The Decree.

TISAMENUS hath establisht with the consent, and by the Authority of the People that *Athens* shall keep her ancient Form of Government, and make use of Solon's Laws, Weights, and Measures, with *Draco's* Sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requilite, the *Nomothete* created by the Senate for that purpose, shall engross them on a Tablet, and hang 'em up at the Statues of the *Eponymi*, that they may be expos'd to the publick view of all Passers by; The same Month they are to be given up to the Magistrates, after they have past the Estimation of the Senate of Five-hundred, and the delegated *Nomothete*. Be it also farther enact-ed, that any private Man may have free access to the Senate, and give in his Sentiments concerning them, after their promulgation; the Senate of *Areopagus* is required to take care that the Magistrates put these Laws in Execution, which for the conveniency of the Citizens are to be engrav'd on the Wall, where before they had been expos'd to publick view.

He that propounds a Law not conducing to the common Good, shall be indicted as a Pesterer of the Common-wealth.

The proposer of a Law after the Year's end shall be accus'd, if his Law be pernicious, but yet shall be liable to no Penalty.

No Law shall be repeal'd, before reference be made of it to the *Nomothete*, which being done, any *Athenian* may endeavour it's repeal, supposing he substitutes a new Law in it's stead. Both these the *Proedri* shall referr to the Votes of the People; the first proposal shall be concerning the Old Law, whether it be any longer conducible to the publick Good, then the new one shall be propos'd; now which of the two the *Nomothete* shall judge best, that shall be in force; yet this caution must be observ'd, that no Law shall be enacted which gainsays any of the rest, 'and the Person, who shall give in a Law inconsistent with the former constitutions, shall be dealt with according to the rigour of the Act against those, who promote prejudicial Laws.

He, who to abrogate an old Law promiseth to make a new one, and doth not, shall be Fin'd.

The *Thesmophore* shall Yearly assemble in the Repository of the Laws, and cautiously examine whether one Law bears any contradiction to another, whether there be any Law unratiſed, or duplicates about the ſame thing; if any of these ſhall occur in their examination, it ſhall be written on a Tablet, and read at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Which done, by the *Epiftata's* Order, the People ſhall vote which of them ſhall be made void, or ratified.

Laws referring to Decrees of the Senate, and Commonalty.

Hypocrata, or *Decrees of the Senate*, are to be but of one Year's continuance.

No *Pſephism* ſhall paſs to the *Commons* before the *Senate's* ſuperviſal. The Tablets, on which the *Pſephisms* are engrav'd, are by no means to be remov'd.

Let no *Pſephism*, either of the *Senate*, or *People*, be of greater Authority than the *Laws*.

No Sophiſtication is to be contain'd in a *Pſephism*.

Laws concerning Native, and Enfranchis'd Citizens.

ALL *Laws* are to be alike Obligatory towards the whole Body of the *People*.

All *Priests*, and *Archons* are to be elected out of the *Nobility*, whose duty 'tis to interpret all *Laws* both *Civil*, and *Divine*.

The *Orites*, or thoſe of the meaneſt ſort, ſhall be capable of no Magiſtracy.

The *Orites* ſhall haue right of Suffrage in publick Assemblies, and of being elected Judges.

Let all the *Citizens* haue an equal ſhare in the Government, and the *Archons* be indifferently elected out of them all.

No Persons, but ſuch as haue ſuffer'd perpetual baniſhment, or thoſe, who with their whole Families come to *Athens* for the conueniency of Trade, ſhall be enrold among the *Denizens*.

Let no Person, that's a Slave by birth, be made free of the City.

No one ſhall be admitted *Citizen*, unless a particular eminency of Virtue entitle him to it, yet if the *People* do conferr a Citizenship on any one for his merits, he ſhall not be ratified, before the *Athenians*, the next meeting of the Assembly, honour him with ſix-thouſand pri- vate Votes, the *Prytanes* likewiſe ſhall give them, before the entrance of the *Strangers*, the Boxes with the *Calciſi*, and take away the *Largeſſes*, which

which were the *Persian Bucklers*. Now these Persons after Enfranchise- ment ſhall be altogether uncapable of being *Archons* or Priests; as for their Children, they may officiate, if born of a Free-woman; if the persons made Free preſume the taking up of any Office, any Free-born Man may bring an Action againſt them, as Interlopers on his Privileges.

There ſhall be a diſquition made, whether they, who are inserted in the Register of *Citizens*, be ſo, or no; they who ſhall not be found *Citizens* on both ſides, let them be eras'd out; the determination of this ſhall be by their own Burrough, by whom if they be caſt, and acquiesce in their Sentence without any farther Appeal to an higher Court, they ſhall be rank'd among the *Sojourners*; but they, that after Appeal ſhall be condemn'd by the higher Court, ſhall be ſold for Slaves; or, if acquitted, ſhall continue in their Freedom.

It's permitted any *Athenian* to leave the City, and take his Family and Goods along with him.

Laws appertaining to Children legitimate, Spurious, or Adopted.

THE Y only ſhall be reckon'd *Citizens*, whose Parents are both ſo. He ſhall be lookeſt on as a *Baſtard*, whose Mother is not Free.

Let none of Spurious birth, whether male, or female intermeddle with either ſacred, or civil Affairs from the time of *Euclides* being *Archon*.

That inheritance ſhall paſs for good, which is given by a childleſs Person to an adopted Son.

Adoption muſt be made by Persons living.

No one, except the Person who adopted ſhall have a legitimate Son, ſhall relinquiſh the Family into which he is adopted, to return into his Natural.

Parents may give their Children what Names they will, or change thoſe they haue for others.

Whenever Parents come to enrold their Children, whether ge- nuine, or adopted in the publick Register, they are oblig'd to profess by Oath, that they were lawfully begotten of a Free-woman.

Beaſts design'd at this time for the Altar are to be of a certain weight, a Goat to weigh fifty *μυαι*, and two Sheep fourty-eight.

The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.

I 'LL never do any thing to disgrace this Armour; I'll never fly from my Post, or revolt from my General, but I'll fight for my Coun- try, and Religion in an Army, or ſingle Combat; I'll never be the Cause of weaſoning or endamaging my Country, and if it be my for- tune to fail on the Seas, my Country thinking fit to ſend me in a Colony,

Colony, I'll willingly acquiesce and enjoy that Land which is allotted me, I'll firmly adhere to the present constitution of Affairs, and whatsoever enactments the People shall please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them, but I'll, either singly by my self, or by joyning with others, endeavour to revenge them, I'll conform to my Country's Religion : I swear by these following Deities, viz. the *Agraui*, *Enyalius*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, the *Earth*, and *Diana*.

I'll stand so much up for the Honour of my Country, that, if occasion require, I'll lay down my Life for it.

My endeavours to extend the Dominions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are Wheat, Barley, Vine-yards and Olive-trees without it's Limits.

Parents shall have full right to disinherit their Children.

No one shall sell his Daughter, or Sister, unless he can prove her to be a Whore.

The first institution of Youth is to be in swimming, and the rudiments of Literature; as for those, whose Abilities in the world are but mean, let them learn Husbandry, Manufactures, with Trades; but they, who can afford a gentle Education, shall learn to play on Musical Instruments, to ride the great Horse, shall study Philosophy, learn how to Hunt, and be instructed in the *Gymnical* exercises.

Let him be disfranchis'd who beats his Parents, or does not provide for them.

If any Man, being found guilty of abusing his Parents, frequent prohibited places, the *Eleven* shall Fetter him, and bring him to Tryal at the *Heliæan* Court, where any one, who is inpower'd thereto, may accuse him; if he's here cast, the *Heliæan* Judges shall inflict upon him what punishment they please, and if they Fine him, let him be clapt up in Gaol till he pays the whole.

No Bastards, or such as have been brought up to no Employ, shall be oblig'd to keep their Parents.

If any one's Estate after his decease shall be call'd in question, the enjoyer of it is oblig'd to prove the Lawfulness of his Parent's getting it, according to that Golden Precept, *Honour your Parents*.

He, that is undutiful to his Parents, shall be uncapable of bearing any Office.

If, thro' the infirmity of old Age, or torture of a Disease, any Father be found craz'd and distemper'd in mind, a Son may forthwith have an Action against him, wherein if he be cast, he may keep him in bonds.

Laws belonging to Sojourners.

Every Sojourner is to choose his Patron out of the Citizens, who is to pay his Tribute to the *Collectors*, and take care of all his other concerns.

Let there be an Action against them, who don't choose a Patron, or pay Tribute.

In this Action no Foreigner shall appear as a Witness.

Let them be cast into Prison before Sentence is past, without any grant of Bailment, on whom the Action of *ξενία* is laid, but if condemn'd, they shall be sold; whoever is acquitted of this imputation may accuse his adversary of Bribery.

Laws relating to Slaves, and Free'd-servants.

He that beats another Man's Servant, may have an Action of *Battery* brought against him.

No one may Sell a *Captive* for a *Slave*, without the consent of his former Master, if any *Captive* hath been sold, he shall be rescu'd, and let his rescuer put in Sureties for his appearance before the *Polemarchus*.

If any *Slave*'s Freedom hath been unjustly asserted by another, the Assessor shall be liable to pay half the price of the *Slave*.

Any *Slave* unable to drudge under the Imperiousness of his Master, may compell him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle.

Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage.

No *Slaves* are to have their Liberty given them in the *Theater*; the Cryer, that proclaims it, shall be *Aniquit*.

All emancipated *Slaves* shall pay certain services, and due Homage to the Procurers of their Liberty, choosing them only for their Patrons, and not be wanting in the performance of those Duties, to which they are oblig'd by Law.

Patrons are permitted to bring an Action of *Αποστολον* against such *Free'd-Slaves*, as are remiss in the foremention'd Duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of Bondage, if the charge be prov'd against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall entirely possess their Freedom.

Any, who have a mind, whether Citizens, or Strangers, may appear as Evidence in the above-mention'd Cause.

He, that redeems a *Prisoner* of War may claim him as his own, unless the *Prisoner* himself be able to pay his own Ransom.

Maintenance is by no means to be given to a *Slave* careless in his Duty.

Laws concerning the Senate of Five-hundred.

No one is to be twice an *Ephēbe*.

The Oath of the Senate I pass by, as before treated of.

The Establishment of *Phocis* runs, That *Senators* with the rest of the *Athenians* shall keep the Feast call'd *Anatreseia*, as is usual by the custom of the Country, and that there shall be an *Adjournment* of the *Senate*, and *Vacations* of lesser Courts for five-days, from the time in which the *Protentha* begin to celebrate the *Solemnity*.

The Cryer shall pray for the good success of Affairs, and encourage all Men to lay out their endeavours on that design.

The Cryer shall curse him openly, with his Kindred, and Family, who shall appear at the *Sessions*, and plead Causes for Lucre.

Let the most grave of the *Senators*, having decently compos'd their Bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise thoughts to the People; and after them, let such of the rest as will, do the like one by one according to seniority.

In every Assembly let there be one *Tribre* elected to *preside*, and to look after the Laws.

The *Prytanes* are not to authorize the People to Vote twice for the same thing.

The *Senate of Five-hundred* may Fine as far as five-hundred *Drachms*.

Let the *Senate of Five-hundred* build new Ships.

Such, as have not built any, shall be refus'd the donation of Crowns.

This *Senate* shall give account of their Administration, and they, who have executed their Offices well, shall be rewarded with Crowns.

Laws which concern Magistrates.

NONE shall be *Magistrates* but they, who have competent Estates.

The Election of *Magistrates* shall be by *Beans*.

It shall be punishable with Death to pass two *Suffrages* for the same *Candidate*.

The *Archons* shall be created by the People.

No one shall bear the same Office twice, or enter on two several the same Year.

All *Magistrates*, that are elected by *Suffrages*, *Surveyors* of publick Works, and they, who have any Authority in the City upward of thirty days, with those, who preside over the Courts of Judicature, shall not enter on their respective Offices, till they have undergone the accustom'd Examination, and after the expiration of those Offices, they shall give an account of the discharge of their Trust before the *Scribe*, and *Logista*, as other *Magistrates* are oblig'd to do.

This

This shall be the manner: So much I receiv'd from the Publick, so much I laid out, or in the reverse.

Such, as have not made up their accounts, shall expend none of their money in Divine uses, nor be Patrons, or Witnesses; nor shall they have license to travel, bear another Office, or have the honour of a Crown conferr'd on them.

It's Death for any one in debt to be invested with a publick Trust.

It's also Death to attempt Usurpation.

Let him be out-law'd, who shall continue in his Magistracy after the dissolution of *Democratical* government, whereupon, it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a Person, and inake seizure of his Goods.

A Psephism.

THIS Decree was made by the *Senate* and *Athenian State*, the Tribe *Aeantis* being *Prytanes*, *Cleogenes Clerk*, *Boethus* chief *President*, and *Demophantus* it's *Ingrossier*; the date of this *Psephism* is from the election of the *Senate of Five-hundred*, and thus it runs: If any one levels at the ruine of the Common-wealth, or after it's subversion bears any Office, let that Man be censur'd as an Enemy to the State, and dispatch'd out of the way; let all his Goods, saving the tenth part to be confiscated to *Minerva*, be expos'd to Sale: he that kills him, with all his Assistants, shall be blameless herein, and free from the guilt of his Death; all *Athenians* likewise in their several Tribes are oblig'd by Oath to attempt the killing of that Man, who shall in the least seem to affect the Crimes here set down.

The Oath.

I'LL endeavour with my own hands to kill that Man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian Republick*, or after it's subversion shall bear any Office, and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, either in respect of the Gods or Demons, who shall take away his Life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the distribution of his Goods, I'll pass my Vote, that the Slayer shall have half: and He, that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his own Life, shall, with his Heirs, have due Respect and Honour from me, as *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* with their Posterity.

All Oaths, that shall be taken in time of War or any other Juncture, if inconsistent with the *Athenian Constitutions*, shall be null and void.

No Office, impos'd by the People, shall be refus'd by Oath before the *Senate*.

Whoever casts scurrilous abuses on a Magistrate while officiating, shall be Fin'd.

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The Examination, and interrogatory Disquisition of the Archons.

W H E T H E R they are Citizens by a lawful lineage of Progenitors for three generations, and from what Family they assume their Pedigree, whether they derive their Progeny from *Paternal Apollo*, and *Jupiter Hercæus*?

Quest. Hark you, Friend, who's your Father?

Answ. What Sir, d'ye mean my Father? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred can you produce to make Evidence?

Answ. Sufficient Sir, first of all these Cousins, then these Persons who have right to the same *Burying-place* with us, these here of the same *Phœnix*, and these related to *Apollo Patrius*, and *Jupiter Hercæus*, lastly, these Gentlemen of the same *Burrough*, who have repos'd the Trust and Management of Offices in me, and honour'd me with their Suffrages.

Quest. D'ye hear Friend? Who's your Mother?

Answ. What mine d'ye mean? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred have you to show?

Answ. These first, and second Cousins, and those of the same *Phœnix*, and *Burrough*.

Then the Case is to be put,

Whether they have { Honour'd their Parents?
Fought for their Country?
Possession of an Estate, and all their Limbs sound:

The Archon's Oath.

I 'LL be punctual in the observance of the Laws, and, for every default herein, I'll forfeit a Statue of Gold, of equal Proportion with my self, to the *Delphian Apollo*.

An *Archon*, that shall be seen overcharg'd with Wine, shall suffer Death.

If any one is contumeliously piquant, beats any *Thesmophora*, or blasts his reputation, a crown'd *Archon's*, or any other's, whom the City privileges with an Office, or confers any dignity upon, let him be *Amput.*

The *Arcopagite Senate*, when Vacancies fall, shall yearly be recruited out of the *Archons*.

The *Arcopagites* shall have inspection into the Department, and Behaviour of the *Athenians*.

Let no *Arcopagite* make a Comedy.

The

The Senate of *Arcopagus* shall give an Account of their Management before the *Logistæ*.

Let a *Sterathys* have Children lawfully begotten, and enjoy an Estate within the Confines of *Attica*.

The Oath of the Sterathys.

I 'LL twice a Year make an Incursion into the *Megarensian Territories*.

I'll inform against such of the *Sterathys*, as shall endamage the Fleet of their Allies.

No one shall be created *Syndic*, or *Astynomus* above once.

The *Quæstors* shall be chosen by Suffrages.

A *Quæstorship* must not be kept above five Years.

It's Death to go an Embassie without Commission from the *Senate*, or People.

No one shall be *Secretary* above once under the same Magistrate.

Laws respecting Orators.

NO one under the Age of thirty Years shall speak an *Oration* in the *Senate*, or Popular Assembly.

An Inspection into the Orators Lives.

LET no one be a publick *Orator*, who hath struck his Parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of doors; who hath refus'd going into the Army in case of publick Necessity, or thrown away his Shield; who hath committed whoredom, or given way to effeminacy; who hath run out his Father's Estate, or any inheritance left him by a Friend; if, notwithstanding any of these heinous performances, any one shall dare to deliver a publick *Oration*, let those, who are Commission'd, bring him to the Test in open Court.

Let an *Orator* have Children lawfully begotten, and let him be master of an Estate within *Attica*'s Borders.

If an *Orator*, either before the *Senate*, or People, hath not pertinently and distinctly handled the thing propounded, or hath descanted twice on the same subject, hath been piquantly censorious, and hath abusively animadverted upon any one's behaviour, hath spoken incoherently to the *Proedri*'s determination, or, hath encourag'd any one so to do, or if he hath abus'd the *Epistata* after the rising of the *Assembly*, or *Senate*; such an one's Insolence shall be punish'd by the *Proedri* with a mulct

mulct of fifty Drachms, the Περικλετες shall have intelligence of his misdemeanours, and if his penalty shall seem too light for his Crimes, besides his Fine, let him be hal'd to the next convention of the Senate, or Assembly, where if condemn'd, the Senate passing private Votes, the Proedri shall exact a Fine from him to be paid to the Περικλετες for his Μαρανοπεια, or breach of the Laws.

Laws treating of Duties, and Offices.

THE Archons shall appoint in the Assembly by Lots a certain number of Flute-players to be at the Χορηγιαι, or publick Dancings.

No Stranger shall joyn in a Dance with a Chorus, if he do, the Choragus shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms.

Let it be lawfull to inform against a Stranger to the Archon before his entrance into the Theater.

A stranger, if indicted by a Χορηγος for dancing, shall be Fin'd fifty Drachms, and a thousand, if he persist after prohibition.

Those Dancers, who are disfranchis'd, are to be drove of the Stage.

Sixteen Men are to be chosen out of all the publick Companies, to contribute equally towards the building a Man of War, which service they are to engage in from twenty-five years of Age to forty.

The qualification for a Trierarch is, that he be worth ten Talents, according to which estimation he is to be chosen, but if his Estate is rated more, let him build Ships equivalent, yet at most but three, with a Skiff; they, who are not worth so much, shall be join'd together so many of them, till their Estates make up the summ.

The Trierarchs, and Overseers of the Navy shall be commission'd to register their Names, who, being of the same Συμμοιχεια, are indebted to the Common-wealth for Ship-rigging, for which they shall sue them.

He, that owes rigging, shall either give it, or be main-priz'd.

All Trierarchs elect shall betake themselves to the Ships, they are constituted over.

All Trierarchs are to render an account of their Administration.

There shall be yearly Appointments for the exchange of Offices, where he, that shall be design'd a Αετερηγος, shall be exempted from serving, if he can produce any vacant person richer than himself, and if the person produc'd confess that he is more wealthy than the other, he shall be put in the other's place among the Three-hundred, but if he denies it, let them change Estates.

His Lands and Tenements shall be inspected into, who shall offer himself in the Exchange.

They, who do quit their own Estates for those of their neighbours, shall be oblig'd by Oath to discover them in this Form.

I'll fairly and honestly make known the estimate of all my Possessions, except

except such, as consist in those silver Mines, that the Laws exact no Duties from.

Three days shall be allow'd for those, who are to make exchange of their Estates, to produce them.

No one shall be compell'd to exhibit his Estate, which lies in Mines.

Laws about the Refusal of Offices.

NO Man, except the Archons, shall be excus'd from the Trierarch-ship.

No one shall be exempted from contributing to the Assessment for the levying of Souldiers.

Laws concerning Honours to be conferr'd on those, who have deserv'd well of the Common-wealth.

NO Person shall make a custom of eating in the Prytaneum.

He, who shall be invited, and refuse to come, shall be Fin'd.

They, who are maintain'd in the Prytaneum, shall have Maza, and on Festivals, bread.

All Crowns, if presented by the People, shall be given in the popular Assembly, if by the Senators, in the Senate, and in no other place shall any be presented.

None, except the whole body of the Senate, and popular Assembly, with particular Tribes, or Burroughs, shall be privileg'd to conferr Crowns.

No Tribe, or Burrough may presume on the Authority of bestowing Crowns in the Theater upon any of their own Members, if they do, the Cryer that proclaims them shall be disfranchis'd.

No Stranger shall have a Crown given him in the Theater without the People's consent; when given, it shall be consecrated to Minerva.

Every Foreigner, who is honour'd with a Crown, shall bring Certificates of a regular and sober Life.

No one, tho' never so wealthy, except he be of the kindred of Harmodius and Aristogiton, or an Archon, shall claim Immunity from serving in publick Offices; from this time hereafter the People shall gratifie no one without such an Exemption, but he, who supplicates for it, shall be disfranchis'd, together with all his House and Family, and shall be liable to the Actions of Γεραι, and Ευδεξεις, by which if convicted, he shall suffer the same Fate with those, who, tho' indebted to the Publick, officiate as Judges.

Honours conferr'd by the People shall stand good; but with this Proviso, that, if the Persons so dignified prove after examination to be unworthy of them, they shall be void.

Laws referring to the Gymnasia.

NO School shall be open'd before Sun-rising, or kept open after Sun-set.

None, except the School-master's Sons, and Nephews, shall be permitted entrance into School, if beyond the customary age for sending Youth thither, but more especially if Lads frequent it at the same time; to the breach of this Law the penalty of Death is annex'd.

No School-master shall give any adult person leave to go to Mercury's Festival; if he transgres's herein, and do not thrust him out of the School, the Master shall suffer according to the Law enacted against the corruptors of Free-born Children.

Let all *Choragi* elected by the People be above forty years of Age.

No Slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the *Palaestra*.

Laws relating to Physicians and Philosophers.

NO Slave, or Woman shall study, or practice *Physick*.

All Free-born Women have liberty to learn, and practise *Physick*.

Let no one teach *Philosophy*. This Law was made when the thirty Tyrants had the dominion of Athens.

No one is to keep a *Philosophy-School*, unless by the Senate and People's approbation; he, that doth otherwise, shall be put to Death.

Laws concerning Judges.

AFTER a Magistrate's determination, Appeal may be made to the Courts of Justice.

They, who are degraded from the *Senate*, may sit as *Judges* in the Courts.

All the *Athenians* shall draw Lots for the distribution of every one into particular Courts.

The Judges Protestation I omit, as before treated of.

Of Laws relating to Law-suits.

LE T the *Bayliff*, or Person that arrests be registered.

Whosoever doth not appear on the Day appointed for the Tryal of his Cause, shall suffer for his remissness by an Action call'd *Δίκη ἐπίγνωσης* and be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, but if a just excuse be brought for his staying away, his punishment shall be redress'd by another Action call'd *Μη Σοτα*, or the annulling of the former Act.

staying away, his punishment shall be redress'd by another Action call'd *Μη Σοτα*, or the annulling of the former Act.

Laws respecting Preparatories to Judgments.

TH E *Archons* shall propose Questions to both Parties, to which they shall answer.

The Plaintiff shall promise upon Oath that he will prosecute the Action, if he has his Evidences and all things in order, but if not, he shall demand time for providing and preparing them.

The *Archons* shall summon the contesting Parties to make their Appearance, and introduce them into the Court.

Let the *Judges* be elected by Lots.

No *Judge* shall give Sentence twice the same Day.

A Form of the Oath taken by Judges after Election.

I'LL shew Equity in all Causes, and my Judgment shall be agreeable to the Laws, in those things, which are determin'd by them; in the rest my Sentence shall, as near as may be, agree with Justice.

Laws referring to Judgments.

EVER Y *Judge* shall put down the Heads of those Suits, he is to determine, in his Table-book.

His Cause shall be overthrown, who runs away for fear.

Criminals have liberty of making their own defence.

No Slave shall plead in any Cause.

The Cryer shall pronounce Verdict against the Partie, into whose Urn the greater number of Pebbles bord' with holes are cast; and on his side, to whom the whole ones belong.

When on both sides there shall be an equal share of Votes, the Prisoner shall be acquitted.

Let there be a number of Urns, or Vote-boxes, equal to the number of those, who hold the Contest.

The *Judges* shall propose such and such Penalties, the Defendant also shall offer to their consideration such a punishment, as himself shall think reasonable; after which, the whole matter shall be committed to the *Judges* determination.

The Court shall not sit after Sun-set.

If any one hath brib'd the *Helicen* Court, or any other Court of Judicature among the *Athenians*, or hath call'd a *Senate*, or enter'd into conspiracy against the State, if any Lawyer hath been been greas'd in the Fist to carry on any publick, or private Cause, he shall be liable

liable to be indicted before the *Thesmothete* by the Action call'd Γραφή.

All private bargains, that are struck up between parties before Witnesses, shall stand good in Law.

Don't make any Covenant, or bargain contrary to the Laws. There shall be no after-wranglings rais'd concerning those things, which have been once decided.

Any Man shall be permitted to non-suit his Adversary, if the Action laid against him be not lawfully enter'd.

They who have receiv'd damages, may prosecute within five years.

There may be Actions enter'd about contracts made out of Attica, or Wares exported out of it to any other Place.

Laws concerning Arbitrators.

PEOPLE, that have any Law-suits about private Matters, may choose any Arbitrator, but so, as to stand to his definitive Sentence, whatsoever it is.

Such Arbitrators are to swear before Verdict be given.

The Arbitrators are to wait for the Plaintiff's appearance till Sun-set, and then, in case he don't appear, shall inflict such a Penalty, as shall be convenient.

It's lawfull to make Appeal from Arbitrators chosen by Lots to other Courts of Justice.

A Law about Oaths.

OATHS shall be attested by three Gods, Ιχειος, or the Supplier's President, Καρδαστος, the Purifier, Εγκασθειος, the Dispeller of Dangers, or Evils.

Laws treating of Witnesses.

THEIR Evidence shall not be taken, who are Ansæts. No Slaves shall appear as Evidence.

No one shall be Evidence for himself, either in Judicial Actions, or in rendring up Accounts.

Both Plaintiff and Defendant are oblig'd to answer each other's Questions, but their Answers shall not pass for Evidence.

There shall be no constraint for Friends and Acquaintance, if contrary to their Wills, to bear Witness one against another.

Let the Penalty of the Action call'd Ψευδομαρτυρία be in force against those, who bear, or suborn false Witnesses.

Evidence shall be declar'd in writing.

Witnesses, being once sworn, shall by no means draw back from what they are to attest.

Eye:

Eye-witnesses shall write down what they know, and read it.

His Evidence shall suffice, that can give his ἀξον, or what he heard from a Person deceas'd; or εἰμαρτυρία, or an attestation receiv'd from one gone to Travel, supposing the Traveller hath no possibility of returning.

That Witness, who declines his Evidence, shall be fin'd a Drachm.

One cited for a Witness shall either give in his Evidence, swear he knows nothing of it, or incur a mulct of a thousand Drachms to be paid to the publick Exchequer.

Let contesting Parties, if they will, make use of the Διαδικαστικα.

False Witnesses shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd Δίκη Ψευδομαρτυρία, He that suborn'd them with Δίκη ραποτεχνία.

Laws touching Judgments already past.

HERE shall be no renewing of any thing dispatcht by Judges either in the publick, or more private Courts, or by the People, according to the Enactions of their Decrees; there shall be likewise no suffraging and impeaching any one contrary to the prescription of the Laws.

All Judgments, or Verdicts whatsoever deliver'd by the Judges in the popular State, shall stand good, but all Acts and Decrees, that are made under the Thirty Tyrants, shall be void.

Laws concerning Punishments.

THE Judges are not to proceed so strictly to the rigour of their Sentence, as that Corporal, and Pecuniary Punishments shall be inflicted at one and the same time.

They, who run into errors unwittingly, shall not be call'd in Question, but some adhortatory Lessons of their Duty are to be privately inculcated.

The most sufficient and wealthiest of the Athenians shall be exil'd by Ostracism for ten Years, least they should rise up and rebell.

No one is to harbour an Exile, he, that doth, is to participate of the same Fate with him.

Let both Delinquent, and Abettor receive punishments alike.

He, that professeth himself guilty before arraignment, shall be condemned.

Debtors, who have been found to owe money, shall be oblig'd to pay from the very day the debt was due, whether they are registred in the Debt-book, or no; and he that doth not make payment within the ninth Prytanie, shall be oblig'd to pay double.

No one indebted to the City shall enter on any Office;

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That

That Debtor, who hath been convicted of making an Oration to the People, shall be put into the Court of the *Eleven*.

Debtors, till they have clear'd off all, shall be disfranchis'd; but if they die, not having fully discharg'd the Debts, their Heirs shall be disfranchis'd, till they make satisfaction.

After payment is made, the Debtor's Name shall be eras'd out of the Debt-book.

The Thirds of the Debtor's Goods, which are forfeited to the Exchequer, shall fall to any private Person, that informs against him.

Let those, who are Debtors to the Publick, and have not their Names enroll'd, be sued by the Action call'd *Eydēsis*.

They, who have been unjustly registered as Debtors, shall be struck out, and their Names, who registered them, be put in their place.

If any Debtor shall be blotted out of the *Albe*, or Register, before he hath discharg'd his Debt, let the Action call'd *Aγεάπιον* be brought against him in the Court of the *Thesmophore*.

Whosoever hath been branded with Infamy before Solon's *Archonship*, shall be reprivileg'd, except those, whom the *Areopagites*, *Ephetae*, or *Prytanes* have banish'd, by the appeal of the *Bacchae*, for Murther, Burglary, or Treason, when this Law was promulg'd.

No intercession shall be made for any disfranchis'd Person, nor for any one indebted to the publick Exchequer, or the Gods, towards the investing the former with his Privileges, and erasing the latter's Name out of the Debt-book, unless the *Athenian* People by six-thousand private Votes permit it. If any one puts up an address to the *Senate*, or People for them, whom the Judges, *Senate*, or People have already cast, or the Debtor supplicate for himself before payment be made; let the Writ call'd *Eydēsis* be issued out against him after the same manner, as against those, who, tho' indebted, presume to act as Judges; if any other body, before restitution of the Debt be made, intercede for the Debtor, let all his Goods be expos'd to Sale, and if a *Pwoedrus* give a Debtor, or any Person on his account leave to propose the petition to be voted before Accounts are made up, he shall be *Atipos*.

Laws referring to Receivers of publick Revenues, the Exchequer, and Money for Shows.

THE *Senate* of Five-hundred shall put such, as sat in the publick Revenues, and are negligent to pay their Rent, in the Stocks.

If the above mention'd Officers don't bring in their Rents before the ninth *Prytanee*, they shall pay double.

They, who are entrusted with Money for the carrying on of Religious Affairs, shall render it up in the *Senate*; which if they neglect, they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws enacted for Publick Revenues.

They, who employ the publick Stock a whole Year for their own use,

use, shall be oblig'd to restore double, and they, who continue thus squandering another Year, shall be clapt into Gaol until payment be made.

A thousand Talents are yearly to be laid by for the defending of *Athica* against forreign Invasions, which Money if any Person propose to lay out on any other design, he shall suffer Death.

At the eruption of a suddain War, Souldiers shall be paid out of the remainder of the Money design'd for Civil uses.

If any one proposes that the Souldiers pay should be taken out of the Money design'd for the exhibition of *Shows*, he shall be put to Death.

Laws about Limits, and Land-marks.

IF there be a publick Well within the space of an *Hippicum*, any one may make use of that; but otherwise, every Person shall dig one of his own.

If any one digs a Well near another Man's ground, he must leave the space of an *Oryx* betwixt it, and his neighbour's enclosure.

He, that digs a Well ten *Oryx* deep, and finds no spring, may draw twice a day out of his neighbour's six Vessels of Water, call'd *Xiss*.

Let him, who digs a Ditch, or makes a Trench nigh another's Land, leave so much distance from his neighbour, as the Ditch, or Trench is deep.

If any one makes an Hedge near his neighbour's ground, let him not pass his neighbour's Land-mark; if he builds a Wall, he is to leave one foot betwixt him and his neighbour; if an House, two.

He, that builds an House in a Field, shall place it a Bow-shoot from his neighbour.

He, who keeps an Hive of Bees, must place them three-hundred Feet from his neighbour's.

Olive, and Fig-trees must be planted nine Feet from another's ground, but other Trees, five.

If any one plucks up the sacred Olive-trees at *Athens*, besides the two yearly allow'd to be us'd at the publick Festivals, or Funerals, he shall pay an hundred *Drachms* for every one unlawfully pull'd up, the tenth part of which Fine shall be due to *Minerva*. The same Offender shall also pay an hundred to any private Person who shall prosecute him; the Action shall be brought before the *Archons*, where the prosecutor shall deposite *Pneuvēia*. The Fine laid on the convicted Criminal the *Archons*, before whom the Action is brought, shall give an Account of to the *Praetores*, and of that part, which is to be repolit'd in *Minerva*'s Treasury, to her *Questors*, which if they don't, themselves shall be liable to pay it.

Laws respecting Lands, Herds, and Flocks.

MEN shall not be permitted to purchase as much *Land*, as they desire.

All wild Extravagants, and Spend-thrifts, who lavishly run out the Estates left them by their Fathers, or others, shall be *Atpusæ*.

Any one, who brings an *He-Wolf*, shall have five *Drachms*, and for a *She-Wolf*, one.

No one shall kill an Ox which labours at the Plough, neither shall any one kill a Lamb of a Year old.

Hurt not living Creatures.

Laws relating to Buying and Selling.

IF any Person sues for the title of Land, he shall prosecute the Possessor, with the Action call'd *Δικη κραπτες*, if of an House, with a *Δικη ειρωνεις*.

There shall be no cheating among the Market-folks.

That *Fish-monger* shall incur imprisonment, who shall over-rate his *Fish*, and take less than he first proferr'd them for.

Fish-mongers shall not lay their stinking *Fish* in water, thereby to make it more vendible.

Laws appertaining to Usury, and Money.

A Banker shall demand no more Interest-money, than what he agree'd for at first.

Let *Usurers* Interest-money be moderate.

No body, who hath put in surety for any thing, may sue for it, He, or his Heirs.

Pledges, and *Sureties* shall stand but for one Year.

No one to clear his debt shall make himself a *Slave*.

He, who sets an appointed time for the sealing of Contracts, or making good of Promises, and sneaks away when the time is out, shall have his House rifled.

The Fine ensuing the Action call'd *Eξελη*, shall go to the Publick.

An hundred *Drachms* shall go to a *μυαι*.

All *Coiners*, *Debasers*, and *Diminishers* of the currant Coyn shall lose their Lives.

Let

Let no *Athenian*, or *Sojourner* lend money to be exported, unless for Corn, or some such commodity allowable by Law.

He, who sends out Money for other uses, shall be brought before the Masters of the *Custom-House*, and prosecuted by an Action call'd *Φάσις*, after the manner of them who are caught transporting Corn unlawfully; let such an one have no Writ or Warrant permitted him against the Person to whom he lent Money, neither shall the *Archons* let him enter any Tryal in the Judicial Courts.

Laws about Wares to be imported to, or exported from Athens.

ALL Olives are exportable, but other things are not; so that the *Archon* shall openly curse the Persons that export them, or else be amer'd an Hundred *Drachms*.

Figs are restrain'd by Law from exportation.

If any *Athenian Factor*, or Merchant convey *Corn* any where else than to *Athens*, the Action call'd *Φάσις* is to be brought against him, and the Informer shall claim half the Loading design'd for illegal exportation.

He, who impleads a Merchant on sleight grounds, shall have both the Actions of *Εγέλεις*, and *Απαγωγὴ*, brought against him.

He shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, and wholly debarr'd from issuing out the Actions of *Γεραφή*, *Φάσις*, *Απαγωγὴ*, and *Εριγύνοις*, who shall desist from the prosecution of any Man accus'd by him, or doth not acquire the fifth part of the Suffrages.

Let no Inhabitant of *Athens* buy more *Corn* than fifty *Phormi* will contain.

No one shall export *Wood*, or *Pitch*.

All Controversies and compacts made by Bonds between Mariners, either sayling for *Athens*, or bound elsewhere, shall be brought under the Cognizance of the *Thesmophores*; if any Mariners, in any of the Marts, bound to *Athens*, or for any other Place, are found guilty of injustice, they shall be clapt into Custody till the Fine, which shall be impos'd on them, is paid; any of them may non-suit his Adversary, if he be illegally prosecuted.

No *Water-men*, and *Masters* of Ships shall carry Passengers any where else, than they agree'd at first.

Laws respecting Arts.

ANY one may accuse another of Idleness.

No Man shall have two *Trades*.

No Man shall sell Perfumes.

Foreigners shall not be privileg'd to sell Wares in the Market, or profess any Calling.

Any one may bring an Action of Slander against him, who disparages, or ridicules any Man, or Woman for being of a Trade.

He, who by his Profession gets best repute, and is reckon'd the most ingenious in his way, shall have his Dyt in the *Prytaneum*, and be honour'd with the highest Seat.

That *Ferry-man* shall be prohibited the exercise of his employ, who overturns his Boat, tho' unwillingly, in wafting over to *Salamis*.

Laws concerning Societies, with their Agreements.

If Fellow-Burgesses, those of the same *Pharēcia*, those who are occupied in the same Sacerdotal Function, viz. the *Oxyēwes*, *Thetaōi*, or they who diet together, have equal claim to the same Burying-place, travel together for the buying of Corn and other Traffick, if any of these Persons make any Bargains not inconsistent with the Laws, they shall stand good.

If any one recedes from a promise made to the *Commons*, *Senate*, or *Judges*, he shall be proceeded against with the Action call'd *Eisagyγēia*, and, if found guilty, be punish'd with Death.

He, that doth not stand to an engagement made publickly, shall be disfranchiz'd.

He, His Heirs, and all who belong to him shall be *Anūoi*, who hath receiv'd bribes himself, tamper'd others with them, or us'd any insinuating Artifice to the prejudice of the State.

He, who being in a publick Office receives bribes, shall either loose his Life, or make retribution of the bribes ten-fold.

Laws belonging to Marriages.

No Man shall have above one Wife.

No Athenian is to marry any other than a Citizen.

If an Heiress is contracted lawfully in full Marriage by a Father, Brother by Father's side, or Grand-sire, it's lawful to procreate with her Free-born Children; but if she be not betroth'd, these Relations being dead, and she consequently an Orphan, let her have a Guardian to joyn her in Wedlock to the next of kin; but supposing she is no Heiress, and but low in the world, let her choose what Guardian she please, and he shall be oblig'd to the performance of his Trust.

If any one marry a Stranger, as his Kins-woman, to an Athenian Citizen, he shall be *Atimōs*, his Goods publish't to Sale, the Thirds

of which shall fall to the Impeacher, who shall make him appear before the *Thesmothete*, after the manner of those, who are prosecuted with the Action of *Zevix*.

A Stranger, that settles with a Citizen-Woman, may be sued by any one impower'd thereto, in the Court of the *Thesmothete*, where if the Law goes against him, he shall be sold, and the third part of what he is sold for, and of his Estate be given to the accuser; in the same manner Foreign-women shall be dealt with, who marry Free'd-men, and beside that, the Man shall forfeit a thousand *Drachms*.

No Athenian Woman shall marry her self into an exotick Family.

Any one may make a Sister by Father's side his Wife.

No Heiress must marry out of her Kindred, but shall resign up her self, and Fortune to her nearest Relation.

Every Month, except in that call'd *Σημεροειδῶν*, the *Judges* shall meet to inspect into those who are design'd for Heiresses Husbands, and shall put them by as incapacitated, who cannot give sufficient credentials of their alliance by Blood.

If any one sues another by a claim to the Heiress, he must deposite *magnatubolū*, or the tenth part of her Portion, and he, who enjoys her, shall lay his Case open to the *Archon*, but in case he makes no Appeal, his right of inheritance shall be cut off; if the Heiress's Husband, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Thing doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose busines it is to take Cognizance of the Action.

If a Father bury all his Sons, he may entail his Estate on his marri'd Daughters.

If an Heiress cannot conceive Children by her Husband, she may seek aid amongst the nearest of her Husband's Relations.

All Men are oblig'd to lie with their Wives, if Heiresses, three nights, at least, in a Month.

He, that ravishes a Virgin shall be oblig'd to marry her.

A Guardian shall not marry the Mother of those Orphans, with whose Estate he is entrusted.

Slaves are allow'd the Familiarity of Women.

When a New-marri'd Woman is brought to her Husband's House, she must carry with her a *Φύγατρον* in token of good House-wifery.

Let a Bride, at the first bedding with her Bridegroom, eat a Quince.

Laws touching Dowries.

A Bride shall not carry with her to her Husband above three Garments, and Vessels of small value.

They, who are the next in Blood to an Orphan-Virgin that hath no Fortune, shall marry her themselves, or settle a Portion on her according as they are in Quality, if of the Πεντακοσιουρημυνοι, five-hundred Drachms; if of the Ιωπηνες, three-hundred; if of the Ζυγι, one hundred and fifty: but if she hath many Kindred equally alli'd, all of them severally shall put in a contribution, till they make up the respective sum; if there be many Orphan-virgins, their nearest Relation shall either give in Marriage, or take one of them to Wife, but if he doth neither, the *Archon* shall compell him; but if the *Archon* does connive at the neglect, he himself shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms, to be consecrated to *Juno*. Whoever breaks this Law may be indicted by any Person before the *Archon*.

That Woman, who brings her Husband a Fortune, and lives in the same House with her Children, may keep their Estates in her own hand without paying Interest-money.

An Heiress's Son, when come to man's Estate, shall enjoy his Mother's Fortune, and keep Her.

He, that promises to settle an Estate on a Woman, shall not be forc'd to stand to it, if she dies without Heirs.

Laws referring to Divorces.

HE, who divorceth his Wife, must make restitution of her Portion, or pay in lieu of it nine *Oboli* every Month, her Guardian otherwise may prosecute him in the *Odeion* with the Action call'd *oīrē dīmē* for her maintenance.

If a Woman forsake her Husband, or He put away his Wife, He, who gave her in Marriage, shall exact the Dowrie given with her, and no more.

That Woman, who hath a mind to leave her Husband, must give in a separation-bill to the *Archon* with her own hand, and not by a Proxy.

Laws belonging to Adulteries.

HE, that deflows a Free-woman by force, shall be Fin'd an hundred Drachms.

He, who in the same manner violates a young Maiden's Chastity, shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms.

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Of the Civil Government of Athens.
He, that catches an *Adulterer* in the Fact, may impose any Arbitrary punishment.

If any one is injuriously clapt up on suspicion of *Adultery*, He shall make his complaint by Appeal to the *Thesmothetæ*, which if they find justifiable, He shall be acquitted, and his Sureties discharg'd from their Bail; but in case he be brought in Guilty, the Judges shall lay on him, death only excepted, what punishments they will, and he be forc'd to get Friends to pass their word for his future Chastity.

If any one commit a Rape, he shall be amer'd twice as much as is usual otherwise.

No Husband shall have to do with his Wife any more after she hath defil'd his Bed, and her Gallant convicted; and, if he does not put her away, he shall be esteem'd *Anymos*; hereupon she is prohibited coming to publick Temples, where if she does but enter, she is liable to any Penalty, except Death.

No *Adulteress* shall be permitted to adorn her self, she, that doth, shall have her Garments cut or torn off her back by any that meets her, and likewise be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled.

No Woman of innocent conversation shall appear abroad in an immodest or affected Garb, she, that doth, shall forfeit a thousand Drachms.

Women are forbid to travel with above three Gowns, or more meat and drink than they can purchase for an *Obolus*, neither shall they carry with them above an Hand-basket, or go out any where by night but in a Chariot, with a Lamp or Torch carry'd before it.

Laws relating to the Love of Boys; Procurers, and Strumpets.

NO Slave shall Caref, or be Enamour'd with a *Free-born Youth*, he who is, shall receive publickly fifty stripes.

If any one, whether Father, Brother, Uncle, or Guardian, or any other who hath Jurisdiction over a *Boy*, take hire for him to be effeminately embrac'd; the catamited *Boy* shall have no Action issued out against him, but the *Chap-man*, and *Pander* only, who are both to be punish'd after the same manner; the *Child*, when grown up to maturity of Age, shall not be oblig'd to keep his Father so offending, only, when dead, He shall bury him with decency suitable to a Parent's Obsequies.

If any one prostitute a *Boy*, or *Woman*, He shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Γραιὴ*, and, if convicted, punish'd with Death.

Any *Athenian* empower'd so to do, may bring an Action against him who hath vitiated a *Boy*, *Woman*, or *Man* *Free-born*, or in Service, for the determination of which the *Thesmothetæ* are to create Judges to sit in the *Helicea*, within thirty days after the complaint hath been brought before them, or, suppose any publick concern hinders, as soon as occasion will permit; if the Offender is cast, He shall immediately under-

go the punishment, whether Corporal, or Pecuniary, annex to his Offence; if he be sentenc'd to die let him be deliver'd to the *Evēnēa*, and suffer Death the same Day; if the viatized Servant, or Woman belong to the Prosecutor, and he lets the Action fall, or doth not get the fifth part of the Suffrages, He shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*; if the Criminal be only fin'd, let him pay within eleven Days, at the farthest, after Sentence is past; if it be a Free-born Person he hath viatized, let him be kept in bonds till payment thereof.

He, that hath prostituted himself for a *Catamite*, shall not be elected an *Archon*, Priest, or *Syndic*, shall execute no Office, either within, or out of Attica's boundaries, conferr'd by Lot, or Suffrage; he shall not be sent on an Embassie, pass Verdict, set footing within the publick Temples, be crown'd on solemnary Days, or enter the *Fōrum*'s purified Precincts; if any one convicted of the above-mention'd lasciviousness be caught offending in any one of these points, he shall suffer Death.

Persons, who keep company with common *Strumpets*, shall not be accounted *Adulterers*, for such shall be in common for the satiating of Lust.

Whores shall wear, as a Badge of distinction, flower'd Garments.

Laws appointed for the drawing up of Wills, and right Constitution of Heirs and Successors.

THE Right of *Inheritance* shall remain in the same Family.

Boys, or Women are to receive for their *Inheritance* no more than a *Median* of Barley.

All *Genuine* Citizens, whose Estates were impair'd by litigious Suits when Solon entred the *Praetor-ship*, shall have permission of leaving their Estates to whom they will, admit they have no Male-children alive, or themselves be not craz'd thro' the infirmities of old Age, the misery of a distemper, or the enchantments of Witchcraft, or if they be not hen-peckt, or forc'd to it by some unavoidable necessity.

The *Wills* of such as having Children, yet dispose of their Estates, shall stand good, if the Children die before they arrive to Maturity.

Any one, tho' he hath Daughters alive, may give his Estate to another body, on this proviso, that the Person enjoying it shall marry a Daughter.

Adopted Persons shall make no *Will*, but as soon as they have Children lawfully begotten, let them return into the Family, whence they were adopted; or if they continue in it to their Death, then they shall return back the Estates to the Relations of the Person that adopted.

All legitimate Sons shall have an equal claim to their Father's *Inheritance*.

He;

He, that, after he hath adopted a Son, begets legitimate Children, shall share his *Estate* among the legitimate, and adopted.

The *Estate* of him, that dies intestate, and leaves Daughters, shall come to those, who marry them; but if there are no Daughters, these shall enjoy it, viz. His Brothers by the Father's side and their Sons; if he hath neither Brothers nor Nephews, then Males descended from them, tho' very far distant in Kindred; but if none of the Grand-children remain down to the second Cousins by the Man's side, the Wife's Relations shall put in for the *Inheritance*; admit there are none living of either side, they, who have the nearest pretence to Kindred, shall enjoy it; as for Bastards, from *Euclides's Archon-ship*, they shall pretend no right to Kindred; if there is a lawfully begotten Daughter, and an illegitimate Son, the Daughter shall have preference in Right to the *Estate*, both in respect of Divine and Civil Affairs.

No Bastard shall have left him above five *myriæ*.

All the Year round, except in the Month Συγέποειῶν, *Legacies* shall be examin'd by Law, so that no one shall enjoy any, unless lawfully devolv'd on him.

He, that issues a Writ against one settled in an *Inheritance* shall bring him before the *Archon*, and deposite Παρατάσθαι, as is usual in other Actions, for unless he prosecutes the Enjoyer he shall have no Title to the *Estate*; and if the immediate Successor, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Action doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose busines 'tis to take Cognizance of this Action, as also it was of the former Action of the Man in possession of the *Estate*.

Five Years being expir'd after the Death of the immediate Successor, the *Estate* is to remain secure to the deceas'd Person's Heirs, without being liable to Law-suits.

Laws appertaining to Guardianship.

NO one can be another's *Guardian*, who is to enjoy the *Estate* after his Death.

Guardians shall let out their *Pupils* Houses.

The *Archon* shall be oblig'd to take care of *Orphans*, *Heiresses*, decay'd Families, Women, that remain in the Houses of their deceas'd Husbands, pretending to be with Child; and to protect them from Violence and Abuses; if any one is injurious or contumelious, the *Archon* shall fine him as far as the limits of his Power extend; if the Offender herein transgres beyond his commission of punishing, the *Archon*, having first impos'd him as he thinks fit, shall compell him at five days warning to make appearance at the Court of *Heliæa*, where if he be convicted, that Court shall impose on him arbitrarily either pecuniary, or corporal Penalty.

No Pupil after five Years space, shall sue a *Guardian* for the mismanagement of his Trust.

Laws about Sepulcres, and Funerals.

LE T the dead be interr'd.

No Tomb is to consist of more work, than ten Men can finish in three days, neither is it to be erected arch-wise, or adorn'd with Statues.

No Grave is to have over it, or by it, Pillars above three cubits high, it's Table, and *Labellum* or (or little Vessel to contain *Victuals* for the *Ghost's maintenance*) are to be of the same height.

He, that defaceth a *Sepulcre*, or laies one of a different Family in that of another, breaks it, eraseth the Inscription, or beats down the Pillar, shall suffer condign Punishment.

No one shall come near another's *Grave*, unless at the Celebration of *Obsequies*.

The *Corps* shall be laid out at the Relations pleasure, the next day following before Day-light shall be the *Funeral Procession*; the Men shall proceed first, the Women after them; it's unlawful hereby for any Woman, if under three-score and no Relation, to go where the mournful Solemnity is kept, or after the *Burial* is solemniz'd.

Too great a concourse of People is prohibited at *Funerals*.

Let not the *Corps* be buried with above three Garments.

Let not Women tear their Faces, or make Lamentations, or Dirges at *Funerals*.

At every one's Death there shall be paid to the Priestess of *Minerva*, who is plac'd in the Cittadel, a *Chænix* of Barley, the like of Wheat, and an *Obolus*.

No Ox shall be offer'd to atone for, or appease the Ghost of the deceased.

Children and Heirs shall perform the accustom'd Rites of *Parentation*, Slaves, when Dead, shall not be *embalm'd*, or honour'd with a *Funeral Banquet*.

Let there be no *Panegyricks*, unless at *Funerals* publickly Solemniz'd, and then not spoken by Kindred, but one appointed by the Publick for that purpose.

They, who fall in the Field, are to have their *Obsequies* celebrated at the publick Charge.

Let the Father have the privilege of giving that Son a *Funeral Encomium*, who dy'd valiantly in the Fight.

He shall have an annual *Harangue* spoken in his Honour on the day he fell, who receives his Death with undaunted Prowels in the Battel's Front.

Let him, who accidentally lights on an *unburied* *Carkase*, cast earth upon it, and let all Bodies be buried West-ward.

Don't speak evil of the *Dead*, no not, tho' their Children provoke you.

Laws against Russians, and Assassins.

THE *Areopagite Senate* shall sit in Judgment over Cases of wilfull Murder, of Wounds given wilfully, Setting Houses on Fire, or killing by Poysen.

The *Assassin's Council* shall not make any preliminary Apology, use any motives for the gaining of Compassion, or speak any thing foreign to the Cause.

The *Thesmoothæ* shall condemn *Murderers*, who fly after the Fact.

The *Assassin* shall suffer Death in the *Murdered Person's Country*; and, being hal'd away to the *Thesmoothæ* according to the appointment of the Law, he shall be liable to no other violence or ill usage, besides what his Capital punishment includes; no body shall take Money for his Pardon; he that doth, shall pay double the Money he receiv'd of the Criminal, his Name likewise by any body shall be carried in to the *Archons*, but the *Heliastick Court* alone shall pass Judgment upon him.

If any one kills, or assists in killing a *Murderer* that abstains from the *Forum*, Consecrated places, publick Sports, and the *Amphictyonick Festivals*, he shall undergo the severity of the Law as much as if he had kill'd a *Citizen of Athens*. The *Ephete* are to take Cognizance of this Matter.

One accus'd of *Murder* shall have nothing to do with City-Privileges.

He, that puts him in trouble, who was forc'd to make flight out of *Africa* for *Chance-medley*, shall undergo the same penalty with him, who doth the like to one within *Athens*.

He, who commits *Chance-medley*, shall fly his Country for a Year, till satisfaction be made to the dead Person's Kindred; then he shall return, sacrifice, and be purified.

He, shall not have an Action of *Murher* brought against him, who binds him over to his appearance before the *Magistrate*, that return'd from banishinent before his limited time is completed.

If any one hath unadvisedly given his *Antagonist* in the *Exercises* his Death, or kill'd by chance a Man lying in Ambuscade, or being in the brunt of an engagement in War, or one debauching his Wife, Mother, Sister, Daughter, Miss, or the Nurse of his legitimate Children, let not such an one be banisht.

It shall be lawful to kill that Person, who shall make an assault on the Innocent.

If any one, being banisht for *Chance-medley*, shall have an Indictment of wilful *Murder* laid to his charge, before he hath made up the difference with those who banisht him, He shall make his defence before the Court ἐν Φεατοῖ, in a little Vessel, which shall not be permitted to come to shore, but his Judges shall give Sentence on the Land;

Land; if he is cast, he shall answer Justice for wilful *Murder*; but if absolv'd, shall only undergo the former Sentence of banishment for *Chance-medley*.

If any *Archon*, or Man in a private capacity is instrumental in the depravation, or repeal of these Statutes, let him, and his Children be *Anupos*, and his Goods be sold.

It shall be lawful to hale a *Murderer*, if found in any religious Places, or the *Forum*, to Gaol, and if he prove guilty, to put him to Death; but if the committer of him to Gaol do not procure the fifth part of the Votes, he shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

If any one comes to an untimely End, his nearest Relations may bring the Action of *Ἄνδροληψία* against those People they suspect, either to be Abettors of the *Murder*, or Protectors of the *Felon*, and till such time as these either make satisfaction, or surrender the *Delinquent*, the *Murdered Man's* Relations are privileg'd to seize three Men of their Body.

The Right of the prosecution of *Murderers* belongs to the Kindred of the *Murdered*, Kins-folks Children, their Sons in Law, Fathers in Law, Sisters Children, and those of the same *Φερετία*; the *Murderers* have liberty granted of imploring the Father of the *Murder'd* to be mild and favourable; but if he is not alive, then his Brother, or Sons all together shall be intreated, for without the joyst consent of them all, nothing shall prevail; if these fore-mention'd Persons are all dead, and the Death of the Person came by *Chance-medley*, according to the determination of the fifty *Ephete*, ten of the same *Φερετία* may, if they think fit, convene, and delegate one and fifty out of the Nobility to the *Ephete* ** All they, who were *Murderers* before the making of this Law, shall be subject to it's obligation. If any one hath been *Murder'd* in any of the *Burroughs*, and no body removes him, the *Demarchus* shall give orders to his Friends to take him away, bury him, and perform the Duty of *Lustration* towards the *Burrough* that very day on which he was kill'd; when a Slave is *Murder'd*, He shall inform the Master; when a Free-man, the succeeding Heirs; but if the Person *Murder'd*, was not a money'd Man, or had no Possessions, the *Demarchus* shall acquaint the Relations, and supposing they give no heed, and neglect to take him away, the *Demarchus* himself shall see him taken away, and bury'd, and take care the *Burrough* be *lustrated*, but all this with as little charges as may be, which if He neglect, He shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, to be paid to the publick Exchequer. He shall take of the *Murder'd* Person's Debtors double the money he expended for the Funeral, which if he neglect, he shall pay it himself to those of his Tribe.

He, who is *Felo de se*, shall have the Hand cut off, that did the *Murder*, which shall be buried in a place separate from the Body.

No *Murderer* shall be permitted to be within the City.

Inanimate Things, which have been instrumental to People's Deaths, shall be cast out of *Attica*,

He,

He, who strikes the first blow in a Quarrel, shall have the Peace sworn against him.

He, who hath maliciously hurt another's body, head, face, hands, or feet, shall be proscrib'd the City of that Man to whom he offer'd the detriment; if he returns, he shall suffer Death, and his Goods be sold by Auction.

A Law relating to Accusations.

ANY one is permitted to *Inform* against another, that hath done an Injury to a third Person.

Laws concerning Dammages.

HE, who out of design infers *Dammage*, shall suffer twice as much as an unwilling Offender.

His Eyes shall be both pluckt out, who hath blinded any one-ey'd Person.

That Dog shall be ty'd up with a Chain four cubits long, which hath bit any body.

Laws belonging to Theft.

HE, who *Steals*, shall pay double the Value of the thing he stole to the Owner, and as much to the publick Exchequer.

If any body hath had any thing stolen from him, and has it restor'd, the *Thief* with the Abettor shall pay double the value; but in case the *Thief* doth not make restitution, ten-fold, and be set in the Stocks five days, and as many nights, if the *Heliasts* so order it; this Order shall then be made, when they consider what punishment to inflict upon him.

If any one hath *filcht away* any thing by day worth above fifty *Drachms*, let the Action call'd *Anajaryn* be put in execution against him before the *Eleven*; but if in the night, any one hath liberty to kill him, or, upon his making away, to wound him, and to issue the same Action out against him; by which if he be cast, he shall die without any concession for Sureties to put in Bail for the restitution of the *stolen Goods*. He, further, that shall pilfer out of the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Cyno-sarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia* any thing of the least value, as a Garment, *Cyl-vial*, &c. or above ten *Drachms*, out of the *Baths*, or *Ports*, shall suffer Death.

He,

He, that puts a Man in Prison for *Theevey*, and cannot prove it upon him, shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

All *Cut-purses*, *Burglars*, and *Kid-nappers*, if convicted, shall suffer Death.

He, who makes search for *Theeves* in another's House, must have only a thin Garment hanging loose about him.

He, that takes away that which is not his own, shall be liable to die for it.

It's a Capital Crime to break into a Man's Orchard, and steal his *Figs*.

It's punishable to *rob* a Dung-hill.

Laws restraining Reproaches.

NO one shall *calumniate*, or *defame* any Person while alive, in the Temples, Judicial Courts, Treasuries, or Places where Games are celebrated, the Delinquent herein, shall pay three *Drachms* to the injur'd Man, and two to the publick Treasury.

He shall be fin'd, who *flanders* any Man.

He shall incur a mulct of five-hundred *Drachms*, who twists any one with committing some heinous Offence against the Laws.

No one shall call another *Cut-throat*, or *Murderer*.

He, that upbraids another for casting away his Buckler, shall be fin'd.

Laws about the management of Affairs.

TH E Y, who have been negligent in carrying on any *Business*, shall answer for that neglect.

No Woman shall have any farther to do in *Affairs*, than a Medimn of Barley will satisfie for Performance.

Laws referring to Entertainments.

NO Entertainment is to consist of above thirty *Guests*.

All *Cooks* hir'd to dress up Dishes for *Entertainments*, are to carry in their Names to the *Gynaeconomi*.

None but mixt Wines shall be drunk at *Banquets*.

Let pure and unmix'd Wines be reserv'd till afterwards, for a relishing Tast to the honour of the good *Genius*.

The *Areopagites* shall take Cognizance of all *Drunkards*.

A Law relating to Accusations concerning Mines.

IF any one hath prohibited another from working in the *Mines*, or hath carry'd Fire into them, carry'd away another's Utensils, or Tools, or if he hath dug beyond his Limits, such an one may be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη μεταλλική*.

A Law appertaining to the Action *Eἰσαγγελία*.

Timocrates hath enacted, that whatsoever *Athenian* is cast by the Action *Eisanggeliā* before the *Senate*, and shall be secur'd by imprisonment before, or after the Indictment, his Name not being inserted according to Law by the *Scribe* of that *Prytanis* in the Accusation-note, and carry'd up to the *Thesmophoræ*, the *Thesmophoræ* within thirty days after the receipt of the Bill, unless some great emergency of State intervene, shall appoint the *Eleven* to sit in Judgment over it, before whom any *Athenian* may accuse him; if he be convicted, the *Helicea* shall inflict upon him Punishment, either corporal, or pecuniary; if the latter, he shall be clapt into Gaol till he pay it.

Military Laws.

TH E time for *Military Service* shall be from eighteen Years to forty; till twenty, Men shall remain within *Attica* to be ready in Arms, after that they shall serve in the Army without *Attica*.

He shall be *Anupōtēs*, who offers to serve in the *Horse*, before he has undergone the accustom'd Probation.

The *Chivabry* shall be detacht out of the most Puissant and wealthy *Athenians*.

Soldiers shall not observe the punctilios of Sprucenes and Foppery, in their Hair, &c.

None shall pawn their *Arms*.

He shall suffer Death, who hath betray'd a *Garrison*, *Ship*, or *Army*.

All *Revolters* to the *Enemy* shall undergo the same Penalty.

There shall be no *Marching* before the seventh of the Month.

The Ceremony for proclaiming of *War* shall be by putting a Lamb into the *Enemies* Territories.

The *Polemarch* shall lead up the right wing of the *Army*.

All publick *Revenue-keepers*, and *Dancers* at the *Διορυγαῖς*, shall be exempted from serving in the *Army*.

Of Military Punishments and Rewards.

TH E Y, who have maintain'd their Post with Courage, shall be advanced, and others degraded.

All Refus'rs to go into the Army, Cowards, and Run-aways shall be expell'd the Forum, shall not be crown'd, or go to the publick Temples; He, who offends against this Law, shall be put into bonds by the Eleven, and carry'd before the Heliaſtæ, where any one impow'rd may accuse him; if he is prov'd guilty, the Heliaſtæ shall pronounce Sentence, and inflict upon him, as the nature of his Crime requires, a mulct, or corporal penance; if the former, he shall lie in Gaol till he pays it.

Let him be *Anpuος*, who casts away his Arms.

He, who during a War by Sea runs away from his Ship, and he, who being Prest for Sea doth not go, shall be *Anpus*.

All disabled and wounded Soldiers shall be maintain'd out of the publick Fund.

Their Parents, and Children shall be taken care for, that are cut off in War; if Parents are kill'd, their Children shall be put to School at the publick Charge, and when come to maturity of Age, shall be presented with a whole suit of Armour, settled every one in his respective Calling, and honour'd with first Seats in all publick Places.

Miscellany Laws.

TH E Y shall be prosecuted for Ingratitude, who do not retaliate kindnesses.

The Burrough, and name of every one's Father shall be written down in all Deeds, Compacts, Suits, and other concerns.

A Discoverer, who alledges Truth, shall be secure; but if falsehood, shall suffer Death.

He shall be *Anpuος*, who stands Neuter in any publick Sedition.

He shall Die, who leaves the City for residence in the Piræus.

He shall be fin'd, who is seen to walk the City-streets with a Sword by his side, or having about him other Armour, unless in case of Exigency.

He shall be denied burial within Attica, and his Goods expos'd to Sale, who hath been convicted of perfidious behaviour towards the State, or of Sacrilege.

He, that hath betray'd his Country, shall not enter into Attica's Borders; if he do, he shall expiate his Crime by the same Law, as they, who, tho' condemn'd by the Areopagites to banishment, return.

Those

Those Compacts shall stand good, which have been approv'd of by the Judges.

Let there be an Amnesty of all former dissensions, and no one be liable to be call'd in Question, or reproach'd for any thing done formerly.

This Law was made after the Thirty Tyrant's expulsion to reconcile all former Quarrels, and was ssworn to by the Archons, Senate of Five-hundred, and all the Commonalty of Athens.

When any Person is accus'd contrary to this Oath, use may be made of the Plea call'd Παρεχετοφή, the Archons shall have Cognizance of this matter, and he that makes the Plea, shall make his defence first; the Party, that is cast, shall have the Fine call'd Επωλεία, impos'd upon him.

No Stranger shall be wrong'd or injur'd.

Put the bewildred Traveller in his way, and be hospitable to Strangers.

No seller of Rings shall keep by him the Signature of a Ring, when sold.

Archæologiae Græcae,
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
G R E E C E.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in Greece.

HERODOTUS in the second Book of his History is of Opinion, that the Greeks deriv'd their Religion from the Egyptians : but Plutarch peremptorily denies it (a), as being neither mention'd by Homer, nor any of the Ancients. Aristophanes (b), and Euripides (c) say, that Orpheus was the first that instructed the Grecians in all the Rites and Ceremonies of their Worship ; He was a Thracian, and therefore, says Nonnus (d), Devotion was call'd Θρακεῖα &c. Θρακία, because it was invented by a Thracian.

These, I think, were neither altogether in the right, nor yet wholly mistaken, for as the exact agreement betwixt some of the Grecian Ce-

(a) De Herod. malevol. (b) Rani. (c) Rheso. (d) Enny. Isop. in Stell. I. remonies

remonies and the religious Worship of Thrace makes it probable that one was deriv'd from the other ; so on the other side, the conformity of some other parts of the Grecian Religion to that of the Egyptians doth plainly argue that they were fetch'd from Ægypt : but that the whole System of the Grecian Religion should be borrow'd from either Thrace, or Ægypt, or any one Country is improbable, if not impossible ; as will evidently appear to every one that considers the great variety of Religions in Greece, where almost every City had different Gods, and different modes of Worship. 'Tis much more probable, that Greece, being inhabited by Colonies from divers Nations, did borrow from every one of these, some part of their religious Ceremonies ; Thus the Thebans, being descended from the Phænicians, retain'd a great part of their Worship, and the Argives are thought to have been instructed in the Egyptian Religion by Danaus, and his Followers. Add to this, that the Grecians in general, and the Athenians in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to Worship their ancient Deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making ; and beside these, assum'd into the number of their own, the Gods of all the Nations with whom they had any Commerce ; insomuch, that even in Homer's time they were τρις μύραι, thirty thousand ; and tho', as Isocrates informs us (a), the ancient Athenians thought their Religion consisted chiefly in the observation of the Rites and Ceremonies deliver'd to them by their Ancestors, yet there was a Custom that oblig'd them to entertain a great many strange Gods, whence it was that they religiously observ'd the Οἰοσέντια, or Feast of all the strange Gods ; which was also celebrated at Delphi, as Athenæus witnesseth (b). Nay, so fearful were the Athenians of omitting any, that, as Pausanias (c) tells us, they erected Altars to unknown Gods. It may be objected, that they condemn'd Socrates for no other crime than Worshipping strange Gods, for that this was his accusation Laertius witnesseth in his Life. But to this it is reply'd, that tho' they were so desirous of new Deities, yet none were worshipp'd till they had been approv'd, and admitted by the Ἀρρηπαγίτες, as Harpocration has observ'd ; and thence was it, that when St. Paul preach'd amongst them Jesus and the Resurrection, he was summon'd to appear before this Council, to give an account of his new Doctrine.

CHAPTER II.

Of their Temples, Altars, Images, and Asyla.

THE first Generations of Men had neither Temples, nor Statues for their Gods, but worshipp'd towards Heaven in the open Air.

(a) Orat. Areopag. (b) Deipn. l. IX. c. III. (c) Attic.

And it is generally thought by learned Men, that Temples owe their first Original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the Ancients to the memory of their deceased Friends, Relations, and Benefactors (a); and as most of the Gods were Men consecrated upon the account of some publick benefit conferr'd on Mankind, so most of the Heathen Temples are thought to have been at first only stately Monuments erected in honour of the Dead. Thus the Temple of *Pallas* in the Tower of the City *Larissa* was the Sepulcre of *Scripsi*; *Cecrops* lies interr'd in the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, and *Erethonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, to mention no more. A farther confirmation of this, is, that those words which in their proper acceptation signifie no more then a Tomb, or Sepulcre, are by ancient Writers applied to the Temples of the Gods, and thus *Lycophron*, a noted affecter of obsolete words, has us'd (b) Τύπος,

Τύπος δι' αὐτὸν ἐκτόνως μέρες
Ομορφίδες, ὀφελασμὸν ἀντεμπλόν.

'Twas now, when quite fatigu'd with toyl of War
With eager haste the Greek did home repair,
That from the treacherous Fate for him design'd
Great Juno's Temple sav'd. ————— (Mr. Hutchin.)

Where he speaks of *Diomedes*, who, at his return from *Troy*, was laid in wait for by his Wife *Agalea*, and forc'd to take sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. I will but give you one instance more, and that out of *Virgil* (c),

— tumulum antique Cereris, sedemque sacratam
Venimus. —————

The Temple and the hallowed Seat
Of ancient Ceres we approach'd. —————

Nor is it any wonder that Monuments should at length be converted into Temples, when at every common Sepulcre it was usual to offer Prayers, Sacrifices, and Libations, of which more hereafter.

Temples were built and adorn'd with all possible Splendor and Magnificence, no Pains, no Charge was spar'd upon them, or any part of divine Worship. This they did, partly out of the great Respect they had for the Gods, to whom they thought nothing more acceptable than costly Ornaments; and partly, that they might create a Reverence of the Deities in those that came to pay their Devotions there. The *Lacedemonians* only had a Law amongst them, that every one should serve the Gods with as little expence as he could, herein differing from all other *Grecians*; and *Lycurgus* being ask'd for what reason he made this Institution, so disagreeable to the sentiments of

(a) *Eusebius, Laetantius, Clemens Alexandr. Protrept.* (b) *Cassandr. v. 613.*
(c) *Aeneid. II. v. 742.*

all other Men; answer'd, Least at any time the service of the Gods should be intermit't; for he fear'd, that if Religion should be as expensive as in the other parts of *Greece*, it might some time or other happen, that the divine Worship out of the Covetousness of some, and Poverty of others might be neglected: and wisely consider'd, that magnificent Edifices, and costly Sacrifices were not so pleasing to the Gods, as the true Piety, and unfeign'd Devotion of their Worshippers. This Opinion of his was confirm'd by the Oracle of *Hammon* (a); for the *Athenians*, being worsted by the *Lacedemonians* in many Encounters both at Land and Sea, sent to *Jupiter Hammon* to enquire what means they had best use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withall to ask him, why the *Athenians*, who (said they) serve the Gods with more pomp and Splendor than all the *Grecians* beside, should undergo so many misfortunes; whilst the *Lacedemonians*, whose Worship is very mean and slovenly, were always crown'd with Success and Victory? The Oracle made them no other answer, than that the honest, unaffected Service of the *Lacedemonians* was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotions of other People. The Reader will pardon this digression, since it doth so fully and clearly set forth the temper of two of the most flourishing States of *Greece*.

To return therefore, the Temples were built after that manner, which they thought most agreeable to the Gods, to whom they design'd they should be dedicated; for as Trees, Birds, and other Animals were thought sacred to particular Deities, so also almost every God had a form of Building peculiar to himself, and which they thought more acceptable to him than any other. For instance, the *Dorick* Pillars were sacred to *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*; the *Ionick*, to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*; the *Corinthian*, to *Vesta* the Virgin. I deny not but that sometimes all these were made use off in the same Temple, but this was either in those Temples which were sacred to more Gods than one, of which there might be produc'd several Instances, or to some of those Gods, who were thought to preside over several Things; for the Ancients, believing that the world was govern'd by divine Providence, ascrib'd the management of every particular Affair to this, or that Deity; thus *Mars* was thought to preside over War, *Venus* over Love; and to some of their Gods they assign'd the care over divers Things, so *Mercury* was the God of Merchants, Orationes, and Theives; *Minerva* was the Goddess of Warriours, Scholars, and Artificers, &c. and therefore 'tis no wonder, that in some of the Temples dedicated to her, there were three Rows of Pillars, the first of the *Dorick*, the second of the *Corinthian*, the third of the *Ionick* Order.

As to the places of Temples, those in the Country were generally surrounded with Groves sacred to the Tutelar Deity of the place, where, before the invention of Temples, 'tis reported the Gods

(a) *Plato Alcib. II.*

were worshipp'd; but where those could not be had, as in Cities, and large Towns, they were built amongst, and even adjoyning to the Common Houses, only the Tanagreans thought this inconsistent with the Reverence due to those holy Mansions of the Gods, and therefore took care to have their Temples founded in places free from the noise and hurry of Business; for which (*a*) *Pausanias* commends them. Wherever they stood, if the Situation of the place would permit, it was contriv'd, that the Windows being open'd, they might receive the Rays of the rising Sun (*b*). The Frontis-piece was plac'd towards the West, and the Altars and Statues towards the other end, that so they, who came to worship, might have their Faces towards them, because it was an ancient custom among the Heathens to worship with their Faces towards the East, of which hereafter. If the Temples were built by the side of a River, they were to look towards the Banks of it (*c*); if near the High-way, they were to be so order'd, that Travellers might have a fair prospect of them, and pay their devotions to the God as they pass'd by.

Temples were divided into two parts, the Sacred, and Profane; the latter they call'd τὸ ξειρέγανθεῖον, the other τὸ ἑω. Now this ξειρέγανθεῖον, was a Vessel (usually of Stone, or Brass) fill'd with Holy-water (*d*), with which all those that were admitted to the Sacrifices were besprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any one that was βέλνας, or Profane, to pass. Some say, it was plac'd in the entrance of the *Adyton*, which was the inmost recess of the Temple, into which none might enter but the Priests, call'd also Αὐλῆνες, saith *Pollux*, whence βέλνας τίτης, is by *Phavorinus* said to be so call'd in opposition to this *Adyton*. But *Casaubon* (*e*) tells us, that the ξειρέγανθεῖον was plac'd at the door of the Temple, and this opinion seems the more probable, because all persons that were ἀσέληνοι, or unpolluted, were permitted to pass beyond it, which they could not have done, had it been plac'd at the entrance of the *Adyton*.

The word Σηκὸς, is variously us'd, *Ammonius* (*f*), and *Pollux* (*g*) say, that it properly signifies a Temple dedicated to an Heroe, or Demi-god; by *Hesychius*, and *Suidas* it is expounded, ὁ ἐνδότεπος τόμος τῆς ἱρῆς, so that it should seem to have been the same with *Adyton*. As for the explication of *Ammonius*, and *Pollux*, 'tis evidently false, as might be prov'd by innumerable instances if there was occasion. The word in it's most proper acceptation is us'd for a sheep-fold, and because the Images of the Gods were according to most ancient custom plac'd in the middle of the Temple, and close rail'd in on every side, this place, from the likeness it has to a sheep-fold, was call'd Σηκὸς, which in time came to signifie the whole Temple, the part being put

(*a*) *Bæoticis*. (*b*) *Vitruv.* lib. IV. cap. V. (*c*) *Ibidem*. (*d*) *Suidas*, *Thavorin.*
(*e*) In *Theoph. Charact.* (*f*) *De verborum Diff. & Simil.* (*g*) *Onom. lib. I.*

for the whole. In the same manner was *Esia*, i. e. the Fire-place, or Hearth, us'd for the whole House.

Furthermore, belonging to Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek *Ἄρχεῖον*, by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper-end. This seems to have been a Treasury both for the Church, and any one who had a mind to secure his wealth there, as was done by *Xenophon*, who committed his Treasure to the Custody of the Priest of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. Hence are those Epithets given it by *Pollux* (*a*), when he calls it μεγαλόπλευρον, πολύχειρον, ἀρχαιόπλευρον, &c.

The old *Scholia* upon *Sophocles* (*b*), and out of them *Phavorinus* thus describe the Temples; Ναὸς, and Ιερὸς, or, the whole Edifice, in which are contain'd, Βωῦος, the Altar, on which they offer'd their oblations; Ηερῷον, the Porch, in which usually stood an Altar, or Image; and Τέμπλον, the place upon which the Image of the Chief God was erected.

This Idol was at first only a rude Stock, or Table, whence it is call'd Σῖvis by St. *Clemens of Alexandria* (*c*); such an one was that of *Zimo Samia*, which was afterwards in the Magistracy of *Procles* turn'd into a Statue. This *Pausanias* (*d*) seems to confirm, when he tells us that in *Achaia* there were kept very religiously thirty square Stones, on which were engraven the names of so many Gods, but without any Picture, or Effigies. In another place he speaks of a very ancient Statue of *Venus* at *Delos*, which instead of Feet had only a square Stone. And *Themistius* (*e*) hath told us, that all the Images till *Dædalus*'s time were form'd after the same manner; He it was, that first made two separate Feet, whereas before they were but one piece, whence it was reported (saith *Palæphatus*) that *Dædalus* form'd moving and walking Statues; at the first therefore, they were only call'd (*f*) Ξάρα, οὐ τὸ διπλεῖον, because they were shaven; and this word properly denotes an Idol, that is ξειρόθεος, or shav'd out of wood, or stone, says *Hesychius* (*g*). In after-ages, when the Art of graving and carving was invented, they chang'd these rude Lumps into Figures resembling living Creatures, generally Men, and then an Image was call'd Δεικνὺος, or Βρέτος, οὐ τὸ ζειτῶ ἔμενει, because it was like a Man.

The matter of which these Statues were made, was, amongst the ancient Greeks, generally wood, as *Plutarch*, and *Pausanias* inform us; the latter of which reports, that he has observ'd these Trees for the most part to be made use of for this purpose, viz. the Eben, Cypress, Cedar, Oak, Yew, and Box-trees. To these *Theophrastus* (*h*) adds the root of the Olive-tree, of which he says the lesser Images were usually compos'd; it is also observ'd that those Trees, which were sacred to any God, were generally thought most accept-

(*a*) *Ibidem*. (*b*) *Oedip. Tr. v. 15.* (*c*) *Protrept.* (*d*) *Achaicis.* (*e*) *Orat.*
XV. (*f*) *Clemens Protrept.* (*g*) *Voce Ζειτον.* (*h*) *lib. de Plant.*

able to him, and therefore Jupiter's Statue they made of Oak, *Venus*'s of Myrtle, *Hercules*'s of Poplar, *Minerva*'s of the Olive-tree &c. These observations are (I think) for the most part true, but not so universally, as that they should never fail. Sometimes they were made of Stone, and not only of common, but also of Precious Stones; sometimes of black Stone, whereby was signified the Invisibility of the Gods. Marble and Ivory were frequently made use of, and sometimes also Clay and Chalk; and last of all, Gold, Silver, Brass, and all other Metals were put to this use. As to the Forms of these Statues, and all their antique Postures, because they generally depend upon Fables, and Poetical fictions, I remit you to the Mythologists, and the Treatises of *Charianus*, and *Verderius* on this subject, where they are largely describ'd.

The place of the Images was in the middle of the Temple, where they stood on Pedestals rais'd above the height of the Altar, and were enclos'd with Rails, whence this place was call'd *Σενός*. And that the Images were plac'd thus, *Virgil* bears me witness, when He saith,

Tum soribus Divæ, media testudine templi.

Then at the Chancell door, where *Iuno* stands.

Where by the *fores Divæ*, you must understand the entrance of the *Σενός*. And another of the Poets, where he talks of erecting a Temple, saith,

In medio mibi Cæsar erit ——————

I'll Cæsar's Statue in the midst erect.

More instances might be produc'd, were not this custom too well known, to stand in need of any farther confirmation.

Bœus among the Greeks is a word of larger extent, than *Altare* among the Latins, for this in it's proper signification only denotes the place, on which they sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods, being rais'd up high from the ground, and therefore call'd *Altare ab altitude*, from it's height; but *Bœus* is us'd to signify not only this high Altar, but those lower ones call'd in Latin *Arc*. These Altars differ'd according to the diversity of the Gods to whom they were consecrated, for the *Θεοὶ ἡγένειον*, or Gods above, had their Altars rais'd up a great height from the ground, insomuch that *Pausanias* (a) tells us, the Altar of Olympian Jupiter was almost twenty-two Feet high; *Porphyry* makes no distinction betwixt these, and the Altars of the *Θεοὶ οἰκουμένης*, or Terrestrial Gods; but though they are both signified by the same word, yet they seem not to have been of equal height, for *Vitrivius* (b) reports,

(a) *Eliac.* &c. (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.*

that

that the Altars of *Jupiter*, and all the Celestial Gods were very high, but those of *Vesta*, the *Earth*, and the *Sea* were low. To the Heroes they sacrific'd upon Altars close to the ground, which the Greeks call *Εργάσπαι*, being only one step high (a). The Subterranean, or Infernal Gods, call'd *Τηνοχθόνιοι*, had instead of Altars little Ditches, or Trenches digg'd, or plow'd up for that purpose; these the Greeks call'd *Λάκκοι*; and *Bispos*. *Porphyry* adds a fifth, telling us that the *World*, the *Nymphs*, and such like Deities, instead of Altars, had *Αὐτέραι*, or Caves, where religious worship was paid to them.

The Altars were all plac'd towards the East, saith *Vitrivius* (b), and those in Temples were always lower than the Statues of the Gods. They were made commonly of Earth heap'd together, sometimes of Ashes, as was that of Olympian Jupiter before mention'd, which *Pausanias* (c) saith, was made of the Ashes of burn'd Sacrifices. Before Temples were in use, Altars were sometimes erected in Graves, sometimes in other Places; and *Eustathius* (d) upon the second *Iliad* tells us, that they were often erected in the High-ways, for the convenience of Travellers. The Terrestrial Gods had their Altars in low places, but the Celestial were worshipp'd on the tops of Mountains, whence every Mountain was esteem'd sacred to *Jupiter*, as we are told by *Melanthes* (e). Now as for want of Temples, they built their Altars in the open Air, so for want of Altars they anciently us'd to sacrifice upon the (f) bare ground, and sometimes upon a Turf of green Earth.

The manner of consecrating Altars and Images was the same, and is thus describ'd by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (g); A Woman dress'd in a Garment of divers Colours brought upon her head a Pot of sodden Pulse, as Beans, Pease, or the like, which they gratefully offer'd to the Gods, in remembrance of their ancient Diet. But this custom seems to have been more especially practis'd at the Consecration of the *Εργάσαι*, or Statues of *Mercury*, and then only by the poorer sort, as the *Comedian* intimates, when He speaks of the consecration of another Image in his Play entitled *Peace*,

Xo. Αγε δι' π τῶν ἐργάσαι ποιεῖσθαι;
Tç. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ή ταῦτα χύνεσθαι idem tamen;
Xo. Χύνεσθαι, ωστε μεμφάνθην Εργάσαι;
Tç. Τί δαὶ σκεῖ; βέλεσθε λαζειώ βοῖ;

CH. What other expedient still requires dispatch?
TR. Nought; but that you consecrate with these Pots:
The Goddess Peace:

(a) *Eurip. Schol. in Phoeniss.* (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.* (c) *Eliac. &c.* (d) *Pag. 171. Edit. Basil.* (e) *Libro de Sacrificiis, &c. Syntagma. Schol. Trach.* (f) *Lil. Gerald. de Diliis Syntagma XVII.* (g) *Pluto A&E. V. Scen. III.*

- CH.* How, with these Pots? what like
Those Pygmy Statues of God Mercury?
TR. What if this Goddess we shou'd consecrate
With a fat Ox? (Mr. Hutchin.)

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that sometimes their Consecrations were more expensive, being perform'd with more sumptuous Offerings, and Ceremonies. But these, like the other parts of Divine worship, were varied according to the condition of the Worshippers, and the Nature, or Humour of the Deities; to give you one instance, *Athenaeus* in the IXth Book of his *Deipnosophists* tells us, that *Jupiter Cœstus's* Statue was consecrated in this manner; they took a new Vessel with two ears, upon each of which they bound a Chaplet of white wool, and another of yellow upon the fore-part of it, and cover'd the Vessel; then they pour'd out before it a Libation call'd *Ambrosia*, which was a mixture of Water, Honey, and all sorts of Fruit. But the most usual manner of consecration was perform'd by putting a Crown upon them, anointing them with Oil, and then offering Prayers and Oblations to them, sometimes they would add an Excommunication against all that should presume to profane them, and inscribe upon them the Name of the Deitie, and the cause of their dedication. In this manner the *Spartan* Virgins, in *Theocritus's* eighteenth *Idyllium*, promise to consecrate a Tree to *Helena*, for it was customary to dedicate Trees, or Plants after the same manner with Altars, and Statues,

Πρᾶται τοι σέρπινον λατῶ χερμαῖ αὐξούμφοιο
Πλέξουται, σκιρὰν καταδίσουρθι ἐς πλατάνισον.
Πρᾶται δὲ ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἀλεύχη
Λαζδόμναι, σαξοῦντες τῶν σκιρὰν πλατάνισον.
Γράμματα δὲ ἐν φλοιῷ γεγάγει (as παειών τις
Αἰσνοί) Δωεισι, Σίεσι μέν. Ελένας φυτὸν εἴρει.

We'll search the Meads where humble *Lotus* grows,
Then Chaplets weave, and twine them on the Bows;
On chequer'd Grass beneath the shady Bow'r
From costli'st Vials sweetest Oyls we'll pour;
And then in spreading Letters this indite,
I'm Helen's Plant, and worship is my right.

Mr. Hutchin.

Ovid likewise in the eighth Book of his *Metamorphoses*, speaks of adorning them with Ribbands,

Stabat in his ingens amoño robore quercus,
Una nemus; vixit medium, memoresque tabellæ,
Sertaque cingebant, vosi argumenta potentis.

In

In these a well-grown Oak Majestick stood
Whose spreading Arms alone compos'd a wood,
With Ribbands grac'd, and Crowns th'undoubted proof
Of vows obtain'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Temples, Statues, and Altars were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting Offenders was granted, so that, if any Malefactor fled to them, it was counted a piece of Sacrilege to force him thence, and they thought his blood would be upon them that should do it; insomuch, that those who kill'd the followers of *Cylon*, who had plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*, because they executed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after call'd *Axithæsi*, profane, and impious villains. Some of these were publick *Asylæ*, and free for all Men, others were appropriated to certain Persons, or Crimes; thus the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was a refuge for Debtors; the Tomb, or Temple of *Theseus* was a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean condition, that fled from the Severities and hard Usage of their Masters, and Men in Power; in memory that *Theseus* was an Assister and Protector of the distressed, and never rejected the petitions of the afflicted, that fled to him for succour and defence, as *Phœarch* (a) reports; Nor was this honour only granted to the Gods, but also to the Statues, or Monuments of Princes, and other great Persons (b). So the Sepulcre of *Achilles* on the *Sigean* shore was in after-ages made an *Asylum*, and *Ajax* had the like honour paid his Tomb on the *Rhætean*.

The first *Asylum*, some say, was built at *Athens* by the *Heracleæ*, and was a refuge for those that fled from the oppression of their Fathers; others with more probability affirm, that the first was erected at the building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, where the privilege of Sanctuary was granted to all sorts of Criminals, and in imitation of these they say the *Asylum* at *Rome* was open'd by *Romulus* (c). The sacredness of these places was held entire till the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, who, upon consideration of the many inconveniences, that must necessarily be the effect of tolerating so many Villains, as were always harbour'd in them, dissolv'd them all, preserving only to *Juno Samia*, and one of *Esculapius's* Temples their ancient privileges.

(a) *Theseo.* (b) *Strab.* lib. III. (c) *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. III. cap. XX.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

IT has been the Custom of all Nations to pay a peculiar honour and deference to their Priests; which was either done out of respect to the Gods, whose servants they were; or (as *Plutarch* in his *Morals* tells us) because they did not pray for a blessing on Themselves, their own Families, and Friends only, but on whole Communities, on the whole state of Mankind. Nor were they only oblig'd to offer Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods for others, but it was their duty to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what it was most expedient to ask, what Sacrifices, what Vows, what Gifts would be most acceptable to the Gods, and, in short, to teach them all the Ceremonies us'd in the Divine worship, as *Plato* informs us (a). Another part of their Office, was to fore-tell things to come, and to interpret the Oracles of the Gods; and as they convey'd the will of the Gods to men, so did they also convey the Piety and Devotion of Men to the Gods, by offering Sacrifices for them, tho' the ancient Greeks did sometimes offer their own Sacrifices, and perform all those Rites which in later ages were only executed by the Priests. Thus *Eumeus* in *Homer* is said to have offer'd Sacrifices, and the same doth every where appear to have been done by all the Princes, and Heroes, the most honourable person in the company always taking upon him to perform the religious Ceremonies: for in those days this holy Office was had in so great credit and reputation, that the Priests generally wore the same Habit with their Kings, and were honour'd with the next places to them; so great a veneration did these Heathens think due to all those that bore any relation to the Gods. Nay, it was then no unusual thing for the Kings themselves to take upon them the Priest-hood; I shall only give you two instances, the one of *Anius*, who was King of *Delos*, and Priest of *Apollo*, as *Virgil* tells us (b),

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

*Anius supreme of men oft vails his Crown
Without a blush, to put the Vervain on.*

Mr. Hutchin.

The other instance I shall take from *Lacedæmon* (c), where the Kings, immediately upon their promotion to the Kingdom, took upon them

(a) *Dialog. de Regno.* (b) *Aen.* III. v. 80. (c) *Alex.* ab *Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. III. cap. VII.*

the Priest-hood of the *Celestial*, and *Lacedæmonian Jupiter*, and this was so far from being thought below their dignity, that it was accounted an especial privilege, and an addition to the rest of their Honours (a). I need not tell you that among the *Athenians*, and in most other Cities of *Greece* the care and administration of the religious Ceremonies was committed to the chief Magistrates.

It was required that whoever was admitted to this Office, should be sound and perfect in all his members, it being thought a dishonour to the Gods to be serv'd by any one, that was lame, maim'd, or any other way imperfect; and therefore before their consecration they were examin'd, whether they were ἀρετεῖς, which word, as *Hesychius* expounds it, signifies one that's perfect and entire, that neither hath any defect, nor any thing superfluous.

Nor ought they to be perfect in body only, but upright in mind, nothing ought to approach the Gods, but what was pure and un-torrupt; therefore the Priests liv'd temperately and chastly, abstaining even from those pleasures which were lawful and allowable to other Men; insomuch, that *Euripides* tells us, that in *Crete* the Prophets of *Jupiter* did not only denie themselves the use of Flesh-meat, but forbore to eat any thing that was boyld. And they were such rigid Observers of the rules of chastity, that the Priests of the Mother of the Gods at *Samos* are said to have dismember'd themselves, and the *Hierophantes* at *Athens*, after their admission, enfeebled themselves by a draught of the juice of *Hemlock*; in short, 'twas very customary for those, that attended on the more sacred and mysterious Rites, by using certain Herbs and Medicaments to unman themselves, that they might worship the Gods with greater chastity, and purity. They also generally retir'd from the world, to the end, that being free from busines and cares, they might have the more leisure to attend on the service of the Gods, and wholly devote themselves to Piety, and the exercise of Religion. One of the Herbs commonly made use of by them was the *Agnus-castus*, in Greek ἄγριος, or ἄγριον, so call'd from being ἄγριον, an enemy to generation; this they were wont to strew under their Bed-cloaths, believing that it had a certain natural virtue, whereby it was able to preserve their Chastity, as *Eustathius* (b), besides many others, hath observ'd. But tho' most of them were oblig'd to strict Chastity and Temperance, and some to practice these severities upon themselves, yet were others allow'd to marry, and *Eustathius* (c) tells us, that it was but an institution of later Ages, that the Priestesses should be Virgins: to confirm which *Homer* gives us an instance in *Theano*, who was Priestess of *Minerva*, and Wife of *Amenor* the Trojan,

— Θεάνω καλλιδέην.

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Il. x'. pag. 768. Edit. Basil.* (c) *Ibidem pag. 503.*

Kωνίς, ἀλοχός Αρτιώνεσσις παποδάριον.
Τὼν δὲ Τέρην τὴν θεάν Αθηναῖς ἔγειται (a).

— beauteous Theano,
Daughter to Cisseus, but Antenor's Bride,
Antenor skill'd the wanton Steed to guide,
For Trojans her had made with joyst Consent
Minerva's Priestess. —

(Mr. Hutchin.)

Of the different Orders of Priests nothing exact can be deliver'd, for not only every God had a different Order of Priests consecrated to him, but even the Priests of the same Gods were very different, according to the diversity of Place, and other Circumstances. I shall therefore not trouble the Reader with an account of the particular Priests belonging to every Deity in the many Cities of *Greece*, which would be both unpleasent, and not very useful, but shall briefly point out to you the general Orders, and Offices of them. First, in every place they seem to have had an *Aρχιεγώνης*, or High-priest, whose Office it was to superintend over the rest, and execute the more sacred Rites and Mysteries of Religion. Amongst the *Opuntians* (b) there were two Chief-priests, one of which belong'd to the Chief and Celestial Gods, the other to the *Δαιμονίους*, or Demi-gods. At *Athens* they had a great many, every God almost having a Chief-priest, that presidèd over the rest; for instance, the *Dadouchus* over the Priests of *Hercules*, and the *Stephanophorus* over those of *Pallas*. The *Delphians* had five Chief-priests, who help'd to perform the Holy Rites with the Prophets, and had the chief management of all parts of divine Worship; these were call'd *Οσιοί*, i. e. Holy, and the Chief of them that presidèd at Sacrifices, *Οσιωπής*, i. e. Purifier, one that makes Holy: and another, that had the care of the Oracle, call'd *Αειτωρ*, which is a Surname of *Apollo*, given him by *Homer*, and signifies one that gives Oracles.

Another holy Order was that of the *Parasiti* (c), which word (faith *Clearchus* the *Solensis*, one of *Aristotle's* Scholars) in its first acceptation signified *τριπλούς*, a Man quick and expeditious, but was afterwards taken for a Table-companion; tho' *Polemon* is of opinion that this was its ancient signification, and they were so call'd, because they were allow'd part of the Sacrifices, together with the Priests, as is evident from an inscription on a Pillar in the *Anaceum*,

TOIN ΔΕ ΒΟΟΙΝ TOIN ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΝ TOIN
ΕΞΑΙΡΟΤΜΕΝΟΙΝ TO ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ
ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΤΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΤΩ ΙΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ.

That of the Oxen one part should be reserv'd for the Games, and of the other two, one should be given to the Priests, another to the *Parasiti*.

(a) Il. ζ'. v. 298. (b) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dierum lib. II. cap. VII. (c) Atheneus Deipnosoph lib. VI.

Parasiti. It was at the first an Office of great honour, for by the ancient Law the *Parasiti* were reckon'd among the chief Magistrates. Their Office was to gather of the Husband-men the Corn allotted for publick Sacrifices, which they call'd *Περσόδια μέχαλα*, the great Income, and is by (a) *Aristophanes* put for the great Sacrifices, which, as the *Scholiast* tells us, were usually call'd so, because the Charges of them were defray'd by these publick Revenues. The publick Store-house, where they kept these First-fruits, was call'd *Παρασίπον*, (b) *Diodorus* the *Sinopesian* in *Athenaeus* tells us, that in every Village of the *Athenians*, they maintain'd at the publick Charge certain *Parasiti* in honour of *Hercules*, but afterwards, to ease the Common-wealth of this burden, the Magistrates oblig'd some of the wealthier sort to take them to their own tables, and entertain them at their own cost; whence this word seems in later ages to have signified a Trencher-friend, a Flatterer, or one, that for the sake of a dinner conforms himself to every Bodie's Humour.

The *Κήρυκες* also, or publick *Cryers*, assisted at Sacrifices, and seem to have had the same Office, with the *Pope*, and *Victoriarii* among the *Latinis*; for in *Athenaeus* (c) one *Clidemus* tells us, they were instead of *μάγειρες*, and *βασιτοί*, Cooks, and Butchers, and adds, that a long time the *Cryer's* Office was to kill the Offering, prepare things necessary for the Sacrifices, and to serve instead of a Cup-bearer at the Feast; He also tells us that the ministering at Sacrifices did of old belong to the *Cryers*; the same is confirm'd by *Eustathius* on this verse of *Homer* (d),

Κήρυκες δέ αὐτὰς ἄστυ δέων τερπλικέσσι
Ηγενόν. —

Along the Streets the sacred *Hecatomb*
The *Cryers* dragg'd. —

Phavorinus, and *Cælius Rhodiginus* give this reason for their being call'd *Διὸς ἄγγελοι* by *Homer*, viz. because they assisted at the Sacrifices of the Gods, and (as the former adds) *τὰς ἐορτὰς τῆς δέων ἡγελον*, they gave publick notice of the Times wherein the Festivals were to be celebrated. To this purpose I might bring hundreds of Instances out of the Ancient Poets, and especially *Homer*. These *Κήρυκες*, indeed, were a kind of publick Servants employ'd on all occasions; they were instead of Ambassadors, Cooks, and *Cryers*; and, in short, there was scarce any Office, except such as was servile and base, that they were not put to; but their name was given them *ἄπο τοις κρείτονος*, saith *Athenaeus*, from the best, and most proper part of their Office, which was

(a) *Avibus*. (b) *in Επικηρύξ*. (c) *Lib. X. & XIV.* (d) *Odyss. v.*

τὸν κηρύσσειν, to proclaim, which they did as well in time of Divine Service, as in civil Affairs; for at the beginning of the holy Rites they commanded Silence and Attention in these, or such like words, Εὐφημεῖτε, στήνη πᾶς ἐστο λέων: when the religious Mysteries were ended, they dismiss'd the Congregation with these words, Λαζῶν ἀπόστις, of which more afterwards. At *Athens* there was a Family nam'd Κίρκunes from Κῆρυξ, the Son of Mercury and *Pandrosia*, which was accounted sacred, whence *Suidas* (a) calls them Ἱεροὶ μέγαροι, καὶ δεῖπλαι, a holy Family, belov'd by the Gods; such also were the *Eumolpidae*, who enjoy'd a Priest-hood at *Athens* by inheritance, being either descended from King *Eumolpus*, or instituted in memory of him. The *Ceryces*, as *Anthenaeus* the Comedian in *Athenaeus* (b) tells us, were the first that taught Men to boil their victuals, as the flesh of Sheep, and Oxen, whereas before they devour'd it raw. They were had in great honour at *Athens*, insomuch that *Athenaeus* endeavours to prove that the trade of a Cook was a creditable Calling, from the respect paid to these *Ceryces*, who were Cooks at Sacrifices, and likewise seem to have perform'd those other holy Offices that belong'd to the *Kirkunes* in other places. *Diodorus Siculus* (c) resembles them to the *Egyptian Panopliophori*, and thinks they had their Original from them; indeed some parts of their Office were much alike, for both of them kill'd the Victim, and attended on the Sacrificers. But these Offices did not belong to all the *Ceryces*, this Family being divided into several Branches, every one of which had a different Function, as appears by the Edict of *Solon* cited out of *Aristophanes* by *Athenaeus*, wherein 'tis order'd, That two of that Family of the *Ceryces*, which was devoted to Divine service, should undergo the Office of the *Parastii* in the Temple of *Apollo*, call'd *Delium*, for a Year.

Naoikōegi, call'd by *Nicander Zaxioegi* (d), so nam'd from νοεῖν, which signifies to keep neat and clean, or to adorn; for it was their duty to adorn the Temples, and look after the Furniture of them, but they submitted not to such mean Offices, as the sweeping of them, as *Suidas* (e) would have it, for herein he contradicts *Europides* (f), who brings in *Ion*, the *Naoikōegi*, or *Aeditus* of *Apollo*, telling *Mercy*, that he swept the Temple with a besom of Lawrel. These were also *Naoikōades*, whose Charge it was to take care of the holy Utensils, and see that nothing was wanting, and to repair what went to decay, saith *Aristotle* (g). Sometimes also the *Parastii* are said to have been entrusted with the reparation of the Temples; and there was a Law enacted at *Athens*, that whatever they expended this way should be repay'd them.

There were also other Priests, one of which *Aristophanes* (h) calls

(a) Εὐμολπίδαι. (b) Lib. XIV. (c) Lib. I. (d) Alexipharm. (e) In voce *Naoikōes*. (f) In *Ion*. v. 121. (g) In *Politic*. (h) *Pluto* Act. III. Scen. II.

Πεῖπολοι,

Πεῖπολοι, which is a general name for any Servant, and therefore to restrain it he adds θεοῖς, calling him πεῖπολοι θεοῖς. These were Priests waiting always on the Gods, whose Prayers the People desired at Sacrifices, at which these seem to have perform'd all other Rites, and Ceremonies, beside those that belong'd to the *Ceryces*; their share in the Sacrifices was the Skin and Feet; the Tongues were the Fees of the *Ceryces*. Indeed, all that serv'd the Gods were maintain'd by the Sacrifices, and other holy Offerings. These are the most general Orders of Priests, the rest were, most of them, appropriated to certain Gods, and sometimes certain Feasts, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, as likewise of those that attended the Oracles, and those who were any way concern'd in the Art of Divination.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Grecian Sacrifices.

DIDYMUS in his Annotations upon *Pindar* (a), writes that one *Melissaeus*, a King of Crete, was the first that offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods, and invented religious Rites and Ceremonies, and that *Amalthea* and *Melissa*, who nurs'd Jupiter, and fed him with Goats-milk and Honey, were his Daughters. But I shall pass by this, and such like fabulous Narrations, and endeavour to describe the customes in use amongst the ancient Greeks at their solemn Sacrifices: In doing which I shall first treat of the Occasion and End of them. 2. Of the Matter of them. 3. Of the Preparations requir'd before them, with all the Ornaments both of the Sacrificers, Victims, and Altars. 4. Of the sacred Rites us'd at, and after their Celebration.

As to the Causes and Occasions of them, they seem to have been chiefly Four; for the Sacrifices were,

1. Εὐκτάχια, or Χαεισθεα, Vows, or Free-will Offerings; such were those the Sacrificers promis'd to the Gods before, and paid after a Victory; such also were the First-fruits offer'd by the Husband-men after Harvest, being grateful acknowledgments to the Gods, by whose Blessing they had receiv'd a plentiful Reward for their Labour and Toil in tilling the ground; these *Suidas* (b) calls Θυσίαι δωρεαίσκαι, because they were Free-gifts; and δωρατλιστικά, because thereby they fulfill'd some Vow made to the Gods; but because they were both the effects of Gratitude, I have therefore reduc'd them under one head.

2. Ιλαστρά, propitiatory Offerings, to avert the anger of some

(a) *Cat. Rhod.* lib. XII. cap. I. (b) In voce *Gurix*.

offended Deity ; such were all the Sacrifices us'd in Expiations, 3. *Aίματα*, petitionary Sacrifices, for success in any Enterprize ; for so religious were the Heathens, that they would not undertake any thing of moment, without having first ask'd the Advice, and implor'd Assistance of the Gods.

4. Τὰ ἄνθρακες, such as were impos'd and commanded by an Oracle, or Prophet. I am not ignorant that some others have been added, but those I have purposely omitted, as being reducible to some of these Four.

I come now in the second place to treat of the Matter of their Oblations. In the most ancient Sacrifices, there were neither Living-creatures, nor any thing costly, or magnificent ; no Myrrh, Frankincense, or Cassia was made use of ; but instead of them all, (a) Herbs and Plants, which they pluckt up by the Roots, were burnt whole with their Leaves and Fruit before the Gods, and this they thought a very acceptable and meritorious Oblation ; which appears, as from other Monuments of Antiquity, so more especially from one of *Trivolumus's* Laws, whereby he strictly commands the *Athenians* to abstain from Living-creatures (b). And even to *Draco's* Time the Attick Oblations consisted of nothing else but the Earth's beneficence ; but this frugality and simplicity had in other places been laid aside before his time, and here not long after ; for no sooner did they leave their ancient Diet of Herbs and Roots, and begin to use Living-creatures for food, (which the ancients thought altogether unlawful) but they also chang'd their Sacrifices, it being always usual for their own Feasts, and the Feasts of the Gods, (for such they thought the Sacrifices) to consist of the same materials.

The Sacrifices of later ages consisted of these three things, Σπονδή, Οὐράκια, and Ισέται, as *Hesiod* (c) seems to have intimated in their verses,

Καὶ δύραμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἵερ' ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν
Αγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, δῆτι δ' ἀγλαὰ μητέα κρίειν,
Αἰλοτε δὲ απονέθησον, θυέσαι τε ἱλάσκεσθαι,
Ημένιον ὅτ' εὐνάξῃ, καὶ ὅταν φάγοις ἴσεσθαι.

Offer to Jove with an untainted mind,
Offer the best, if you'd have him prove kind :
Let lulling Sleep n're seal your drowsy Eyes,
Nor purple Morn gild o're the Eastern Skies,
Till you accost the Gods with Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.

Cæl. Rhæd. lib. XII. cap. I. (b) *Porphyry.* de Abstinent. ab Animal. (c) *Epy.*
Epist. v. 334. *B.C.L.* a'.

Where

Where you may observe that, tho' the more solemn Sacrifices consisted of all these three parts, yet at other times it was lawful to use any of them by themselves ; whence *Eustathius* (a) tells us, it was not only usual to offer Drink-offerings of Wine at Sacrifices, but also at the beginning of a Journey by Land, or Sea, before they went to sleep, when they entertain'd a Stranger, and at any other Time. In short, in all the smaller Affairs of Life they seem to have desired Protection and Favour of the Gods by Oblations of Incense, or Drink-offerings ; whereas the more solemn Sacrifices were only us'd upon more weighty Occasions, both because of the Expensiveness, and Trouble of them.

Σπερδεῖν, and λεῖσεῖν, amongst the Greeks have the same signification, as *Hesychius*, and *Phavorinus* have observ'd, and imply no more than to pour forth, which is also the proper sense of the Latin word *libare*, saith *Isidorus* (b) ; but because of their constant use at the Drink-offerings of the Gods, they came at length to be appropriated to them. The same you may observe of their derivatives *απορά*, *λοβός*, and *libatio*, which words differ not at all from one another. The matter in these *απορά* was generally Wine ; now of Wine there were two sorts, the one ἐγχωρόδιον, the other ἀποράδιον, the former was so call'd, because it was lawful, the latter, because it was unlawful to make use of it in these Libations ; such they accounted all Wine mix'd with Water ; whence *απαρτόν*, i.e. pure and unmix'd Wine, is so often made mention of by ancient Writers ; and tho' sometimes you may find mix'd Wine to have been us'd at Sacrifices, yet, if we may believe *Eustathius*, this mixture was not made of Wine and Water, but of different sorts of Wine. *Pliny* (c) also tells us, that it was unlawful to make an oblation of Wine, that had proceeded from grapes cut, par'd round, or polluted with a fall on the ground ; or such as came out of a Wine-press trodden with bloody and wounded Feet, or from a Vine unprun'd, blasted, or that had a Man hang'd upon it. He speaks also of a certain grape call'd *Aspendia* (d), whose Wine it was unlawful to offer upon the Altars. But tho' these Libations generally consisted of Wine, yet they were sometimes made of other ingredients, and call'd Νηράλιαι θυσίαι, οὐτὸς τὸν νίκητα, from being sober. Such as these were offer'd to the *Euamenides*, for which *Suidas* (e) gives this reason, viz. That Divine justice ought always to be vigilant. He likewise adds, that at *Athens* such like Oblations were made to the *Nymphs*, to *Venus Urania*, *Mnemosyne*, the *Morning*, the *Moon*, and the *Sun*, and there seems to have been a particular reason, why every one of these were honour'd with such like Oblations. For instance, *Eustathius* (f) tells us, that Honey was offer'd to the *Sun*, but Wine was never us'd upon any Altar dedicated to him ; because He, by whom all things are encom-

(a) II. a'. pag. 102. Edit. Basil. (b) *Origin.* lib. VI. cap. XIX. (c) *Nat. Hist.*
lib. XIV. cap. XIX. (d) *Nat. Histor.* lib. XIV. cap. XVIII. (e) *Voce Νηράλιαι*.
(f) *Odyss.* x'.

pass'd, and held together, ought to be temperate ; and *Plutarch* (a) says, that these *νηράλιοι θυσίαι* were often perform'd to *Bacchus*, for no other reason, than that Men might not be always accustom'd to strong, and unmix'd Wines. *Pausanias* affirmit, that the *Eleans* never offer'd Wine to the *Δέατοντος*, i. e. *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, nor at the Altar dedicated to *All the Gods*. To *Pluto* instead of Wine, Oyl was offer'd, as *Virgil* (b) witnesseth, and *Homer* (c) brings in *Ulysses* telling *Achilles*, That he had made an Oblation to the Infernal Gods, in which he first pour'd forth Wine mix'd with Honey, then pure Wine, and after all, Water ; his Words are these ;

ἔγω δὲ τὸν ἔχοντα μηδὲ παρεῖ μηδὲ,
Βόερον ὅρνεα σύντε πυγέσσοις ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.
Αὐτῷ δὲτῷ δὲ χρᾶσ χέρμην πάσι νεκροῖσι,
Πρῶτα μελικρήτῳ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἱδεῖ οἴνῳ,
Τὸ τείτον αὐτῷ ὑδαπί δὲτι δὲ ἀλφίτα λαχεῖ πάλισσον.

Straight from my side I drew my sharp'n'd Blade,
A Trench a Cubit ev'ry way I made,
Then these Libations pour'd around the Brim,
To th'Ghosts that shoot along the Stygian stream,
First Wine with Honey mix'd, then Wine alone,
Next Water, presently when this was done
With finest Flower besprinkl'd all around.

Mr. Hutchin.

There were also other Gods, to whom in certain places they sacrific'd without Wine ; such was *Jupiter οὐτας*, i. e. the Supreme, upon whose Altar the *Athenians* never offer'd Wine, or Living-creatures. But of these enough.

The second Thing to be consider'd in the Sacrifices is the *Suffitus*, in Greek call'd *Οὐτα*, which word doth not originally signifie the Victim, but *τὰ ψαῖστα*, i. e. broken Fruits, Leaves, or Acorns, the only Sacrifices of the Ancients ; whence in *Suidas* *τὰ δύν*, are expounded *Συμιάματα*, or Incense. In like manner the Verb *θεῖν* is never us'd by *Homer* to signifie the killing of the Victim, (for in this sence he has made use of *ἔξειν*, and *σπάιν*) but denotes the offering of these *ψαῖστα*, says *Athenaeus* (d) ; which signification was afterwards chang'd. The Matter was generally Frankincense, or some odoriferous Perfume ; but it was a long time before Frankincense came to be in use ; for in the times of the *Trojan War* there was no such thing, but instead thereof they offer'd Cedar and Citron-wood, faith *Pliny* (e) ; and the *Grecian Fables* tell us, That Frankincense was first us'd, after the

(a) *De Sanitate.* (b) *Aen.* VI. v. 254. (c) *Odyss.* XI. v. 25. (d) *Deipn. lib. XIV.* (e) *Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. I.*

change of a devout Youth call'd *Libanus* into that Tree, which has taken it's name from him. Hither also you may referr the *ἀλογχόν*, *ἀλαῖ*, or *molæ false*, which were Cakes of Salt and Barley ; at first the Barley was offer'd whole and unbroken, till the invention of Mills and Grinding, whence they were call'd *ἀλαῖ* q. *ἀλαῖ*, saith *Eustathius* (a). Of this kind also were the *πόνταρα*, being round, broad, and thin Cakes ; and another sort, call'd *πιλαροί*, of which there were several kinds, as those three reckon'd by *Phavorinus*, which he calls *Θιαῖ*, *ἀνάστρου*, and *ἀμφιρῶντες*. There were Cakes also call'd *Σελιώναι*, from their Figure, for they were broad, and horn'd in imitation of the new Moon. There was another sort of Cakes with horns, call'd also from their Figure *Βόες*, which were usually offer'd to *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, and the *Moon*. In Sacrifices to the *Moon* they us'd after six of the *Σελιώναι* to offer one of these, which for that reason they call'd *Βόες ἔσθμοι* ; it was also sometimes offer'd after a Sacrifice of six Animals, saith *Suidas* ; and hence *Βόες ἔσθμοι*, because it was a Lump without life, is proverbially us'd for a stupid Fellow. Other offerings there were of this sort, which were peculiar to certain Gods, as the *Obeliophori* to *Bacchus*, the *Μανῆται* to *Trophonius*, with others, which for brevitie's sake I purposely omit. You may here take notice that no Oblation was thought acceptable to the Gods without a mixture of Salt ; which was so much esteem'd, because it was reckon'd a token of Friendship, (of which hereafter) and because it gives a relish and favour to all other Victuals. Barley was offer'd in memory of the great Benefit receiv'd from the Gods, when by their advice Men chang'd their Diet of Acorns, for Corn ; whence *κρίθη* is by some deriv'd from *κρίνειν*, signifying to discern, because by this sort of food Men were distinguish'd from brute Animals ; thus *Eustathius* (c). Here may be also added the sacred Herbs burn'd on the Altars in the time of Sacrifice, which were all call'd by one general name *verbena*.

The third, and chief part of the Sacrifice was the *Iegētov*, or Victim ; concerning which you are to know in the first place, that it ought to be whole, perfect, and sound in all it's members, without spot or blemish ; otherwise, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods, who must be serv'd with the very best of all the Flocks and Herds ; to which end *Solon* in his Laws commanded the *Athenians* to offer *Exkeirata iegētov*, chosen and select Sacrifices ; and it was an ancient Custom to cull out of the Flocks the goodliest of all the Cattel, and put certain marks upon them, whereby they might be distinguish'd from the rest. *Virgil* (e), tells us, their Herds were wont to be divided into three parts, one of

(a) In *Il.* *α'*. p. 99 Edit. *Basil.* (b) *Phavorin.* & *Aristoph.* *Schol.* (c) *Ibidem.*

(d) *Georg.* III. v. 157.

which they design'd for Propagation, another for Sacrifice, and the third for Labour; his words are these,

*Post parvum, cura in vitslos traducitur omnis,
Cominuque notas, & nomina gentis inurunt:
Et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo,
Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram.*

As soon as e're brought forth great care's injoynd
To brand each one for what he is design'd:
Whether for breeding this be set apart,
For th'Altar that, a third for Plough, or Cart.

Mr. Hutchin.

And *Apollonius Rhodius* hints as much in the second Book of his Argonauticks (a).

Notwithstanding all this care in the choice of Victims, yet it was thought unlawful to offer them, till the Priests had by divers experiments made tryal of them, of which I shall speak hereafter. The Sacrifice, if it was approv'd by the Priest, was call'd *Tæleia Sucta*, whence comes the frequent mention of *ταῦροι*, *άρες*, *βόες τέλειοι*, &c. If not, it was immediately rejected, and another brought to the Tryal, till one every way perfect was found.

As to the kinds of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice, they differ'd according to the variety of the Gods to whom, and the Persons by whom they were offer'd; a Shepherd would sacrifice a Sheep, a Neat-herd an Ox, a Goat-herd a Goat, and a Fisher after a plentiful draught would offer a Tunny, saith *Athenaeus*, to *Neptune*; and so the rest according to every Man's Employment. They differ'd also according to the diversity of the Gods, for to the Infernal and Evil Gods they offer'd black Victims; to the Good, white; to the Barren, barren ones; to the Fruitful, pregnant ones; lastly, to the Masculine Gods, Males; to the Feminine, Females were for the most part thought acceptable; for the most part, (I say) there being several particular instances, in which these general Rules seem to fail. Almost every God had some of the Animals consecrated to him, and out of these were the Sacrifices often chosen; for instance, to *Hecate* they sacrific'd a Dog, to *Venus* a Dove, or Pigeon. Choice was also made of Animals, according to the dispositions of the Gods, to whom the Sacrifice was to be offer'd; for *Mars* was thought to be pleas'd with no Creatures, but such as were furious and warlike, as the Bull; the He-goat was offer'd to *Bacchus*, as being a Creature that spoils the Vine-yards, &c.

Animals generally made use off, were the Bull, Ox, Cow, Sheep, or Lamb, the Goat and the Boar; and amongst the Birds, the Cock, Hen, and such like. *Athenaeus* (b) tells us out of *Agatharcides*,

(a) V. 355. (b) *Deipn. lib. VII.*

that the *Bæotians* were wont to sacrifice certain Eels of an unusual bigness, taken in *Copais*, a Lake of that Country, and about these they perform'd all the Ceremonies usual at other Sacrifices. It will be difficult to guess the reason of this Custom, for my (a) Author tells us, that when a Stranger once happen'd to be present at these Sacrifices, and enquir'd what might be the cause of them, the *Bæotians* made him no other answer, than that they were oblig'd to observe the customs of their Ancestors, but thought themselves not bound to give Foreigners any reason for them. The only Animal almost, unlawful to be sacrific'd, was the Ploughing and Labouring Ox, and from him the *Athenians* abstain'd, because he assisted them in tilling the ground, and was, as it were, Man's Fellow-labourer, saith *Elian* (b). Nor did the *Athenians* only, but almost all other Nations think that Person highly Criminal, who kill'd this Creature with a design either to eat, or sacrifice it; insomuch, that the Offender was thought to deserve death, saith *Varro* (c); *Elian* (d) in particular, witnesseth as much, of the *Phrygians*; and *Pliny* (e) in his Natural History mentions a Person banish'd *Rome*, for being guilty of this Crime; but in later Times they were not so cautious, for *Plutarch* (f) tells us, they us'd them at Feasts, and then 'twas no wonder if they ventur'd also to sacrifice them, and that they did so *Lucian* (g) assures us.

Human Victims were seldom us'd among the Greeks, or any other civiliz'd Nation, it being thought a barbarous piece of Cruelty, to butcher Men and Women, and burn them on the Altars; yet some few instances there are of this Inhumanity, as that of *Themistocles*, who, to obtain success against the *Persians*, sacrific'd some Captives of that Nation; the Story you may read at large in *Plutarch* (h). 'Tis also said, that *Bacchus* had an Altar in *Arcadia*, upon which a great many young Damsels were beaten to death with bundels of Rods; something like to which was practis'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, who scourg'd their Children (sometimes to death) in Honour of *Diana Orthia*. To the *Manes*, and Infernal Gods such Sacrifices were more usually offer'd; for so we read of *Polyxena*'s being sacrific'd to *Achilles*, and *Homer* relates how that Heroe butcher'd twelve Trojan Captives at the Funeral of *Patreclus*.

You may here observe, that all Sacrifices were to be answerable to every man's Condition; for as it was thought a contempt of the Gods for a rich Man to bring a poor, sordid Offering; so on the other hand, from a poor Man the smallest Oblations were acceptable; if his Estate was not able to reach the price of a living Ox, instead thereof, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of Bread-corn, saith *Suidas* (i). And on other accounts when they were not able to provide the accustom'd Sacrifices, they had libertie to offer what the Place, or Time would afford; according to this Rule, when the Cy-

(a) *Athenaeus loco citato.* (b) *Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. XIV.* (c) *De Re Rustic. lib. II.* (d) *De Animal. lib. XII. cap. XIV.* (e) *Lib. VIII. cap. XLV.* (f) *De Ævi Animal. lib. II.* (g) *Dialog. de Sacrific.* (h) *Vita Themistoclis.* (i) *In va-ee Bæte*

Greeks were closely besieg'd, and could not find a black Ox, (for such an one they were oblig'd to offer upon a certain anniversary Festival) they made one of Corn, and so perform'd the usual Ceremonies: and Ulysses' Companions in Homer, for want of Barley, made use of Oak-leaves; and instead of Wine, made a Libation to the Gods of Water. But from those that were able more costly Offerings were requir'd; and the wealthier sort, especially when they had receiv'd, or desired any great Favour of the Gods, offer'd great numbers of Animals at once: whence there is so frequent mention of *Hecatombs*, which consisted of an hundred Living-creatures, and of *Chiliombs* too, in which were sacrific'd a thousand. An *Hecatomb*, saith Eustathius (a), properly signifies a Sacrifice of an hundred Oxen, and such an one was offer'd by Clitennes in Herodotus; but it is generally taken for such Sacrifices, as consist of an hundred Animals of any sort; however because the Ox was the principal and most valuable of all the Living creatures us'd at Sacrifices, it has its name from containing ἑκατὸν βόες, an hundred Oxen; others derive it, (saith my Author) from ἑκατὸν βέστεις, ἡροὶ τίδες, i. e. an hundred Feet, and then it must have consisted only of twenty-five Animals; others say that a finite number is here put for an indefinite, by a figure very usual among the Poets; and then an *Hecatomb* amounts to no more than a Sacrifice consisting of many Animals; others there are, who will have this Name deriv'd not from the number of the Creatures offer'd, but of the Persons present at the Sacrifice; lastly, Julius Capitolinius (b) tells us, that an *Hecatomb* was offer'd after this manner; they erected an hundred Altars of Turf, and then kill'd an hundred Sows, or Sheep, &c. Suidas (c) mentions another Sacrifice, which consisted of seven Offerings, viz. a Sheep, Sow, Goat, Ox, Hen, Goose, and after all an Ox of Meal, whence some derive the Proverb, οὐκ εἰδόμενος, of which before. Another Sacrifice there was in which were offer'd only three Animals, whence it was call'd *Tertius*, or *Tertia*, this consisted, saith (d) Eustathius, of two Sheep, and an Ox, according to Epicharmus; or, of an Ox, Goat, and Sheep; or, of a Boar, Ram, and Bull; or, of a Sow, He-goat, and Ram, for such an one you may find in Ariophanes. Sometimes the Sacrifice consisted of twelve Animals, and then saith my (e) Author, it was call'd *Δωδεκάς δυοῖς*, and the rest in like manner. Thus much concerning the matter of Sacrifices.

The next things to be consider'd are the preparatory Rites required before, and the Ornaments us'd in the Time of Sacrifice. No man was admitted to the solemn Sacrifices, except he had purified himself certain Days before, in which he was to abstain from all carnal Pleasures; to this purpose Tibullus,

(a) Iliad. a'. pag. 36 Edit. Bas. (b) In Maximo, & Balbino. (c) In voce βύς. (d) Odyss. a'. pag. 423. Edit. Basili. (e) Ibidem.

Discedite ab aris,
Quae tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus.

You, who to Venus paid devoir last night,
Pleasing with lustful heats your appetite,
From the chaste Altars of the Gods absent.

Mr. Abell.

So severe were they in observing this Custom, that at some of their Solemnities, the Priests and Priestesses were forc'd to take an Oath, that they were duly purified: such an one was impos'd upon the Priestesses of *Bacchus* at *Athens* in this Form (a); Αγαπέω, καὶ εἴπι καθηρά, καὶ ἀγνή Λύτρα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ καθαρεύσατον, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς οὐκοτίας· καὶ τὰ Θεόγυνα καὶ Τοσαχχεῖα γεράπεια τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθίκησι. Χερόντος. I am pure, undefil'd, and free from all sorts of Pollution, and particularly that, which is contrasted by lying with a Man; and do celebrate the Festival of *Bacchus* at the usual Time, and according to the receiv'd Custom of my Country. This seems to be meant not only of Adultery and Fornication, but also of the lawful pleasures of the Marriage-bed; for at the celebration of the Divine solemnities, they thought more than ordinary Purity and Sanctity was required of them, and therefore abstain'd from delights, which at other times they might lawfully enjoy: yet by some of them this sort of purification was thought unnecessary, for *Theano*, an *Athenian* Priestess, being ask'd, when it might be lawfull for a Woman to go from the company of a Man to Sacrifice; answer'd, *From her own at any time, from a stranger never.*

Another thing required of every Person that came to the solemn Sacrifices, was, that he should be purified by Water; to which end, at the entrance of the *Holy-place*, there was a Vessel full of Holy-water, in which sometimes was put a branch of Laurel, saith Pliny (b), with which the Priest besprinkled all that enter'd; whence the Vessel was call'd *ἱερεγάρθειν*, ἥπο τοῦ μειεγάρθειν, from besprinkling. Spondanus tells us, that before the Sacrifices of the Celestial Gods, the Worshippers had their whole Bodies wash'd, or, if that could not be, at least, their Hands; but for those that perform'd the sacred Rites to the Infernal Gods, a small sprinkling was sufficient. Sometimes they wash'd their Feet, as well as Hands; whence come the Proverbs, *ἀνίστοις χεράτης*, and *ἀνίστοις ποδῶν*, in *Latin*, *illis manibus, & illis pedibus*, which are usually applied to Men that undertake any thing without due Care and Preparation. Porphyry (c) tells us, there was a *Programma* fix'd up, that no Man should go beyond the *ἱερεγάρθειν*, till he had wash'd his Hands: and so great a crime

(a) Demosth. Orat. in Near. (b) Nat. Hist lib. XV. c. XXX. (c) De Victim. B b 2 was

was it accounted to omit this Ceremony, that *Timarchides* (a) hath related a Story of one *Asterius*, that was struck dead with Thunder, because he had approach'd the Altar of *Jupiter* with unwash'd Hands. Nor was this custom only us'd at solemn Sacrifices, but also at the smallest parts of their Worship; *Hector* tells us, he was afraid to make so much as a Libation to *Jupiter* before he had wash'd,

*Χερὶ δ' ἀνίστοιν Διὶ λείγεν αἴσονα οἶνον
Ἄζομαι.* — (b)

I dread with unwash'd hands to bring
My incens'd Wine to Jove an Offering. (Mr. Abell.)

And *Telemachus* is said in *Homer's Odysseus* to have wash'd his hands, before he durst venture to pray to the Gods. This they did, out of a conceit that thereby they were purified from their Sins; and withall signifying, that nothing impure, or any way polluted must approach the Deities. On the same account they were sometimes so superstitious as to wash their Cloaths, as *Homer* relates of *Penelope* before she offer'd Prayers to the Gods.

Whoever had committed any notorious Crime, as Murder, Incest, or Adultery, was forbidden to be present at these holy Rites, till he had been purified; and *Pausanias* (c) speaks of a Temple dedicated by *Orestes* to the *Eumenides*, into which if any such person enter'd, tho' with a design only to see it, he was immediately seiz'd by the *Furies*, and lost the use of his Reason. Nay, even one, that had return'd from a Victory over his lawful Enemies, might not sacrifice, or pray to the Gods before purification, and therefore *Hector* in the place before-cited, adds

————— ὃδέ τῷ ἐστι μηλαινεῖς Κρονίων
Αἴματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγυρόν εὐχριστάνω.

'Tis impious while I'm thus besmeard with gore
To pay my Vows, and mighty Jove adore.

Mr. Abell.

All that were allow'd to be present, they call'd *Ἄσεβοις*, ὅποι, &c. the rest were *βέβηλοι*, *ἀλιτσοί*, &c. such were Servants at some places; Captives, unmarried Women, and all Bastards within the City of *Athens* (d), except in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cynosarges*; because *Hercules* himself, was under some illegitimacy, being not one of the great Immortal Gods, but having a Mortal Woman for his Mother.

(a) *Libro de Coronis.* (b) *Il. x. v. 266.* (c) *Achaicis.* (d) *Ioseph.*

It was also unlawful for the *Δευτερόπολιμοι*, or *Τετράπολιοι* to enter into the Temple of the *Eumenides*, saith *Hesychius* (a), and after him *Phavorinus*. Now those are so call'd, that had been thought dead, and, after the celebration of their Funeral Rites, unexpectedly recover'd; or, those that after a long absence in foreign Countries, where it was believ'd they were dead, return'd safe home. Such Persons at *Athens* were purified by being let thro' the lap of a Woman's Gown, that so they might seem to be new born, and were then admitted to the holy Rites; it would be very tedious to mention all those that were accounted profane at particular Sacrifices, or Places; I shall only therefore in general add, that before the Ceremonies were begun, the *Κῆρυξ*, or sometimes the Priest with a loud voice commanded them all to be gone, as in *Callimachus* (b),

————— ἔκεις, ἔκεις ὅσιος ἀλιτσός.

Which saying *Virgil* (c) hath imitated,

————— *procul, o procul este, profani,*
Conclamat Vates, totoque absistite luco.

Distance, away, cryes out the Priest aloud,
Ye profane miscreants, and unhallow'd Crowd,
Set not one Foot within this sacred Grove.

Mr. Abell.

Orpheus commands the doors to be shut against them,

Φέγγομεν ὅτις θέμις ἐστι, Σύρεις δ' ὅπιστοις βιβήλοις
Πλαστον δρώσ.

I'll sacred Oracles to them proclaim,
Whom Virtue doth with quickning heat inflame,
But the Prophane, let them be all shut out.

Mr. Abell.

Sometimes the sacred part of the Temple was divided from the unhallow'd by a Cord, beyond which the *βέβηλοι* were not permitted to pass; this Cord is call'd in *Greek Σχοινίον*, and therefore they, that were not admitted to the holy Rites, are call'd by *Demosthenes* (d) *Απιστοίταρχοι*, separated by a Cord.

It remains that I speak something of the manner of Purifying themselves; the most usual was by washing with Water, of which before.

(a) *Voce Δευτερόπολιμοι*, item *Plutarchi Quæst. Rom.* (b) *Hymn. in Apollon.*

(c) *Æn. VI. v. 253.* (d) *Orat. in Arislogis*

They had sometimes the Water carried round them, and sprinkled on them with a branch of Laurel, or Olive; after this manner were Chorineus's Companions purified in Virgil (a),

*Idem ter socios pura circumulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicis Olive.*

Then carry'ng Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive sprig, their Fates
Good Chorineus wisely expiates. {

This manner of surrounding was us'd in almost all sorts of Purification, whence it is, that most of the words that signifie any kind of it, are compounded with the Proposition *ωι*, as *ωιματιδη*, *ωιαγιδη*, *ωιδη*, &c. And amongst the Romans this Custom was so universal, that the word *lustrum*, which properly signifieth to purify, or expiate, in Virgil (b) signifies to surround, or, go about,

*dum montibus umbrae
Lustrabunt convexa.*

— while shades of Trees
Shall circuit Mountains round. —

Mr. Abell.

They sometimes us'd Brimstone, mixing it with Salt-water; this done, the Priest took a branch of Laurel, or a lighted Torch, and sprinkled the Person on all sides; whence the Greek word *ωιθειν*, to purifie, from *σιν*, Brimstone; of this Custom Juvenal (c) makes mention,

*cuperent lustrari, sequa darentur
Sulphura cum iædis, & se foret humida laurus.*

Oh! how they'd wish their mis'ry to redress,
And expiate their direful wickedness
With Torches, Sulphur, and wet Laurel.

Mr. Abell.

Ovid (d) tells us this was done three times,

Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.

Thrice severally with Water, Sulphur, Torch,
Medea purifi'd old Aeson. —

(a) Æneid. VI. v. 229. (b) Æneid. I. v. 612. (c) Sat. II. v. 357. (d) Met. lib. VII. Fab. II.

There

There was another way of purifying also, by Fanning the Persons in the Air, as Grægæus (a) hath observ'd.

I shall but mention two sorts more, spoken of by Theophrastus (b), the first was by drawing round the body of the Person to be purified a Squill, or Sea-onion, of which Custom Lucian (c) has taken notice. The other was by drawing round the Person a Whelp; and this was us'd by almost all the Greeks, saith Plutarch (d); who also tells us, that it was call'd Πλεισκουλαχιστρος, from σκύλαξ, i. e. a Whelp.

The Ornaments us'd in the time of Sacrifice were as follow; The Priests, as at other times, were richly attir'd, their Garments being usually the same, at least not much differing from Royal Robes. At Athens they sometimes us'd the costly and magnificent Garment invented by Æschylus for the Tragedians, as we learn from Athenæus (e). At Sparta their Garments were suitable to the other parts of their Worship, being neither costly, nor splendid, and they always pray'd and sacrific'd with their Feet bare.

In all holy Worship, their Cloaths were to be without spots, or stains, loose, and unbound; but if they had been polluted by the touch of a dead body, or struck by Thunder, or Lightning, it was unlawful for the Priest to Officiate in them.

Various Habits also were us'd according to the diversity of the Gods, in whose honour the Solemnities were celebrated. They that sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods were cloath'd with Purple; to the Infernal Gods they sacrific'd in Black, to Ceres in White Garments. They had also Crowns upon their Heads, which were generally made of the leaves of the Tree, that was accounted Sacred to the God, to whom they then paid their Devotions; thus in the Sacrifices of Apollo (f), they were crown'd with Laurel; in those of Hercules, with Poplar; and after the same manner in the rest.

Beside this Crown, the Priest sometimes wore upon his Head a sacred *Insula*, or *Mitre*, from which on each side hung a Ribband, as we learn from Virgil (g); the *Insulae* were generally made of wool, and were not only worn by the Priest, but were put upon the Horns of the Victim, and upon the Temple, and Altar; in like manner also were the Crowns us'd by them all. The Victims had the *Insula*, and the Ribbands tyed to their Horns, the Crowns and Garlands upon their necks. Upon any extraordinary occasion, as the Reception, and Petition of any signal Benefit, they overlay'd the Victims Horns with Gold; thus Diomedes in Homer promises Minerva,

Tlu τοι ἐγώ φέξω χρυσὸν κέφαλον ωρχεῖας (h).

This Cow, whose Horns o're-tipt with Gold look bright,
You shall have offer'd, Pallas, as your Right.

Mr. Abell.

(a) In locum Juvenalis citatum. (b) Eth. Charact. (c) In Επισκοπῆσι.

(d) Quest. Rom. (e) Deipn. lib. I. cap. XVIII. (f) Apoll. Rhod. Arg. B'. 159.

(g) En. X. v. 538. (h) Il. x'.

Alluding

Alluding to this Custom, *Porphyry* calls the Oxen design'd for Sacrifice Χρυσοκέρες. *Pliny* (a) hath observ'd, that the larger Sacrifices only, such as Oxen, were thus adorn'd; but the contrary appears out of a Decree of the *Roman Senate*, cited by *Macrobius* (b), in which the *Decem-viri* are commanded to sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the *Grecian* manner, an Ox, and two She-goats with gilded Horns; unless, as some think, Goats were also numbered amongst the *hostiae majores*, or greater Victims; as the Sheep were counted *maxime*, or the greatest, not for their bigness, but value, and acceptableness to the Gods.

The Altars were deck'd with sacred Herbs, call'd by the *Roman* *Verbena*; which is a general name for all those Herbs that were us'd at Sacrifices; and here also, as at other times, every God had his peculiar Herb, in which he was thought to delight.

All things being prepar'd, the *Mola salsa*, with the Knife, or other Instrument to kill the Victims, and the Crowns were brought in a Basket call'd *Kavvē*, whence the *Athenian* Virgins, whose Office it was to carry this Basket at the *Panathenea*, and some other Solemnities, were call'd *Kavvōgei*.

The Victim, if it was a Sheep, or any of the smaller Animals, was driven loose to the Altar; but the larger Sacrifices were brought by the Horns, as appears from the words of *Homer*, where he describes the Sacrifices of *Nestor*,

Εἳ δ' ἀγέτλιον κεφάλων Στρατόν, καὶ δίς Εχέπων.

Stratius and *Echephron* dragg'd by the Horns
An Ox.

Sometimes, as *Juvenal* (c) witnesseth, it was led by a Rope; but then it was a long one, and not close, or strait, least the Victim should seem to be brought by force to the Altar. Sometimes there were certain Persons appointed to fetch the Sacrifice with musical Instruments, and other solemnities; but this was seldom practis'd, save at the larger Sacrifices, such as *Hecatombs*.

After this, they stood about the Altar, and (d) the Priest turning towards the right hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with Mead and holy Water; He besprinkled also those that were present, taking a Torch or Fire-brand from the Altar, or a branch of Laurel. This water, they call'd *Xépyū*, being the same they wash'd their hands with at Purification; whence the Poets sometime use *Xεργίνθεων*, instead of *ἱερὰ ἔζειν*, to offer Sacrifice. The Vessels also they purified with Onions, Water, Brimstone, and Eggs.

This done, the Cryer proclaim'd with a loud voice, *Tis τῆς; Who*

(a) Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. (b) *Saturnal.* lib. I. (c) Sat. XII. v. 5. (d) *Aristoph.* ejusque *Schol.* in *Pace*.

is here? To which the People reply'd, *Πολλοὶ καὶ γενθοῖ*, Many, and good; after this they pray'd, and the Priest (in later Ages) exhorted them to joyn with him, saying, *Εὐχάριστα*, Let us pray. Their requests were generally, that the Gods would vouchsafe to accept their Oblations, and send them Health and Happiness, they added at their *αιτήσεις*, or petitionary Sacrifices, a Petition for some particular Favour. They seem to have had a general Form of prayer, us'd on all such occasions, which tho' it might vary in words, was usually to the same purpose. One of these you may see in *Aristophanes* (a), another in *Athenaeus* (b), out of *Menander's Flatterer*. At this time also the Cryer commanded silence in these, or such like words, *Εὐφημεῖτε· σίγα, σίγα νῦν ἐστι λέων*. The same Custom was observ'd by the *Romans* in their Sacrifices, where they proclaim'd, *Fave te Linguis*, which words answer to the Greek *εὐφημεῖτε*, by which the People seem not to have been commanded to remain in a deep and uninterrupted Silence, but rather to abstain from all prophane Speeches, and ominous Words, and so *Horace* has interpreted it,

male ominatis
Parcite verbis.

Let no ill-boding words your Lips prophane.

Prayer being ended, the Priest examin'd all the members of the Victim, to see if it had any Blemish, or other Defect; nor were they satisfied with this, but they also examin'd, whether it was found with in; which they did by setting meat before it, as Barley-meal before Bulls, Vetches before Goats; which, if they refus'd to eat, they were judg'd unsound. They also besprinkled the Goats with cold water, which if they endur'd without shrinking, they were thought to be some way indispos'd; thus (c) *Plutarch*. This being done, they made tryal whether the Victim was willing to be sacrific'd to the Gods, by drawing a Knife from it's Fore-head to the Tail, as *Servius* hath observ'd (d), at which if the Victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the Gods; but if it stood quiet at the Altar, then they thought the Gods were pleas'd with it; yet a bare non-resistance was not thought sufficient, except it would also give it's consent, as it were, by a gracious Nod, (which was the ancient manner of granting, or approving, whence the word *annuere* among the *Greeks*, and *annuere* among the *Romans*, signifie to give assent to any thing) and to this end, they pour'd Water into it's Ear, and sometimes Barley, which they call'd *Πλεξίτας*, saith the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius Rhodius* (e).

After this, they pray'd again; which being done, the Priest took a

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Deipn.* lib. XIV. (c) *Libro de Defect. Orac.* (d) In *Eneid.* XII. v. 173. (e) *Argon.* lib. v. 425.

Cup of Wine, and having tasted it himself, caus'd the company to do the like ; and then pour'd forth the remainder between the Horns of the Victim, as we learn from Ovid (a),

— dum vota sacerdos
Concipit, & fundit purum inter cornua vinum.

While th' muttering Priest prays at the hallow'd Shrine,
And pours between the Horns the unmix'd Wine.

Mr. Hutchin.

The same Custom is every where mention'd in Authors ; I will give you only one example more out of *Furius Euenus*, an ancient Greek Poet, who was the Master of *Philistus* the Historian, and flourish'd about the ninety second *Olympiad*, from whom we have this Epigram, in which the *Vine* speaks to the *Goat*,

Κίν με φάγυς ὅτι εἴσαν, ὅμως ἐπ καρποφορίω
Οσον δημετέσται σοι, τεάγε, θυμένω.

Tho', leach'rous Goat, you on my Cyons browze,
And tear the swelling clusters off my Boughs,
Luxuriant Sprouts will shoot out fresh supplies,
To pour betwixt your Horns at your own Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they cast Frankincense and other Perfumes upon the Altar, and, as some say, upon the Fore-head of the Victim, taking them out of the Censer, call'd in Greek Θυμαραθεῖον, with three Fingers, as Ovid (b) hath inform'd us,

Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.

Thrice Frankincense beneath the Threshold laid,
Which thither with three Fingers she convey'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence it is, that the *Pythia* in *Porphyry* saith, that the whole *Hecatombs* of the *Thessalians*, were not more acceptable to the Gods, than the *λαζα*, which a certain *Hermionian* offer'd with his three Fingers. Then they pour'd forth part of the *Oὐλαῖ* on the back of the Victim, which was upon that account bedew'd with a small sprinkling of water. This being done they pray'd again, and then offer'd the remainder of the *Oὐλαῖ* upon the Altar ; all these they call'd *Πεσθύσατα*, because they were offer'd before the Victim.

Then the Priest, or the *Κῆρυξ*, or sometimes the most honourable

^a (a) Metam. Lib. VII. v. 593. (b) Fast. Lib. II.

Person present kill'd the Beast, by striking him down, or cutting his throat. If the Sacrifice was in honour of the Celestial Gods, the Throat was bended up towards Heaven, and this it is, that *Homer* calls *ἀπένειν*, or in one word *ἀπεψείν* : but if the Sacrifice was made to the Heroes, or Infernal Gods, it was kill'd with its Throat towards the Ground, saith *Eustathius* (a). If by any chance the Beast had escap'd the stroke, leap'd up after it, bellow'd, did not fall prone upon the ground, after the fall kick'd and stamp'd, was restless as tho' it expired with pain and difficulty, did not bleed freely, and was a long time a dying, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods ; for all these were unlucky Omens, as their contraries were tokens of Divine Favour, and good Will. The *Κύριος* did then help to slay the Beast, light the Wood, and do other inferior Offices, while the Priest, or Soothsayer with a long Knife turn'd over the Bowels to observe, and make Predictions from them, for it was not lawful to touch them with his Hands. As to the Blood, they reserv'd it in a Vessel call'd *Σφραγίδιον*, *Αμυνιον*, or, according to *Lycophron*, *Ποιμανδρία*, and offer'd it on the Altar to the Celestial Gods : if the Sacrifice belong'd to the Gods of the Sea, they pour'd it into Salt-water ; but if they were by the Sea-side, they slew not the Victim over the *Σφραγίδιον*, but over the Water, into which they sometimes threw the Victim ; an Instance whereof you may have in *Apolonius Rhodius* (b),

Η γ', ἄμα δ' διχωλήσιν ἐσ ὑδατα λαζιμοτομήσας,
Ηκε χτι τορύμαντι. —————

Then praying to the blew-ey'd Deity,
O're the curl'd Surface stabb'd the Sacrifice,
And cast it over Deck.

Mr. Hutchin.

In the Sacrifices of the Infernal Gods, the Beast was either slain over a Ditch, or the Blood pour'd out of the *Σφραγίδιον* into it. This done, they pour'd Wine, together with Frankincense, into the Fire, to encrease the Flame ; then they laid the Sacrifice upon the Altar, which in former Ages was burn'd whole to the Gods, and thence was call'd *Ολόκλουσον* : *Prometheus*, as the Poets feign, was the first that laid aside this Custom, for considering that the poorer sort had not where-with to defray the Expences of a whole Burnt-offering, he obtain'd leave from *Jupiter*, that one part only might be offer'd to the Gods, and the remainder reserv'd for themselves. The Parts belonging to the Gods were the *Μηροὶ*, these they cover'd with Fat, call'd in Greek *Κύριον*, to the end, they might consume altogether in a Flame ; for

^a (a) Il. x. (b) Argan. IV. v. 1601.

except they were all burn'd, they thought they did not *κελλισθεῖν*, or *litare*, i. e. that their sacrifice was not accepted by the Gods. Upon these *Mnēgi*, they cast small pieces of flesh, cut from every part of the Beast, as the *Anaplectai*, or First-fruits of the whole; the doing this they call'd *ωμοθετεῖν*, either because they first cut the Shoulder (which is in Greek call'd *Ωυρός*) or because they did *Ωμα πέθεται*, put these raw Pieces of flesh upon the other Parts. The *Mnēgi*, or Thighs, were appropriated to the Gods, because of the honour due to these Parts, as the principal Members inserving to Generation, and Walking. Thus *Eustathius* (a); but *Casanbon* (b) tells us, they sometimes offer'd the Entrails, herein contradicting *Eustathius*, who informs us that these were divided among those, that were present at the Sacrifice, and *Homer* in the Descriptions of his Sacrifices usually tells us, that they feasted upon them, *πελάγχυ' ἐπάταντο*. By this word *πελάγχυα*, tho' it properly signifies the Bowels, you are to understand, saith my Author (c), the Spleen, Liver, and Heart; and that it is sometimes taken for the Heart, will appear by the signification of its Compounds, for by *πελάγχυντις*, is meant a pusillanimous Fellow, as on the contrary *εὐπελάγχυς* denotes a Man of Courage, saith the *Scholiast* (d) upon *Sophocles*.

Whilst the Sacrifice was burning, the Priest, and the Person that gave the Victim, did joynly make their Prayers to the God, with their hands upon the Altar, which was the usual posture in Praying, as shall be shewn hereafter. Sometimes they play'd upon Musical Instruments in the time of Sacrifice, thinking hereby to charm the God into a propitious Humour, as appears by a Story related in *Plutarch* (e), of *Ismenias*, who play'd upon a Pipe at a Sacrifice, and when no lucky Omens appear'd, the Man by whom he was hired, snatch'd the Pipe, and play'd very ridiculously himself, and when all the company found fault with him, he said, *To play satisfactorily is the gift of Heaven*; *Ismenias* with a smile replied, *Whilst I play'd, the Gods were so ravish'd with the Musick, that they were careless of the Sacrifice, but to be rid of thy Noise they presently accepted it*. This Custom was most in use at the Sacrifices of the Aerial Deities, for they were thought to delight in Musical Instruments, and Harmonious Songs.

They also danc'd round the Altars, whilst they Sung the sacred Hymns, which consisted of three *Stanzas*, or Parts; the first of which, call'd *Strophe*, was Sung in turning from East to West; the other, nam'd *Antistrophe*, in returning from West to East; then they stood before the Altar, and sung the *Epode*, which was the last part of the Song. These Hymns were generally compos'd in honour of the Gods, and contain'd an account of their famous Actions, their Clemency, and Liberality, and the Benefits conferr'd by them upon Mankind, and con-

(a) Il. a'. (b) In *Theophrast*. (c) In Il. a'. (d) In *Ajace*. (e) *Sympo-*
sic. lib. II. Q. 7.

cluded

cluded with a petition for the continuation of their Favours. They were all call'd by a general name *Παιάνες*, but there was also a particular name belonging to the Hymns of almost every God, saith *Polux*; for instance, the Hymn of *Venus*, was call'd *Τηνύς*, that of *Apollo* was peculiarly nam'd *Παιάν*, and both of them were stil'd *Περσίδες*, the Hymns of *Bacchus* were call'd *Διθύραμβοι*, &c. Of all Musical Instruments, the Flute seems to have been most us'd at Sacrifices, whence comes the Proverb *Ἄνθραξ βίον ζῆν*, applied to those that live upon other Men's Charges, because the *Ἄνθραξ*, or Flute-players, us'd to attend on Sacrifices, and partake of them, and so liv'd on Free-cost, as *Suidas* (a) informs us.

The Sacrifice being ended, the Priest had his share, of which I have already spoken, a tenth part also was due to the Magistrates call'd *Περιάνες*, at *Athens*. At *Sparta* the Kings had the first share in all publick Sacrifices, and the skins of the Victim allotted to them. It was usual also to carry home some part of the Offering, for good Luck's sake; and this they call'd *Τύεια*, thinking it conduc'd to their Welfare, and the preservation of their Health. The *Athenians* were commanded by a Law to observe this Custom; and those that were niggardly, did sometime so strain the courtesy of the Gods, that they would sell what remain'd, and make a gain of their Devotion. Sometimes they sent the remaining parts of the Sacrifice to their absent Friends; which Custom (b) *Theocritus* hath taken notice of,

—— καὶ πῦ Σύνεσ
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μέροσιν καλὸν χρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.
Go Swain, go offer to the tunefull Nine,
And send a part to Morson.

Mr. Hutchin.

But for the most part, especially if they had receiv'd any lucky Omen, or Token of Divine Favour, the Sacrifice being ended, they made a Feast; for which purpose there were Tables provided in all the Temples. *Athenaeus* (c) tells us, that amongst the Ancients, they never indulg'd themselves with any Dainties, nor drunk any quantity of Wine, but at such Times; and thence a Banquet is call'd *Θοίνη*, because they thought they were oblig'd *Ἄλλος οἰνόδας*, to be drunk in honour of the Gods; and to be drank they call'd *μεδύειν*, because they did it *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, after Sacrifice. All the time the Banquet lasted, they continued singing the praises of the God, as *Homer* witnesseth in his account of the Sacrifice, celebrated by *Chryses* and the Grecians to *Apollo*,

(a) *Voce Αἴγατρος*. (b) *Idyll. V. v. 139.* (c) *Deipn. lib. III. cap. III.*

Οἱ δὲ πατημέσοι μολπῇ δὲν ἵλεσκυτο,
Καλὸν ἀείδοντες πάνοντα κύριον Αχειῶν,
Μέλποντες Εὐγέργου. — (a)

All day in moving sounds the *Grecians* sing,
And Echoing woods with *To Paeans* ring,
To win the God t'accept their Offering.

Mr. Hutchin.

When they offer'd Sacrifice to *Vesta*, it was usual to eat up whatsoever was left, and to send any part of it abroad was thought a Crime; whence the Proverb *Eσία Σωνία*, and among the *Romans*, *Lari Sacrificare*, is applied to Gluttons, that eat up all that is set before them; to this Goddess also they offer'd the first part of all their Libations, at least of all those that were paid to the Household Gods, whence comes the Proverb, *ἀπ' Εσίας ἀρχέσθαι*, to begin at home. This Custom the old Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b) tells us, was founded upon a Grant of *Jupiter* to *Vesta*, for after he had suppress'd the Sons of *Titan*, he promis'd *Vesta* to grant whatever she would request; whereupon she first desired that she might enjoy a perpetual Virginity; and in the next place, that she might have the first part in all Sacrifices. But, as some say, not only the first, but the last part of the Sacrifices was offer'd to her; the reason they give for which Custom, is, that *Vesta* is the same with the *Earth*, to which the first and last parts belong, because all things are produc'd out of that Element, and again resolv'd into it. To return, The Banquet in some places was to be ended before Sun-set, as *Athenaeus* (c) informs us, and was not to exceed an appointed time in any Place. After the Banquet, they sometimes play'd at Dice, as *Sauferius* hath observ'd out of *Plato*. The Entertainment, and Recreations being ended, they return'd to the Altar, and offer'd a Libation to *Jupiter τέλεος*, or, the Perfect. The Primitive *Greeks* were wont to offer the Tongues together with a Libation of Wine to *Mercury*, as *Athenaeus* (d) reports, *Apollonius* (e) also witnesseth the same,

Οὐδὲ θῆσιν μετέπειτα κεραυνόμυοι δὴ λογεῖσι
Η; Σέμις δὲ, τέως ἔτι τε γλώσσησι χέοντο
Αἰθορύκαις ὑπερ δὲ ἀφει κύρεσας ἐμιγώντο.

Then, as the Custom of their Country was,
On th' burning Tongues the mixt Libation flows;
This done, they haste unto their soft repose.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) Il. x. v. 473. (b) In Σφετι. p. 491. Edit. Aurel. Allobrogum. (c) Deipn. I. IV. (d) Deipn. lib. I. cap. XIV. (e) Argon. lib. I. v. 517.

These

These Tongues they offer'd at the end of the Feast, either with a design to make an Expiation for any undecent Language that had been spoken; or in token that they committed to the Gods as witnesses, what Discourse had past at the Table; or to signify that what had been spoken there, should by no means be taken notice of afterwards, or divulg'd. They were offer'd to *Mercury*, because he was the God of Eloquence, and therefore took a particular delight in that Member.

After all, they return'd thanks to the God for the honour and advantage of sharing with him in the Victim, and then were dismiss'd by the Κῆρυξ in this Form, Λαῶν ἀφοισι.

С Н А Р Т В.

Of the Grecian Prayers and Supplications.

THE Piety of the ancient *Grecians*, and the honourable Opinion they had conceiv'd of their Deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear, than in the continual Prayers and Supplications they made to them; for no man amongst them, that was endued with the smallest Prudence, faith *Plato* (a), would undertake any thing of greater or lesser Moment, without having first ask'd the Advice and Assistance of the Gods; for this they thought the surest means to have all their Enterprizes crown'd with Success.

The *Lacedæmonians* had a peculiar Form of Prayer, for they never us'd, either in their publick, or private Devotions, to make any other request, than that the Gods would grant what was honourable and good for them, as *Plato* (b) witnesseth; but *Phædrus* (c) tells us, they added one Petition more, viz. That they might be able to suffer Injuries. The *Athenians* (d) us'd in their publick Prayers, to desire Prosperity for themselves, and the *Chians*; and at the *Panathenæa*, a Solemnity, which was celebrated once in five Years, the publick Cryer us'd to implore the blessing of the Gods upon the *Athenians* and *Plateans*.

It is my principal design in this place to describe the manner of Supplicating the Gods, but because they made their Supplications to Men, for the most part, after the same manner, I shall treat of them both together. Petitioners both to the Gods and Men, us'd to supplicate with green Boughs in their Hands, and Crowns upon their Heads, or Garlands upon their Necks, which they did with a design to beget Respect in those to whom they made their Supplications, as *Triclinius* (e) in his Commentary upon *Sophocles* teacheth us. These

(a) *Timæo*. (b) *Alcib. II.* (c) *Institut. Laconic.* (d) *Alexand.* ab *Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. V. cap. XXVII.* (e) *Oed. Tyr. v. 3.*

Boughs

Boughs are call'd by several Names, as θαλλοί, or κλάδοι ἵκθειν, φυλάδες ἵκτηρες, and ἵκτησις, they were either of Laurel, or Olive, whence *Statius* (a),

*Mite nemus circa,
Vittæ Laurus, & supplicis arbor Olivæ.*

About this Grove the peaceful Olive grows
And sprightly Laurel, on whose verdant Boughs
Wreath'd Garlands hang. —

Mr. Hutchin.

These Trees were made use of at such times, first, because they were ἀειθαλεῖς, always green, and flourishing, and therefore *Euphrates* (b) gives the latter the Epithete of ἀκύρατος, never fading. Secondly, because the Laurel was a sign of Victory, Success, and Joy; the Olive of Peace, and good Will. In these Boughs they put Wool, which was not tyed to them, but wrapp'd about them; for which reason the Tragedian (c) seems to have call'd it Δεσμὸν ἀδεσμονοφύλαδος, the Tye without a Knot. This Wool, because it was wrapp'd round, was call'd by the Romans *Vitta*, or *Insula*, whence *Virgil* (d),

*ne temne, quod ulro
Præferimus manibus vittas, ac verba precantium.*

Let not the King despise us, 'cause we bear
This Wreath, the badge of Suplicants. —

Mr. Hutchin.

With these Boughs, and sometimes with their Hands, if they were doubtful, whether they should prevail or not, it was usual to touch the Knees of the Statue, or Man, to whom they address'd themselves; if they had Hopes, they touch'd his right Hand, but never the Left, for that they thought ominous; if they were confident of Success, they rose as high as his Chin, or Cheeks; they touch'd the Head, because it is the principal and most honourable Member in a Man's Body, as *Eustathius* (e) thinks, or because they would have the Person give his consent to their Petitions *annendo*, by a Nod, for this was the manner of granting requests; whence *Jupiter* in *Homer* (f) having granted *Thetis*'s Petition, adds,

*Eἰδότες δέ τοι κεφαλῆς κυπανεύσσομεν, ὅρα πεποίθεις.
Τέτοιο δέ εἴς ἐμέθεν γένεται ἀθανάτοις μίγνων*

(a) *Theb.* lib. XII. (b) In *Ione* v. 1436. (c) In *Ixitis*. v. 31. (d) *Aeneid*. VII. v. 236. (e) In *Il.* a'. pag. 97. Edit. *Basil.* (f) *Il.* a'. v. 524.

Τέκμωρ, & ἡ ἑρών παλινάρχεστος, ἐδ' ἀπετηλός,
Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον γ', οὐ περ κεφαλῆς κυπανεύσομεν.

But least you doubt, if you can doubt a God,
I'll clear all scruples by a solemn Nod,
For that's with me a never failing Sign,
And do's performance to my Vows enjoyn.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Hand they touch'd (a), as being the instrument of Action; the Knees, because they desired the Soul of the Person should bend, as it were, and incline to their requests, for that the joyns in that place are more flexible than in any other Part; or because they are the Instruments of Motion, as if they requested the Person to bestir himself, and walk about to effect their desires. Sometimes they touch'd the Knees with one hand, and the Head, or Hands with the other, for so did *Thetis* by *Jupiter*,

*Herein δ' αγένη μέγαν ψρεγὸν, Οὐλύμπον τε,
Εὑρεψ δ' εὐρύοπα Κερύδην ἀτερ ἡμερον ἄλλων
Ακροτάτη κορυφῇ πολυθειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.
Καὶ ἔτα πάρεστις αὐτοῖο κυβεζέτο, καὶ λάβε γένων
Σκαλῆ, δεξιτερῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ ἀνθερεῶνος ἐλέσσα.*

Just had the blushing Goddess heav'd her head
From off the Pillow of her Saffron Bed,
When azure *Thetis* Heav'n-ward wing'd her flight,
And on the steep *Olympus* did alight;
Where she All-seeing Jove found seated high,
Remote from each Inferior Deity;
Straight at his Feet her self she prostrate cast,
And with her Right-hand seiz'd with eager haste
His bristly Beard; her Left his Knee embrac'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Sometimes they kiss'd the Hands, and Knees; but if the Petitioners were very fearful, and the Persons, to whom they address'd themselves, of very great Quality, they bow'd so low, as to kiss their Feet: this kiss the Romans call'd *Labrum*, and the old Gloss renders it φίλημα βασιλικόν, ἢ ἀστασικὸν βασιλέως, a kiss of a King. Sometimes they kiss'd their own Hands, and with them touch'd the Person. Another sort of Salutation there was, whereby they did Homage to the Gods, viz. by putting the Fore-finger over the Thumb (perhaps upon the

(a) *Eustath.* ibidem.

middle joyn't, which they us'd in counting the number ten) and then giving a turn on their right Hand, as it is in *Plautus* (a),

Ph. quod si non affer, quo me vortam nescio.
Pa. Si Deos salutas, dextro vorsum censeo.

Ph. But if he fail me, I known't which way to turn.

Pa. Turn! -- why you must turn to th' Right-hand I conceive,
If you wou'd reverence the Gods. —

Mr. Hutchin.

So generally was this Custom of kissing practis'd by Supplicants, that *Eustathius* (b) thinks the word *ωργοκακειν*, to adore, was deriv'd from *κισσειν*, which signifies to kiss.

Another manner they had of Supplicating, by pulling the Hairs off their Head, and offering them to the Person, to whom they pray'd; after this manner did *Agamemnon* present himself before *Jupiter*, when *Hector* had given the *Grecians* an Overthrow (c),

Πολλὰς δὲ εἰς κεφαλῆς ὠργανύμενες ἔλκετο χαίτας
Τέλος ἐόντη Διὶ. —

But he Celestial Jove presents with Hairs,
Which from his mangled Head with eager force he tears.

Mr. Hutchin.

They often cloathed themselves with filthy Rags, or put on the Habit of Mourners, that they might move Pity and Compassion.

The Postures they us'd, were different, for sometimes they pray'd standing, sometimes sitting, but generally kneeling, because that seems to bear the greatest show of Humility; whence the words *γενέζεται*, *γονυπτεῖν* and such like, signifie to pray, or make Supplication. The *Greek Scholiast* upon *Pindar* tells us, they were wont to turn their Faces towards the East, when they pray'd to the Gods; and to the West, when to the Heroes, or Demigods. Others (d) say, they always kept their Faces towards the Sun, for in the morning they turn'd themselves to the East, at noon to the South, and in the evening to the West.

The safest Place for a Petitioner either to Gods, or Men (next to the Temples and Altars) was the Hearth, or Fire-place, whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange Place in Travel, or Banishment, as being the Altar of *Vesta*, and the Household Gods. When they had once seated themselves there, in the Ashes, in a mournful Posture, and with a dejected Countenance, they needed not to

(a) Circul. A&I. Scen. I. (b) Ad Odyss. i. (c) Iliad. x'. (d) Cæliu Rhod. lib. XII. cap. II.

open their Mouths, neither was it the Custom so to do; for those Actions spoke loud enough, and told the want and calamity of the Supplicant more movingly than a thousand Orations; and this we learn from *Apollonius Rhodius* (a),

Τῶ δὲ ἀνεῳ, καὶ ἀναυδοῖς ἐφ' ἐστὶν ἀιχάρτες
Ιὔπαυροι, οὐ τε δικην λυχνοῖς ἵκετην τένει.

As soon as o're the Threshold they can get,
At *Vesta's* shrine in humblest sort they sit;
For there they're safe, and of want nothing know,
Such Privilege our Laws the Poor allow.

Mr. Hutchin.

The *Moloßians* had a peculiar manner of supplicating, different from that of all other Countries; which was practis'd by *Themistocles*, when he was pursued by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and forc'd to cast himself on the Protection of *Admetus*, King of that Country; He held the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, and in that posture, prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; this being the most sacred manner of Supplication among the *Moloßians*, and which was not to be rejected, as *Plutarch* reports (b).

They that fled to the Gods for Refuge, or Help, us'd first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then make known their Desires to the Deity,

Πάντας δὲ βαμψίς, οἱ καὶ Αδμήτου δύμες,
Περσῆλθε, κατέεσθε, καὶ περσήνεστο.

And when with Myrtle Garlands he had crown'd
Each Altar in *Admetus* House, he pray'd,

Mr. Hutchin.

Saith *Europides* (c). It was usual also to take hold of the Altars, as *Virgil* (d) witnesseth,

Talibus orabat dictis, arasque tenebat.

Laying his hands on th' Altar, thus he pray'd.

Whence *Varro* is of opinion that Altars were call'd *arae, q. ansæ*, which word is us'd to signifie any thing that may be taken hold of. It was also an usual Gesture in Praying to lift up their Arms towards Heaven, as *Helena* faith in her Prayer to *Juno* (e),

(a) Argonaut. lib. IV. (b) In Themistocle. (c) In Alcestide. (d) Æneid. VI.
(e) Euripid. Hel. v. 1100.

οὐθὰς ὠκέας τεῖς ἀπαύρ
Πίττερθ', οὐ' οἰκεῖς ἀσέπων ποικιληματα.

We our extended Arms, great Goddess, heav'd
Tow'r'd thy Pavilion deckt with *Asterisms*.

Mr. Finchin.

Whence you may imagine the reason of lifting up their Hands, was, that they might hold them towards the Gods, whose Habitation is in Heaven. Homer every where mentions this posture, always adding χεῖρας ἀναγάντας, when he speaks of any one that pray'd to the Gods. Nay, this Custom was so universally receiv'd, that the holding up of Hands, is sometimes us'd to signify Praying, as in Horace,

Calo supinas se tuleris manus.

If to the Gods you've pray'd with Hands lift up.

On the contrary, because the Infernal Gods were suppos'd to have their Habitation beneath the Earth, it was usual to pray to them with Hands pointed downwards. Prayer being ended, they lifted up their Hand to their Mouths, and kiss'd it; which Custom was also practis'd by the Romans, whenever they pass'd by a Temple, and was accounted a sort of Veneration, as Alexander ab *Alexandro* informes us (a); and *Lilius Gyraldus* (b) tells us, he hath observ'd the same in *Homer*, and others.

Sometimes, if they obtain'd their Request, and it was a matter of Consequence, they presented to the God some rich Gift, or offer'd a Sacrifice in thankfulness for the Benefit they had receiv'd; sometimes they related it to the Priest of the Temple, that it might be registered, as a Testimony of the goodness of the Gods, and their readiness to hear the Petitions of Mortals, and send them relief; and for an encouragement to Men to make known their Wants, and Desires to the Deities, and expect assistance from them; on this account, as *Eusthius* has observ'd, there are no Prayers made in *Homer*, the Petitions of which were just and reasonable, that were not rewarded with a full and satisfactory Answer.

(a) Gen. Dier. lib. IV. cap. XVI. (b) Syntagma de Diis Gentium.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Grecian Oaths.

HAVING describ'd the manner of offering Sacrifices and Prayers to the Gods, I shall proceed in the next place to speak of the Honour pay'd to them, by using their Names in solemn Contracts, Promises, and Affeversations; and calling them to witness their Truth, and Honesty, or punish their Falshood, and Treachery, if they were Deceivers.

Opxo, the God of Oaths, is by *Hesiod* (a) said to be the Son of *Eris*, or Contention; and Fables tell us, that in the Golden Age, when Men were nice Observers of the Laws of Truth and Justice, there was no occasion for Oaths, nor any use made of them: But when they began to degenerate from their Primitive Simplicity, when Truth and Justice were banish'd out of the Earth, when every one began to make advantage of his Neighbour by Cozenage and Deceit, and there was no Trust to be plac'd in any Man's Word, it was high time to think of some expedient, whereby they might secure themselves from the Fraud and Falshood of one another. Hence had Oaths their first Original; and tho' it be probable, that at first they were only us'd upon weighty and momentous Occasions, yet in process of time they came to be applied to every trivial Matter, and in common Discourse; which has given occasion to the distinction of Oaths into that, which was call'd *O μίας*, and us'd only on solemn and weighty Accounts; and that which they term'd *O μηδέποτε*, which was taken in things of the smallest Moment, and was sometimes us'd merely as an expletive, to fill up a Sentence, and make a round or emphatical Period. Some there are that tell us, the *μίας* *opxo* was that, wherein the Gods, *μηδέποτε* that wherein Creatures were call'd to witness; but the fallacy of this distinction doth evidently appear by a great many Instances, whereof I shall only mention one, viz. that of the Arcadians, amongst whom the most sacred and inviolable Oath was taken by the water of a Fountain call'd *Sryx*, near *Nonacris a City*, as *Herodotus* (b), or, according to others, a Mountain in *Arcadia*; upon which account it was, that *Cleomenes* the Lacedemonian to secure the fidelity of the Arcadians, had a design to carry the principal Men among them to *Nonacris*, and there make them swear by this Fountain, tho' they had taken another Oath before, as my Author (c)

(a) *Theogon.* v. 231. (b) *Eraso.* (c) *Loc. citato.*

hath related. It will not be impertinent in this place to mention the great Oath of the Gods by the Stygian Lake, for Jupiter, as Hesiod (a) reports,

Aὐτῷ μὲν ἦδε δέοντα μέσαν ἐμπλεῖαι ὄφεν.

Ordain'd this *Lake* a solemn Oath shou'd be
To all the Gods. —————

Mr. Hutchin.

Which is the reason, why some derive the word ὄφεν, an Oath, from *Orcus*, Hell. This Oath, was invented by Jupiter, and prescrib'd by him to the rest of the Gods, in honour of *Syx*; because she with her Sons came the first of all the Gods to his assistance in the War against the *Giant*; or, for that her daughter *Victory* was favourable to him, saith Hesiod; or, because he had quench'd his thirst with her Waters in the Fight. If any God swore falsely by these Waters, he was debarr'd the use of *Nectar*, and depriv'd of his Divinity for an hundred years; these Others reduce to nine, but *Servius*, out of *Orpheus*, enlargeth them to nine thousand.

The God, that was thought more especially to preside over Oaths, was Jupiter; more especially I say, because all the Gods seem to have been concern'd in them, for it was usual to swear by them all, or any of them; and of any perjur'd Person they spoke in general, that he had offended the Gods, of which there are innumerable Instances; but they were thought chiefly, and more peculiarly to belong to Jupiter's care, and tho' perhaps this may not appear (as some think it doth) from the word *Jurandum*, which they will have to be so call'd q. *Jovis jurandum*, yet it will sufficiently be prov'd by the plain Testimony of the Poet, that saith (b),

————— Ζεῦθ', ὃς ὄφεν
Οὐραῖς ταύτας νεόμυτο.

And Jove, that over human Oaths presides.

The Gods, by whom Solon commanded the Athenians chiefly to swear in publick Causes, were three, viz. *Ixion*, *Kabapor*, and *Egaxister*, or rather one Jupiter *Ophus*, by three Names; but in common Discourse they usually swore by any other of their Gods; sometimes by all the Gods in General, sometimes by the twelve great Gods, as, μὰ τὸς δώδεκα Διὸς: the Spartans usually, μὰ τὸ Σιδη, by *Castor*, and *Pollux*. The Women's Oaths were commonly by *Juno*, *Diana*, or *Venus*, or μὰ τὸ Δέω, i. e. by *Ceres* and *Proserpina*,

(a) *Theogonia*. (b) *Euripid. Medea. v. 170.*

which

which were appropriated to the Female Sex, according to *Phavorinus* (a), and never us'd by Men, except in Imitation of the Women. I do not mean that these were the only Oaths us'd by Women, for the contrary doth abundantly appear, but that they were the most usual ones, tho' they often swore by other Goddesses, and sometimes by the Gods, as you may find in *Aristophanes*.

Men generally swore by the God, to whom the Business they had in hand, or the Place they were in, did belong; in the Market they usually swore by *Eppūs Ayaçēō*, or *Mercury*; Plough-men by *Ceres*; those that delighted in Horses, by *Neptune*. The *Athenians* (b) alone of all the *Greeks* us'd to swear by *Iris*, and the *Thebans* commonly by *Osiris*.

Sometimes, either out of Haste, or Assurance of their being in the right, or some such reason, they swore indefinitely by any of the Gods, leaving it to the Party, to whom they swore, to chose whomsoever he pleas'd of the Gods to be tryed by, in this manner, Ομνυμε μὴ τὸν τὸν Δέον: which Form you may find us'd by *Plato*, in his Dialogue intitul'd *Phædrus*, and in *Aristænetus*'s Epistle of *Euxinus* to *Pythagoras*. Others, thinking it unlawful to use the name of God upon every flight Occasion, would say no more than μὰ τὸν, or, By &c. by a religious ellipsis omitting the Name; thus *Phavorinus* (c). *Socrates* in *Stobæus* (d) tells us, that it was not allowable to swear by any of the Gods in any Suit of Law about Money. *Pythagoras*, as *Hierocles* (e) informs us, was very cautious in this Matter, for he rarely swore by the Gods himself, or allow'd his Schollars to do so: instead of them they us'd to swear by τέλον τετράτων, or the number Four, saith *Plaenarch* (f), as thinking the perfection of the Soul consisted in this Number, there being in every Soul, a Mind, Science, Opinion, and Sense. *Socrates* told his Schollars, that *Rhadamanthus*, the justest Man that ever liv'd, had expressly forbidden Men to swear by the Gods, but instead of them allow'd them the use of a Dog, Goose, Ram, or such like Creatures; and in conformity to this Rule, that Philosopher was wont to swear μὴ τὸν κυνία, χλίει, or πλάτανον, by a Dog, Goose, or Plane-tree. *Zeno*, the Father of the Stoicks, usually swore μὴ τὸν κάπραν, i. e. by a Shrub that bears Capers. In *Ananius*, one swears by *Crambe*, i. e. Cole-wort, saith *Celius* (g); the same Oath you may meet with in *Teleclides*, *Epicharmus*, and *Eupolis*, and it seems to have been us'd more especially amongst the *Ionians*.

Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolytus* in *Euripides* (h),

————— μὴ τὸν χθονὸς ὄμνυμε.

(c) In voce Ν. (b) Alex. ab Alex. lib. V. cap. X. Gen. Dier. (c) Voce Μ. (d) Ser. XXV. (e) In *Tythag. Aur. Carm. v. 2.* (f) Libro de *Placit. Philosoph.* (g) Antiq. Le&t. lib. XXVII. cap. XXVIII. (h) Verf. 1025.

And

And by the solid Ground I swear.

Sometimes by Rivers, Fountains, Floods, the Elements, Sun, Moon, and Stars, all which they accounted very sacred Oaths (*a*). Sometimes they swore by any thing they made use of, as a Fisher by his Nets, a Soldier by his Spear, and this last was a very great Oath, if you will believe what (*b*) Justin hath reported, *viz.* That the Ancients paid divine Worship to this Weapon; in memory of which in later Ages it was usual for the Statues of the Gods to hold a Spear: and Eustathius (*c*) writes, that Ceneus erected a Spear, and commanded that it should be worshipp'd as a God. Kings and Princes usually swore by their Scepters, as we find every where in Homer; and this also was thought a solemn Oath, because the Scepter is a Badge and Ensign of Regal and Judicial Power.

They swore also by Men; sometimes by the Dead, of which that of Demosthenes is a famous Instance, when in an Oration to the People of Athens, he swore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly lost their lives in the Battle at Marathon; sometimes they swore by the Living, saith Stuckius (*d*), and this was wont to be done either by their Σωτηρία, Health and Safety; or Αλγετα, their Misfortunes; or their Names; or some of their Members, as their Eyes, Right-hand, especially their Head, for this was accounted a very solemn Oath,

— μάρτιος νεκαλιώ μέχαν ὄγκον δημημα.

By my good Fathers Head, to me most dear,
This binding Oath I solemnly do swear,

Mr. Edw. Dechairs of Linc. Coll.

Saith one in Homer; and Helena, swearing to Menelaus, calls it Αγγεῖον, a sacred Oath,

Αγγεῖον ὄγκον σὸν γάπα κατομῶσα.

Let your vow'd Head this sacred Oath confirm.

The reason of this was, because the Head was accounted the principal and most noble part of Man; or, as Hansenius (*e*) thinks, because it was the Hieroglyphick of Health.

Sometimes they swore by those who were dearest to them, as Parents, Children; or those they had an high esteem for, so the Pythagoreans us'd to swear by their master Pythagoras; nor did they this, as thinking him a God, or Heroe, but because he was a Person, whole

(*a*) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier lib. V. cap. X. (*b*) Lib. XIII. (*c*) In Il. *a.*
(*d*) Libro de Sacris p. 93. (*e*) Libro de Jurament. Veterum.

memory they thought deserv'd a great Veneration, and whose Merits had exalted him to a near affinity with the Divine Nature.

The manner of taking Oaths, was sometimes by lifting up their hands to Heaven; whence Apollo, in the Poet, bids *Lachesis* Χεῖπες ἀνατίνει: tho' Hansenius is of Opinion that this Custom was of later date. Sometimes in the μέγας ὄγκος, or Great and solemn Oath, they laid their hands upon the Altar, as appears from that saying of Pericles, who, being desired by a Friend to take a false Oath upon his account, reply'd, *That he was his Friend to the Altars, and no farther*; as likewise from the Story reported by Diogenes Laertius of Xenocrates, who, being a Man eminent for a strict and virtuous Life, and summon'd as a witness in a certain Cause, where having spoken what he knew of the Matter, went to the Altar to confirm his Evidence by Oath; but the Judges well knowing the Integrity of the Man, with unanimous Consent bid him forbear, and gave credit to him upon his bare Word. Instead of the Altar, saith Pfeifer (*a*), sometimes they made use of a Stone; for this he is beholding to Suidas, who hath taken it out of Aristotle, and Philochorus, and for a farther confirmation of it, hath cited these words out of the Oration of Demosthenes against Conon, Τῶν τε πατέρων καὶ ἔτεις ἡμῶν ἀγές τὸ λίθον ἀγόραστε, καὶ ἐξορκάντες. i. e. And bringing all us that were present, one by one, to the Stone, and there administering the Oath to us. True it is, indeed, that the Athenians did sometimes swear οὐς τὸν λίθον, but what this λίθος was, Pfeifer seems not to have understood; however the Scholiast upon Aristophanes (*b*) hath inform'd us what is meant by it, in his Comment upon this verse,

Τούτοις οὐτε ἢ γῆρας τῷ λίθῳ ἀγοράσασθαι.

— we, tho' depress'd with Age,
With mutt'rings near Tribunals still approach.

Mr. Dechairs.

Where he tells us, that by λίθος is meant the βῆμα, or Tribunal, in Πηγή, or publick Place where the Athenian Assemblies us'd to meet; the reason why it is so call'd he gives us in another place, where the Comedian calls it Πέργα, a Stone, because it stood upon a Rock; by this you may understand what is meant by λιθωμός, i. e. those that took, or impos'd an Oath in Πηγή. Instead of the Altar, in private Contracts, the Person swearing, according to the Roman fashion, laid his Hand upon the Hand of the Party to whom he swore: this Ceremony Menelaus in Euripides demands of Helen,

(*a*) Antiq. Græc. lib. II. cap. XXVII. (*b*) In Acharnensibus.

Ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ρῦν δέξιας ἐψίς δίγε. (a)

Tunite our Hearts, our Hands let's friendly joyn.

In all compacts, and agreements it was usual to take each other by the Right-hand, that being the manner of plighting Faith; and this was done, either out of the respect they had to the number Ten, as some say, there being ten Fingers in the two Hands: or because such a Conjunction was a token of Amity and Concord; whence at all friendly Meetings they joyn'd Hands, as a sign of the Union of their Souls. The Right-hand seems to have been us'd rather than the Left, because it was more honourable, as being the Instrument by which Superiors give commands to those below them; whence Crisagoras in an Epigram, saith, 'Twas impossible that all the Enemies in the World should ever prevail against Rome,

ἄχει καὶ μέτιν
Δεξιὰ συμαινεῖν Καίσαρε Δαφορέν.

While God-like Cesar shall a Right-hand have
Fit for Command.

Mr. Dechairs.

Beside this, in all solemn Leagues, and Covenants they made a Sacrifice, in honour of the Gods by whom they swore, in which they offer'd, for the most part, either a Boar, Ram, or Goat; sometimes all three; sometimes they us'd Bulls, or Lambs instead of any of them. Sometimes, when they kill'd the Boar, &c. they cut out the Stones, and took the Oath standing upon them. A Ram, or Boar thus us'd is properly call'd *Trophæas*. The manner of the Ceremonies was thus; They first cut some of the Hair off the Head of the Victim, and gave part of it to all that were present, that all might share in the Oath (b),

Αρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τόμινε τείχες, αὐτας ἔπειτα
Κύρικε Τράων καὶ Αχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀεισδις.

Next from the Victim's Head he cut some Hair,
Which to the ruling Chiefs the Cryers bear.

Mr. Dechairs.

The reason of this Custom *Eustathius* gives us out of *Sophocles*, as it is explain'd in these verses,

(a) *Helen.* v. 834. (b) *Il.* 2'.

Kakos

Κακὸς κακὸς δέθαπτος ἐκπέσεις χθονὸς,
Γένες ἀπαντοῦς φίλοις ἐξημημένος
Αὐτὸς ὅπως τῷ τοῦδ' ἐγώ τέμνω πλόκον.

Curses attend you, if e're false you prove,
Your days in bitter sorrows may you live,
And when Fate calls, (but may that lingring come)
May your dead Corps no fit Interment find:
Yet now I favours wish; may your whole Race
Plagues heap'd on Plagues vex, and at last cut off,
As I these Locks cut from the sacred Head.

Mr. Dechairs.

After this, they pray'd to the Gods to bear witness of their Agreement, and punish the Person, that should first violate his Oath. This done, they kill'd the Victims by cutting their throats;

Ἄπο σφαλχος ἀριών τάμις υπέσι χαλκῶ.

Then with his piercing Sword their Throats he stabb'd.

For *sphæchos* did originally signify a Throat, as *Eustathius* observes upon that Place. Hence comes the Phrase ὄρκια τέμνειν, in Latin, *fieri fatus*, i. e. to make a Covenant. This done, they repeated the Form of words, which both Parties were to confirm by mutual Oath, as appears from *Homer's* Description of the Truce made between the *Grecians* and *Trojans*.

After this, they made a Libation of Wine, which was at this time mix'd, to signify the Conjunction and Concord that was between the Parties: then praying again to the Gods, they pour'd it forth, requesting that whoever should first break his Oath, might have his Blood, or Brains pour'd out in the same manner, as *Homer* (a) reports,

Οἶτον δ' ἐκ κρηπῆς ἀρνατάμνος θεπάτου,
Εκχεον, ἵδ' εὐχορτος θεοῖς αἰτεγένετοι.
Ωδὲ δὲ πις ἐπισκειν Αχαιῶν τε Τράων τε
Ζεὺς κύδιστε, μέγιστε, καὶ Αθένατος θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Οστόπτεροι πεζόπεροι τοῦδε ὄρκια πημένειν,
Ωδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χάμαδις ἔσσοι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἴγος,
Αὐτῶν, καὶ τεκέων, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλοισι μηδέν.

(a) *Iliad*, citat.

Others to Heav'n send up their Servent Prayers,
And to th' Immortal Beings, who th' Affairs
Of Mankind rule, an awfull Worship pay,
While streams of pour'd out Wine dye all the Way.
Thus they address the Gods.
Great, mighty Jove, and all ye Pow'r's divine,
Whose Justice suffers no unpunish'd Sin,
Bear witness to the solemn Vows we make,
And grant, the Party, which them first shall break,
Whether it be, as now the ground Wine-stains,
May so o're spread it with their dash'd out Brains.
This light on them, and their Posterity,
And may their Wifes to all Men common be.

Mr. Dechir.

It was very usual in all Oaths, to add a solemn Imprecation, wishing that some Evil might befall them, if they swore falsely : which was done, for the most part, upon one of these Accounts, viz. either for the satisfaction of the other Person, that he might give more credit to them ; such an one was that of Demosthenes ; Εἰ ποτὲ εὐρκῶ, πολλὰ μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοτο, εἰ δυπορκῶ, ἔχωλης δέρποιμι, If what I swear be true, (says he) may I enjoy much happiness ; if not, may I perish utterly. Sometimes they did it, to lay a stricter and more inviolable Obligation upon themselves, least they should at any time repent of their purpose, and take contrary Measures to what they then resolv'd upon. Upon which account it was, that the Phocensians (a), who afterwards built the City Massilia in Gallia Narbonensis, oblig'd themselves by an Oath, back'd with terrible Imprecations, never to think of returning home ; whence came the Proverb Φαύκεων ἀρδ., applied to Men under the Obligation of a strict Oath.

To return, the Flesh on which they feasted at other Sacrifices, was in this thought unlawful to be eaten ; and therefore, saith Enstaius (b), if the Person concern'd was at home, it was buried ; for so Priam seems to have done with his Victims in the Sacrifice before mention'd : but if the Party was a Stranger, they threw it into the Sea, as Talthybius did the Sow, which was sacrific'd at one of Agamemnon's Oaths, or dispos'd of it some such way. Here you may observe, that if any unlucky or ominous Accident happen'd at the time of Sacrifice, they usually differr'd, or wholly refus'd to take the Oath, of which we have an instance in Plutarch (c), who reports, that when Pyrrhus, Lysimachus, and Cessander had concluded a Peace, and met to confirm it by solemn Oath, and Sacrifice ; a Goat, Bull, and Ram being brought out, the Ram on a sudden fell dead ; which some only laugh'd at, but Theodorus the Priest forbud Pyrrhus to swear, declaring, that Heaven by

(a) Herodot. lib. I. & Strabo. lib. IV. (b) Il. γ'. (c) Vita Pyrrhi.

that omen, portended the Death of one of the three Kings, whereupon he refus'd to ratifie the Peace.

Alexander ab Alexandro (a), hath given us another manner of Swearing, which was thus ; They took hold of their Garments, and pointing a Sword towards their Throats, invok'd the Heavens, Earth, Sun, and Furies to bear witness to what they were about to do ; then they Sacrific'd a Boar-pig, which they cast into the Sea, and, this being done, took the Oath.

The solemn way of taking an Oath amongst the Molossians, was by cutting an Ox into small pieces, and then swearing : whence any thing divided into small Parcels, was proverbially call'd Βόες ὁ Μολοσσῶν, as Suidas (b), and Zenodotus (c) witness ; you may here by the way take notice of the mistake of Erasmus (d), who instead of *Bos Molossorum*, writes *Bos Homolottorum*, reading, I suppose, in the foremention'd Authors βόες ομολοσσῶν, instead of βόες ὁ μολοσσῶν.

Another manner of Swearing was that describ'd by Plutarch (e), who reports, that when the Grecians had overthrown, and utterly routed all the Forces of Xerxes, being flush'd with Victory, they enter'd upon a design of making a common Invasion upon Persia ; whereupon, to keep them firm to their resolutions, Aristides made them all swear to keep the League, and himself took the Oath in the Name of the Athenians, and after Curses pronounc'd against him that should break the Vow, threw Wedges of red-hot Iron into the Sea ; by which was signified, that the Oath should remain inviolable, as long as the Irons should abide in the Sea without swimming ; which Custom is also mention'd by Callimachus, who, as he is cited by the Scholiast upon Sophocles (f), speaks thus of the Phacensians,

Φωνίκων μεχρις κε μένη μέτας τιν' ἀλὶ μιδρῷ.

While these plung'd Irons the Sea's sure bottom keep.

There was also another manner of Swearing mention'd by Plutarch in the Life of Dion, which Dion's Wife and Sister impos'd upon Callippus the Athenian, being mov'd thereto by a suspicion that he was privy to a conspiracy against Dion's Life. It was thus ; The Juror went into the Temple of Ceres and Proserpina, or, as some say, of Ceres Themophora, or, the Law-giver ; where after the performance of certain Ceremonies, he was cloath'd in the purple Vestment of the Goddess, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, as being in the presence of the Deity, took the Oath by all the Gods in the World ; this the Syrians accounted the most solemn and sacred Oath that could be.

Another Test the Sicilians generally made use of at Palice, a City of Sicily, where was a Fountain nam'd Acadinus, to which the Jurors came, and having written the Oath in a Tablet, threw it into the

(a) Lib. V. cap. X. (b) Voce Βόες. (c) In Proverb. in Bz. (d) In Adagia. (e) Vita Aristedis. (f) Antigon. v. 270.

water, which if it could endure, and swim, the Person accus'd was believ'd Honest; but if it sunk, He was to be cast into the Flames imme-
diately, as a perjur'd Villain; thus Aristotle (a), and Stephanus the By-
zantian (b).

Other ways also they had of clearing themselves from the imputa-
tion of Crimes; for instance, the Person accus'd sometimes took
an Oath that he was innocent, creeping upon his Hands thro' the
Fire; or holding in his Hands a red-hot Iron, call'd in Greek
Mūspōr, as the Scholiast upon Sophocles reports; hereby those that were
not guilty of the Crime laid to their charge, were sensible of no pain.
Thus the Fellow in Sophocles (c) tells Creon, that all the Guards were
ready to take upon Oath, that they neither buried Polynices them-
selves, nor knew who they were, that had done it;

Ἡλύ δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρες αἴγεν τελεῖν,
Καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεῶν ὄρκωμοτεῖν,
Τὸ μῆτε δράσαι, μῆτε τῷ συνειδέναι
Τὸ πρᾶγμα βαλδασσην, μῆτ' εἰργασμένω.

There, Sir, we stood ready for all Commands,
Either hot Bars to take up with our Hands,
Or pass thro' Fires, or by the Gods to swear,
That neither we the Body did intent,
Nor privy to the wicked Action to were.

Mr. Ditcham.

A Custom not much differing from these, was practis'd in this Island by our Saxon Ancestors upon the same account, and was therefore call'd the *Fire-Ordeal*, for *Ordeal* in *Saxon* signifies Purgation. The manner of undergoing this Test was thus; The Person accus'd pass'd blind-fold, with bare Feet, over certain Plough-shares made red-hot, and plac'd at an unequal distance from one another; this *Ordalium*, Edward the Confessor forc'd his Mother *Emma* to undergo, to vindicate her Honour from the Scandal of incontinency with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Wim-chester*; and by this Tryal she gave a sufficient Demonstration of her innocence, for having pass'd over the Irons before she was aware of it, she cry'd out, *When shall I come to the place of my Purgation?* And *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the Second, upon the like imputation, held a red-hot Iron in her Hand, and receiv'd no harm thereby. Thus much by way of Digression.

I shall beg the Reader's leave to mention but one sort more of these Purgation-oaths, which is describ'd by *Achilles Taxis* in his eighth Book, Of the Loves of *Citophon* and *Leucippe*. It is this; When a Woman was accus'd of Incontinency, she was to clear her self from this Charge by Oath, which was written in a Tablet, and hung about her

Neck, then she went into the Water up to the mid-leg; where, if she was innocent, all things remain'd in the same manner as they were before; but if guilty, the very Water, saith he, swell'd as it were with rage, mounted up as high as her neck, and cover'd the Tablet; least so horrid and detestable a sight, as a false Oath, should be expos'd to the view of the Sun, and the World. Some other sorts of Oaths there were, of which I might give you a large account; had I not already trans-
ferr'd too far upon the Reader's patience, I shall therefore only add something concerning their religious observance of Oaths, and so conclude this Chapter.

What a religious Regard they had for Oaths, doth appear from this, that *εὐόποτος*, or one that keep his Oaths, is commonly us'd for virtuous, a pious Person, as in *Hesiod*,

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρπος τάξεις ταύταις, ἀτε δίκαιος.

Nor Just, nor pious Souls shall Favour have.

Aristophanes (a) also has taken it in the same sence,

—— εἰ τι χαιρεῖς εὐόρπος τερόποιος.

If you're with Justice pleas'd.

On the contrary, when they would express a wicked, forlorn wretch, they call'd him *διηρόχοος*, perjurious; which was the worst, and most infamous Title they could fix upon him; and therefore *Aristophanes* (b) speak'g of Jupiter's Lightning and Thunder-bolts, which, as some thought, were chiefly levell'd against the wicked, saith, Εἰτε φέλλει τὴς φύσεις, If perjur'd Villains are indeed so liable to the stroke, how comes it to us that Cleonymus, and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poor Oak is so often shatter'd to pieces, & τὸ σπούς διηροχεῖ, Since it can never be perjur'd? Such as were common and customary swearers the Athenians brandish'd with the name of *Ardetti*, from *Ἄρδητος*, (faith *Hesychius*, and out of him *Phavorinus*) the name of the Place wherein Oaths were required of them, before their admission to publick Offices.

Those, that had sworn falsely, were, in some places, punish'd with Death; in others, suffer'd the same punishment that was due to the Crime, with which they charg'd an innocent Person; in others only a pecuniary Mulct was impos'd on them. But tho' they might sometimes escape humane punishments, yet it was thought the Divine Vengeance would not fail to overtake them, and the Demons were always so cunning, as to pretend an utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of such enormous Crimes, of which I shall give you one remarkable instance out of *Herodotus* (c):

(a) *Lib. de Mirabilibus.* (b) *In Nubibus.* (c) *Antigone.* v. 270.

Neck,

(a) *Tluso.* (b) *Nubibus.* (c) *Eraso.*

There

There was at Sparta a Man nam'd *Glaucus*, fam'd over all Greece for his Justice, and Integrity; into his hands a certain Milesian, fearing some Danger at Home, and being encourag'd by the Character of the Man, deposited a large summ of Money; after some time, the Sons of this Milesian came to Sparta, and showing *Glaucus* the Bill, demanded the Money; *Glaucus* pretended he was wholly ignorant of the Matter, yet promis'd to recollect with himself, and if he found any thing due to them, to pay it; to do this he took four Months time, and having gain'd this delay, immediately took a Journey to Delphi, on purpose to ask *Apollo's* opinion, Whether it was lawful to perjure himself, thereby to secure the money? The God mov'd with indignation at the impudence of the Man, return'd him this answer,

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικιδεῖμ, τὸ δὲ αὐτίκα κέρδος ἔτο
Ορκῷ νικῆσαι, καὶ χείματα λιώσασθαι.
Ορκὺν ἐπεὶ Σάρατος γε καὶ εἰρηκον μῆνες ἀγρεῖται:
Αλλ' Ορκὺς πάις έστιν ἀγωνυμός, οὐδὲ ἐπιχείρεις,
Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραυγὴς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσόκε πάσαν
Συριμάρτας διέση γενεῖται, καὶ οἴκου ἄπαυτα.

No, *Glaucus*, no, I think you need not fear
To bilk your easie Creditor, and swear
He lent you no such summ; you'll gain thereby,
And this consider'd, you may Death defie,
Death of the Just alike an Enemy.
But know, that *Orcus* has a Monster Son
Ghastly of shape, who ever hastens on
To o'retake Perjuries; He'll n'ree forget
Your hainous Crime, but with revengeful Hate
Send Losses, racking Pangs, destructive Woe,
Till He your self with your whole Race undoe.

Mr. Dechairs

This prediction was fully accomplish'd in *Glaucus*, notwithstanding he afterwards restor'd the money; for his whole Family was in a few Generations utterly extinct, and so became a memorable example of Divine Vengeance. But tho' all the other Gods took upon them sometimes to punish this Crime, yet it was thought in a more peculiar manner to be the care of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Orix*: and *Pausanias* reports, that in the *Buleutheion*, or Council-Hall, at *Olympia*, there was a Statue of *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt in each Hand, and a plate of Bræ at his Feet, on which were engraven certain *Elegiacal* verses, composed on purpose to terrifie Men from invoking that God to witness an Untruth. Beside this, the perjur'd Persons were thought to be haunted and distracted by the Furies, who every fifth day in the Month made Visitation, and walk'd their Rounds for that purpose, according to *Hesiod*,

I

E

Ἐγ γέμπτην γό φασιν Εειγύνας ἀμφιπολέσιν
Ορκού πινυμένας, τὸν Εεις τέκε πῆμ' ὀπίσκοις (a).

All other Days the *Furies* quiet rest,
Only on Fifths the Perjur'd they molest,
Revenging *Orcus*, *Orcus* the sure Bane
Of all that dare his Deity profane.

Mr. Dechairs.

Therefore *Agamemnon* swearing that he had never known *Briseis*, call'd the *Furies* to bear witness,

Εειγύνας, αἱ θ' ἑτοὶ γαῖας
Ανθρώπους πίνυμεται, οἱ, πις καὶ ὀπίσκοιν ὄμοσην.

Th' Infernal *Furies* I to witness call,
By whose Distractions perjur'd Villains fall.

Mr. Dechairs.

Tho' the punishment here meant by *Homer*, seems to have been inflicted after Death, because he saith ἑτοὶ γαῖας ανθρώπους &c. or, the Men under the Earth; and that this is the meaning of that place doth appear from another Oath in *Homer*, where the Infernal Gods are invok'd after this manner,

ἡ οἱ ταύτηρες καμόντας
Ανθρώπους πίνυμεται, οἱ, πις καὶ ὀπίσκοιν ὄμοσην.

witness, ye Infernal Powers,
Who Souls below torment for breach of Oaths.

Mr. Dechairs.

Yet soine in that place read καμόντες, and then the meaning of it will be, That the Souls of deceas'd Persons are employ'd in torturing perjur'd Villains.

In some places, even insensible Creatures were reported to take Revenge for this Crime, for it was generally believ'd in *Arcadia*, that no Man could forswear himself by the Waters of *Stryx*, without undergoing some severe and remarkable Punishment; and it is reported of the subterranean Cavern sacred to *Palæmon* at *Corinth*, that no perjur'd person could so much as enter into it, without being made a memorable and terrible example of Divine Justice. In *Sicily*, at the Temple of the *Palici* in the City *Palice*, there were certain *Crateres*,

(a) Ημέραις η. 45.

Ff

Fontes;

Fonts, or Lakes, (for so sometimes they are call'd) nam'd *Delli*, out of which there continually issued Flames, and Balls of Fire, with boylng, and stinking water; and thither People us'd to resort from all Quarters for the deciding of Controversies: if any one swore falsely near these Fonts, he was presently struck either Blind, Lame, or Dead in the place; or was swallow'd up, and drowned in the Lakes.

Notwithstanding these, and other Instances of the Divine displeasure at this Crime, and the Scandal and Infamy of it, yet was it so much practis'd by the *Grecians*, that they could never avoid the imputation of Treachery, and Perfidiousness; insomuch that *Greca fides*, came to be proverbially applied to Men, that were wavering, inconsistent, and unfit to be trusted, or relied upon; *Plautus*, in his Play call'd *Aesonia*, by *Greca fide mercari*, means to buy with ready money, as tho' without that a *Grecian* was not to be meddled with; his Words are these,

*Diem, aquam, Solem, Lunam, noctem, haec argento non emo,
Cætera, quæ volumus uti, Græca mercamur fide.*

I buy not Day, nor Water, nor the Night,
Nor will my Gold the Sun, or Moon procure;
All other things, yet first I pay it down,
Right *Grecian* like, for Money I can have.

Mr. Decham.

Tully likewise, in his Oration for *Flaccus*, speaks after the same manner; "That Nation, (says he) never made any conscience of observing their Oaths. And their own Country-man *Euripides* affests to him herein,

Πίστον Ελλὰς οἴδεν τέλειον.

No sparks of Honesty *Greece* ever had.

And *Polybius* yet more fully in the sixth Book of his History, "Amongst the *Greeks*, (says he) if you lend only one Talent, and for security have ten Bonds, with as many Seals, and double the number of Witnesses, yet all these obligations can scarce force them to be honest". Yet *Aufonius* had a better Opinion of them, unless his words were Ironie and ridicule, when he said to *Paulus*,

*Nobiscum irvenies κατεύθυντα, si libet uti
Non Poena, sed Græca fide.* —————

At my House too, promise you'll honest be,
A wanton Muse's Trifles you may see.

Mr. Decham.

The *Thessalians*, in particular, were infamous for this Vice; whence, as *Zenodotus* hath inform'd us, by Θεσσαλῶν γόμιστα, is meant Fraud and

Deceit;

Deceit; and the other Proverb, viz. Θεσσαλῶν σέριστα, seems to have had its rise from the treacherous and double Dealing of the *Thessalians* with their Confederates; a memorable instance of which we have in the *Peloponnesian War*, where in the midst of a Battel they turn'd Sides, and deserting the *Athenians*, went over to the *Lacedæmonians*: which reason seems more probable than that mention'd by *Zenodotus*, viz. Their solemn Vow of an *Hecatomb* of Men, made every Year to *Apollo*, without any design of ever paying it; which they did in imitation of their Fore-father *Thessalus*, who made such a Vow to *Apollo*, but considering how impious and unpleasing to the God it was like to be, neglected the performance of it. The *Locrians* were not much less infamous on the same account, whence those Proverbial Sayings, Λοκροὶ τὰς συνήπειρας, and, Λοκρῶν συνῆπειρα, do usually denote fraudulent Persons, and Practices, as we learn from *Zenodotus*. I shall forbear to enumerate any more particulars, only I cannot pass by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they were the most renown'd of all the *Grecians* for their Valour, Temperance, and other Virtues, so were the most scandalous for their Treachery, and Contempt of Oaths; whence they are by *Lycophron* (a) call'd Αἰμιλίας, which the Scholiast upon that place expounds, Ἀιμιλίας, ή δόλοι, i. e. liars, and deceitful; *Euripides* (b) bearing him witness hercina, when he saith,

Σπάρτης ἔρωκαι, δόλαις βαλεύματα.

Spartans, fam'd ever for base Treacheries.

Aristophanes speaks yet more plainly and fully, when he tells us, They neither accounted Altars, Promises, nor Oaths sacred; his words are these,

Οἶον ωτε βαυμοί, ωτε πίστις, ωτε ὄφεις μήτε.

Who neither Altars, Oaths, nor Trust revere.

And that this was not altogether a Calumny, the *Aphorism of Lysander*, one of their most eminent Generals, doth sufficiently evidence, viz. Εὐαγγεῖον χρὴ πῦντας πὲ ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίες δὲ ὄφεις. Boys, saith he, are to be deceiv'd with Dice, or Nine-pins, but Enemies with Oaths. Others there are, that will have this to be the Saying of *Dionysius* the Tyrant (c). However that be, 'tis certain the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' perhaps more just and punctual in private Affairs, had very small regard for an Oath in publick Business; for even their Great *Agephilias* seems to have thought it but a weak Obligation,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 1124. (b) *Andromach.* v. 445. (c) *Alex.* ab *A'lex.* lib. v. ap. X.

whenever it stood in competition with the Publick good, that great Mark, and ultimate End, to which they thought all their Actions were to be directed; insomuch that it was accounted lawful to promote it by the most unjust Means in the World; for, as *Plutarch* (a) affirms, to serve their Countrey was the Principle and Spring of all their Actions, nor did they account any thing just or unjust, by any measures but that.

The *Athenians* seem to have had some few grains more of honesty, as the story of *Themistocles* in *Plutarch* doth evidence; for He telling the People He had form'd a Design, which, if accomplish'd, would be very advantageous to the Common-wealth, but might not, at that time, be communicated to the whole Assembly; they order'd him to impart it to *Aristides* in private, who having heard the Matter, came and reported to the People, that it was indeed a very beneficial Contrivance, but withal the most unjust in the World; whereupon they immediately commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention. *Digenian*, in his Book of *Collections*, tells us that *Atheniæ magistrus*, was taken for a sincere, and uncorrupt Witness; as also *Atheniæ pietatis*, for a true, honest, and untainted Faith: and tho' some would have this Proverb taken from the Goddess *Fides*, who had a Temple at *Athens* mention'd by *Plautus* (b); and others not from the Manners of the People, but the nature of their Soil, which was so unfruitful, that it brought forth just as much as was sown, and no more, whence *Attica fides*, is applied to any Man that restores all that he was entrusted with; yet *Velleius Paterculus* (c) assures us, it was taken from their Faithfulness, and unshaken Loyalty to the *Romans*; whence *Attica fides*, is by *Flaccus* (d) call'd *certa*; by *Horace* (e) *impolluta*; and by *Silius* (f) *Pura*; and many other specious Epithets you may find given to it by the Poets. Notwithstanding all this, their Honesty was not so firm and unmoveable, but that it might sometimes be shaken by the alluring and specious Temptation of the Publick good; I will conclude this Chapter with an instance of it, taken out of *Plutarch* (g), which is the more remarkable, and more clearly evidences the Disposition and Temper of that State, because it was approv'd by the Consent of the People, and put in Execution by *Aristides*, a Man of greater renown for Justice and upright Dealing, than any that City ever brought forth. He, when the *Grecians* (after they had utterly routed all the remainders of *Xerxes*'s numerous Army) design'd a common Invasion upon *Persia*, took a solemn Oath in the Name of the *Athenians* to observe the League; but afterwards, when things were brought to such a pass, as constrain'd them to govern with a stronger Hand, than was consistent with it, advis'd them to throw the Perjurie upon him, and manage Affairs, as their convenience required. Upon the whole matter, *Theophrastus* tells us, (saith *Plutarch*) that this Person was

(a) *Vita Agesilas*. (b) *In Aulul*. (c) *Histor. lib. I*. (d) *Argon. lib. IV*.

(e) *Lib. III. Od. XVI*. (f) *Bell. Tunis. lib. XIII*. (g) *Vit. Aristidis*.

in his own private Affairs, and those of his Fellow-Citizens nicely just, but in publick Matters did many things according to the State, and Condition of his Countrey, for whose sake He frequently committed Acts of Injustice. Then he adds, that it was reported of him, that to one who was in debate, Whether he should convey a certain treasure from *Delos* to *Athens*, contrary to the League, at the perfusion of the *Samians*, He should say, *That the thing was not just, but expedient*.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Grecian Divination, and Oracles, in general.

M A N T I K H, is a general Name for all sorts of Divination, and signifies the knowledge of Things obscure, or future, which cannot be attain'd by any Ordinary, or Natural Means. It is divided by *Plato* (a), (who is follow'd herein by *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*) into two Species, one of which is call'd *ἀτεχνός*, *ἀδισκήσιος*, and *naturalis*, i. e. unartificial, or natural Divination, as not being attain'd by any Rules, Precepts, or Observations, but inspired into the Diviner, without his taking any farther Care or Trouble about it, than to purifie and prepare himself to receive the Divine *Afflatus*. With this sort were all those endued, that deliver'd Oracles, and fore-told future Events by Inspiration, without observing any external Signs, or Accidents; such were the *Sybils*, and other Enthusiasts. Some there are, that reduce Divination by Dreams under this Species, because in them Revelations were made without any Pains, or Art of the Dreamers; but herein lyes the mistake of this Argument, that not the Dreamers, but the Interpreters of Dreams were the Diviners; and that their skill was the effect of Art and Observation, is evident from the many Books written upon that Subject, and the various Signs deliver'd in them to make Conjectures by; in like manner, it was not so much the busines of an *Aigis* to see the Birds of Divination, which might casually happen to any rude and unskilful Fellow, but after he had seen them, to interpret what was portended by them.

These therefore, with others of the like Nature, are to be referr'd to the second Species of Divination, call'd *Τέχνη*, or Artificial, because it was not obtain'd by immediate Inspiration, but was the effect of long Experience, and Observation; as Sooth-saying: or depended

(a) *Phaedro*.

chiefly upon humane Art, Invention, or Imposition, which nevertheless was not suppos'd to be altogether destitute of divine Direction and Concurrence; such was Divination by Lots.

I shall begin with the first sort of Divination, as having a more immediate dependance on the Gods; and first with the noblest part of it, I mean Oracles, which are call'd in Greek *χειροκρίται*, *χειροπρόδιαι*, *χειροπροφήται*, *μαντείαται*, *θεωρήται*, *θεωρηται*, *θεοφάται*, &c. The Interpreters, or Revealers of Oracles, *χειροπολόγοι*, &c. The Consulters, *θεωρέποι*, &c. The Places, in which they were deliver'd, *χειρεῖα*, *μαντεῖα*, &c. Tho' I am not ignorant that some of these Names were sometimes applied to other sorts of Divination.

Of all the sorts of Divination, Oracles had always the greatest Repute, as being thought to proceed in a more immeditate manner from the Gods; whereas others were deliver'd by Men, and had a greater dependance on them, who might either out of Ignorance mistake, or out of Fear, Hopes, or other unlawful and base Ends conceal, or betray the Truth; whereas they thought the Gods, who were neither obnoxious to the Anger, nor stood in need of the Rewards, nor car'd for the Promises of Mortals, could not sure be prevail'd upon to do either of them. Upon this account, Oracles obtain'd so great Credit, and Esteem, that in all Doubts and Disputes their Determinations were held sacred and inviolable; whence as *Strabo* (a) reports, vast numbers flock'd to them to be resolv'd in all manner of Doubts, and ask Counsel about the management of their Affairs: insomuch, that no Business of great Consequence and Moment was undertaken, scarce any Peace concluded, any War wag'd, any new Form of Government instituted, or new Laws enacted, without the advice and approbation of an Oracle; *Cresus* (b), before he durst venture to declare War against the *Persians*, consulted not only all the most famous Oracles in *Greece*, but sent Embassadors as far as *Libya*, to ask advice of *Jupiter Hammon Minos* (c), the Cretan Law-giver, convers'd with *Jupiter*, and receiv'd instructions from him, how he might new model his Government. *Lycurgus* also made frequent Visits to the *Delphian Apollo*, and receiv'd from him that Plat-form, which afterwards he co-communicated to the *Lacedemonians*. Nor does it matter whether these things were really true or not, since 'tis certain they were believ'd to be so; for hence appears what great Esteem Oracles were in, at least amongst the Vulgar sort, when Law-givers, and Men of the greatest Authority were forc'd to make use of these Methods to win them into Compliance. My Author goes yet higher, and tells us, that inspired Persons were thought worthy of the greatest Honours and Trusts; insomuch, that sometimes we find them advanc'd to the Throne, and invested with Regal Power; for that being admitted to the Counsels of the Gods, they were best able to provide for the Safety and Welfare of Mankind.

This reputation stood the Priests, that had their dependance on the

(a) Lib. XVI. (b) Herodot. Lib. I. (c) Strabo loc. cit.

Oracles, in no small stead; for finding their Credit thus thoroughly establish'd, they allow'd no Man to consult the Gods, before he had offer'd costly Sacrifices, and made rich Presents to them: whereby it came to pass, that none but great and wealthy Men were admitted to ask their Advice, they alone being able to defray the charges required on that account; which contributed very much to raise the esteem of Oracles among the common People; Men generally being apt to admire the things they are kept at some distance from; and, on the other hand, to contemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore to keep up their Esteem with the Better sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated Days; at other times neither the greatest Prince could purchase, nor Persons of the greatest Quality any ways obtain an Answer; *Alexander* himself was pereimpitorily denied by the *Pythia*, till she was by down-right force compell'd to ascend the *Tripus*, when finding her self unable to relist any longer, she cry'd out *Ανίστης εἰ*, Thou art invincible; which words were thought a very lucky Omen, and accepted instead of any further Oracle.

As to the causes of Oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the revelations of *Demons*, or only the delusions of crafty Priests. *Van Dale*, a Dutch Wit, has taken pains to write a large Treatise in defence of the latter Opinion; but his Arguments, I think, are not of such force, but that they might without difficulty be refuted, if either my Design required, or Time permitted me to answer them. However that be, it was the common Opinion, that *Jupiter* was the first Cause of this and all other sorts of Divination, 'twas He that had the Books of Fate, and out of them reveal'd either more or less, as he pleas'd, to inferior *Demons*; for which reason he was brann'd *Πλαυμφάτης*, as *Eustathius* tells us in his Comment upon this verse of *Homer* (a),

Ἐνθα πλαυμφάτῳ Ζηνὶ ἔξεσον Αχαιοῖς.

— then at the holy Fane
To mighty Jove was the glad Victim slain,
To Jove from whom all Divination comes,
And inspir'd Oracles unriddle future Dooms.

Mr. Hutchin.

Of the other Gods *Apollo* was reputed to have the greatest skill in making Predictions, and therefore it was one of his Offices to preside over, and inspire all sorts of Prophets, and Diviners; but this was only in subordination to *Jupiter*, and by converse with, and participation from him, as *Aeschylus* (b) gives us to understand, when he saith,

(a) Iliad. 8. v. 250. (b) Sacerdotibus.

Στέλλειν ὅπες τάχεα, ταῦτα γὰρ ποτὲ
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθεῖ Λοξία. —

Send, quickly send, for so by Jove inspir'd
Phœbus commands. —

Mr. Hutchin.

On the same account, in another place (a), when he brings in *Apollo*, commanding Men to reverence his own Oracles, He adds, They must also pay due respect to those of *Jupiter*, without mentioning any of the other Prophetick Deities; His words are these,

Καὶ γώ τε χειρούσσε τὸς ἐμούς τε, καὶ Δίος
Ταρσεῖν καλούω. —

To mine, and Jove's most sacred Oracles
Pay due Obeyfance. —

Mr. Hutchin.

The manner of delivering Oracles was not in all Places, nor at all Times the same; in some Places the Gods reveal'd them by Interpreters, as did *Apollo* at *Delphi*; in others, more imminently, giving answers themselves, which they either pronounc'd *viva voce*, or return'd by Dreams, or Lots, (the former of which were suppos'd to be inspired, and the latter directed by the Gods) or some other Way. At some places, both these ways were us'd; for instance, those that consulted *Trophonius*, after having propos'd their Questions, first receiv'd an answer in a Dream; and, if that was obscure, and hard to be understood, had the meaning of it interpreted by Men kept for that purpose, and instructed in that Art by the Deity: several other ways also this God us'd to give answers to Enquirers, as *Pausanias* reports in his Description of *Bœotia*; and in another place (b), the same Author tells us, an Answer was return'd by him in these Heroick Verses,

Πειν δοεὶ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, σίσαδε τερόπειον,
Ασσίδη κορυνταρτες ἐμιώ, την εἰσατο γηῶ
Θύερς Αεισορόθινος Μεσσήνος, αὐτῷς ἐγώ τοι
Ανδρῶν δυσφενέων φίοιο σπατὸν ἀστισάων.

Let not the bloody Ensigns be display'd,
Nor least attack upon your Foes be made,
Before an ample Trophy you erect
And to my hallow'd Shield pay due respect,

(a) *Eumenidibus.* (b) *Messenia.*

Which in the Temple to my growing praise

The valiant *Aristomenes* did raise:

Thus when you've done, you may expect that I
Will crown these toils of War with joyful Victory.

Mr. Hutchin.

This answer was given to the *Thebans* before the Battle at *Læuctra*, wherein, by the conduct of *Epaminondas*, they gave the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates a notable Overthrow.

Thus much of Oracles in general. I shall in the next place endeavour to give a particular Description of them, especially such as were of any Note, together with a short account of the Ceremonies required of those that consulted them, the manner of returning Answers, with other things remarkable in each of them. And because *Jupiter* was reputed to be the first Author of them; I shall begin with those, that were thought to be more immediately deliver'd by Him.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Oracles of Jupiter.

DODONA (a), is by some thought to have been a City of *Thessaly*; by others it was plac'd in *Epirus*; and others, to reconcile these two Opinions, will have two *Dodona*'s, one in *Thessaly*, and another in *Epirus*. They that place it in *Epirus*, (and that is generally believ'd to have been the seat of the Oracle, whether there was another *Dodona* in *Thessaly*, or not) are no les divided in their opinions about it; for some of them will have it in *Thesprotia*, others in *Chaonia*, or *Moloßia*; but *Eustathius* (b) has undertaken to decide the Controversie, telling us that it did indeed once belong to the *Thesprotians*, but afterwards fell into the hands of the *Moloßians*; and He is herein confirm'd by *Strabo* (c).

It was first built by *Deucalion*, who in that universal Deluge, where-in the greatest part of *Greece* perish'd, retreated to this place; which by reason of it's height secur'd him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all that had escap'd from the Inundation, with whom he peopled his new-built City, calling it *Dodona*, either from a Sea-nymph of that name, or *Dodon* the Son, or *Dodone* the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Europa*; or from the River *Dodon*, or *Don*, for so it is call'd by *Stephanus*; or, as some say, from *Dodanum* the Son of *Javan*, who, they tell us, was Captain of a Colony sent to inhabit those parts of *Epirus*. At

(a) *Eustath. Iliad. B'. p. 254. & II. π'. p. 1074. Edit. Basil. Stephanus Byzant.*(b) *Udyss. ξ'. p. 544.* (c) *Geogr. lib. X.*

the same Time, *Deucalion* is said to have founded a Temple, which He consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is thence call'd *Dodoneus*. This was the first Temple in *Greece*, but the Oracle seems to have been a considerable Time before it; for *Herodotus* in the second Book of his History reports, that it was the most ancient of all Oracles in *Greece*, which would be false, had it not been before *Deucalion's* time; for He, as the Poets tell us, having escap'd the Deluge, consulted the Oracle of *Themis* on Mount *Parnassus*, what means he should use to replenish the Country with People; and the same Oracle, they tell us, was joyntly possest by the *Earth*, and *Neptune*, before it belong'd to *Themis*.

The Original of it, tho', like all other things of such Antiquity, wrapp'd up in Fables, I will repeat to you out of the fore-mention'd place of *Herodotus*, where he hath given us two accounts of it, the first of which, He tells us, he receiv'd from the Priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Aegypt*; it was this: That the *Phænicians* had carried away two Priestesses from that place, one of which they sold into *Libya*, the other into *Greece*; that each of these had erected the first Oracle in those Nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodoneus*. The other account was given him by the Priestesses at *Dodona*, and confirm'd by all those that ministred in the Temple, viz. That two black Pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, one of them came to *Libya*, where she commanded that an Oracle should be erected to *Hammon*; the other to *Dodona*, where she sat upon an Oak-tree, and speaking with an Humane voice, order'd that there should be in that place an Oracle of *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion about the matter, which was this; That if the *Phænicians* did really carry two Women from *Thebes*, and sell one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, it might be probable that she, that was transported into *Greece*, was sold to the *Thebrians* in that Country, which in his time was call'd *Hellas*, but formerly nam'd *Pelasgia*, where she instituted the Oracle to *Jupiter*, and gave instructions after what manner he was to be worshipp'd. To confirm this conjecture, he adds, that those two Oracles have a near resemblance to each other. Moreover he tells us, the two Women were said to be Black, because they came from *Aegypt*; and were call'd *Doves*, because their language was barbarous, and as unintelligible as that of Birds; afterwards when they had learn'd the *Greek* Tongue, they were said to speak with an Humane voice. *Eustathius* (a) gives two reasons more for this appellation; the first is, That they were call'd *Πέλειαι*, or *Doves*, q. *Πελειομάντεις*, because they made their predictions by the observation of those Birds; as they, who made use of Crows in Divination, were nam'd *Κορακομάντεις*. The other reason is, that in the *Molossian* language old Women were call'd *Πέλειαι*, and old Men *Πέλειαι*, and that those Prophetesses being old Women, either by a mistake of the word, or a Poetical equivocation were com-

(a) *Odyss.* v. 176. p. 544, 545. Edit. Baſt.

monly

monly call'd *Doves*; and why aged Persons should be thus term'd, the old *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* (a) informs us; for, saith He, the three old Prophetesses were call'd *Πέλειαι*, q. *Πεπολιωρθαί*, because of their grey Hair. I will add in the last place *Servius's* reason, which he gives us in his Comment upon *Virgil's* tenth *Eclogue*, viz. That in the *Theſalian* Tongue the word *πελεῖς* is us'd to signify a Prophetess, as well, as a Dove; and it seems also no unusual thing amongst the ancient *Greeks*, for Prophetesses to have the name of Doves, and therefore the Enigmatical Poet calls *Cassandra* by that Name twice in one Sentence (b),

Τῆμος οἰαῖς φάσαι τέργυς λέρος
Γαμφάσιν ἄρπης οίαῖς ἐλκυδίσσουσα.

As when a rav'ous Vultur first espies
A trembling Pigeon, straight-way fousing flies
Thro' liquid Air, to bear the wish'd for Prize,
To his Aetherial Nest; so I forlorn
Shall as a weak, and tim'rous Dove be born,
B' insulting *Ajax* to a forreign Bed.

Mr. *Trachin.*

Others say, that this Oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most ancient of all the Nations that inhabited *Greece*; of this Opinion is *Strabo* (c), being led hereunto by the Testimony of *Homer*, who calls the same *Jupiter*, by the two Names of *Dodoneus* and *Pelasgius*, in this verse (d),

Ζεῦ, ἀνα Δωδώναις, Πελασγικέ. —

Pelasgian Jove, that far from *Greece* resides
In cold *Dodona*. —

Hesiod, whose Testimony also *Strabo* makes use of, is more plain, when he saith,

Δωδώνης, φηγού τε Πελασγῶν ἔδραυος ἦκεν.

He to *Dodona* came, and th' hallow'd Oak,
The Seat of the *Pelasgi*. —

And this seems somewhat more probable; especially, if what is commonly reported of *Deucalion*, deserve any Credit, viz. That he sav'd himself from the Deluge, not on the Top of the Mountain at *Dodona*, but on

(a) *Trachin.* v. 176 (b) *Cassandra*. v. 357. (c) *Geogr. lib. VII.* (d) *Il. π'*.

Parnassus, where was the Oracle of *Themis* consulted by him after his deliverance. *Strabo* relates another fabulous Opinion concerning the foundation of this Oracle, out of *Suidas's Thessalica*, who, (saith my Author) out of a design to gratifie the *Thessalians* with a new invented Fable, hath reported that the Oracle of *Dodona* was translated into *Epirus* out of *Pelasgia*, a Countrey of *Thessaly*, being accompanied by a great number of Women, from whom the Prophetesses in after-ages were descended, and that *Jupiter* receiv'd from them the appellation of *Pelasgicus*.

The Persons, that deliver'd the Oracles, were, at the first, Men, as *Strabo* (a), and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd out of *Homer*, who calls them in the masculine gender *Τηρίτας*, and *Σελλεῖς* (c),

Ζεῦ, ἄγα Δαδώναις, Πελασγική, πλόθι γάιον,
Δαδώνης μεσέων μυχτιμέρες ἀμφὶ ὁ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ γάιος ἔπερπται ἀνιπόποδες χαμαζύναις.

Parent of Gods, and Men, *Pelasgian Jove*,
King of *Dodona*, and it's hallow'd Grove;
King of *Dodona*, whose intemp'rate Coast
Bleak Winds infest, and Winters chilling Frost,
Round thy Abode thy Priests with unwash'd Feet
Lie on the naked Earth. —

Mr. Hutchin.

Where some, saith *Eustathius* upon that place, read ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ Ελλοι, making those Priests to be call'd *Helli*; but the former Lection, he tells us, is generally receiv'd. The *Selli*, are so call'd from *Selleæ*, a Town in *Epirus*; or, according to *Eustathius*, from the River call'd by *Homer* (d) *Selleis*,

Ηγαγεν εἰς Εφύρης, ποταμῆς οὐδὲ Σελλίνητο.

Whom He from *Ephyra*, and *Selleis* brought.

But herein he contradicts *Strabo*, who tells us in the fore-mention'd place, that this River doth not belong to *Ephyra* in *Thesprotia*; for that neither there, nor yet in *Moloszia* was ever any River of that Name, but to another *Ephyra*, which is a City of *Eliis* in *Peloponnesus*. The same were call'd *Elli*, or *Helli*, from *Elli* the *Thessalian*, from whom *Ellopia*, a Countrey about *Dodona* receiv'd it's name; and *Philochorus* in *Strabo* is of opinion, that these Priests were nam'd *Elli*, from this Region; but *Pliny* will have the *Selli*, and the Inhabitants of *Ellopia*, to have been a different People. *Apollodorus* in *Strabo*, thinks they

(a) Loc. cit. (b) Loc. citat. (c) Loc. cit. (d) Iliad. v. v. 531.

were

were call'd Ελλοι, ὅτι τῶν ἐλῶν, from the Fens and Marshes near the Temple of *Dodona*. From the two Epithets of ἀνιπόποδες, and χαμαζύναις, given them by *Homer*, *Strabo* concludes they were barbarous and unciviliz'd; *Eustathius* (a) tells us, they were nam'd χαμαζύναις, because they slept upon the Ground in Skins, and in that posture expected Prophetic Dreams from *Jupiter*; Others, he tells us, would have them call'd χαμαζύναις, because they did not lie in Beds, but upon the bare Ground; and ἀνιπόποδες, because they never went out of the Temple, and therefore had no occasion to wash their Feet; whence *Euripides* in his *Erechtheus*, saith of them,

Πηγαὶ δ' ἵχοι ὑγείνεσθαι πέδας. —

Nor bath'd their Feet in any purling Stream.

Lastly, others will have these Names to be understood in a Symbolical and Figurative sense, thus; Χαμαζύναις φύσις, ἀνιπόποδες ἡ, τατῆς χερεψά τὸν σινάθρυμα, ἀνιπάθυμος ἢ τῷ κατὼ ταῖς Αλγονίαις, ἢ τῇ ἐν μαυτέραις φιλοσοφίᾳ. i. e. Their Bodies indeed did lie upon the Ground, but their Minds, by the assistance of Prophetic Philosophy, mounted up higher, soaring above these lower Regions.

There is a report grounded upon the Testimony of *Pherecydes*, that before the time of the *Selli*, the Temple of *Dodona* was inhabited by the seven Daughters of *Atlas*, that were the Nurses of *Bacchus*, and from this Temple call'd *Dodonides*. Their names were these; *Ambroisia*, *Eudora*, *Pasthoe*, *Coronis*, *Plexaura*, *Pytho*, and *Tyche*, or *Tythe*. However that be, 'tis certain that in later Ages, the Oracles were pronounc'd by three old Women; and *Strabo* tells us this Change was made, when *Jupiter* admitted *Dione* to cohabit within, and receive Divine honours in this Temple; nor was it strange or unusual that the same Temple should belong to two Deities, for *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were worshipp'd in the Temple at *Delphi*, *Apollo* and *Branchus*, or, as *Stephanus* (b) affirms, *Jupiter* and *Apollo* at *Miletus*.

Strabo (c) in his Description of *Bœotia* tells us, that of the People consulting this Oracle, all others receiv'd Answers from Women, but the *Bœotians* receiv'd theirs from Men; and the reason of this Custom we have in the same place, which was this; In a War between the *Bœotians* and *Pelasgians*, the *Bœotians* coming to *Dodona*, to enquire of *Jupiter* the event of the War, receiv'd Answer; That their Enterprize should have success, if they would act wickedly; upon this the *Bœotians* suspecting that the Prophetess spoke in favour of the *Pelasgians*, (for that they were the first founders of that Oracle) seiz'd her, and cast her into the fire, justifying the Law-fulness of the Fact.

(a) Il. π'. p. 1074. Edit. Basf. (b) Voce Διδυμα. (c) Geogr. lib. IX.

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On the other hand, they that ministred in the Temple thinking it impious to put to death (especially in so sacred a place) Persons uncondemn'd, would have had them referr the matter to the two surviving Prophetesses; but the *Bœotians* alledging that no Laws in the World permitted Women to do Judgment, it was agree'd that two Men should be in joyst Commission with them; when the time to pass Sentence was come, they were condemn'd by the Women, and absolv'd by the Men; whereupon (as was usual when the number of Voices was equal on both sides) the *Bœotians* were acquitted, and dismiss'd: Ever after it was establish'd, that Men only should give Answers to the *Bœotians*.

The Prophets of this Temple were commonly call'd *Tomuri*, the Prophetesses *Tomure*, from *Tomurus*, a Mountain in *Thebæotia*, at the Foot of which stood the Temple. So commonly was this word made use of, that it came at last to be a general name for any Prophet; for so *Hesychius* expounds it, and *Lycophron* (a) hath us'd it in this sense, applying it to *Prylus* the Son of *Mercury*,

Tομυρος τεσ τα λωστα νηεγετιστε.

The best of Prophets, and the truest too.

Near the Temple there was a sacred Grove full of Oaks, in which the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Sayri* were thought to inhabit, and were frequently seen dancing and sporting wantonly under the shade of the Trees. Before sowing was invented, when Men made use of Acorns instead of Corn, those of this Wood were very much esteem'd; insomuch, that *Virgil* hath mention'd them by way of eminence (b),

*Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaonia pingui glandem minavit arista.*

*Bacchus, and Ceres, taught by you the Field
Doth Grain for old Chaonian Acorns yield,
And Wine for Water.*

And again in the same Book (c),

*Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere serram
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
Deficerent silvae, & victrum Dodona negaret.*

Acorns, and Wildings, when the Woods deny'd,
Nor old Dodona longer Food supply'd,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 223. (b) *Georg.* v. 27. (c) Verf. 145.

Then *Ceres* taught to till the pregnant Earth.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Oaks were endued with an Humane Voice, and Prophetical Spirit, for which reason they were call'd Περσηγόρει, and μανθάνουσι σπέν, i. e. speaking, and prophesying Oaks. And *Argo*, the Ship of the *Argonauts*, being built with the Trees of this Wood, was endu'd with the same Power of speaking, and therefore *Lycophron* (a) calls it λάλησπον κίστα, a chattering Mag-pye. The reason of which fiction some think was this; The Prophets when they gave Answers, plac'd themselves in one of these Trees, (for some will only allow this vocal Faculty to one of them) and so the Oracle was thought to be utter'd by the Oak, which was only pronounc'd out of it's hollow Stock, or from amongst it's Branches.

I must not omit the other way of Prophesying us'd in this place, which was by the sound of brazen Kettles, which, as *Demon* in *Suidas* reports, were so artificially plac'd about the Temple, that by striking one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. *Aristotle*, (faith my Author) was of another opinion, and reports, that there were two Pillars, on one of which was plac'd a Kettle, upon the other a Boy holding in his hand a Whip, with lashes of Brass, which being by the violence of the Wind struck against the Kettle, caus'd a continual sound; whence came the Proverb Δωδωναῖον γελητεῖον, δῆτι τῶν μηχαλογύντων, (faith he) or rather, δῆτι τῶν μηχαλογεύντων, for it was applied to talkative Persons. Another Saying we have not much different from the former, viz. Κερκυραῖον μάστιξ, which (as some are of opinion) was taken from this Whip, which, together with the Boy, and Kettle, were all dedicated by the *Coryreans* (b). About what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain, but *Strabo* (c), who flourish'd under *Augustus Caesar*, saith, that in his time the Gods had, in a manner, deserted that, and most other Oracles.

The same Author (d), in his Description of *Elis*, makes mention of an Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*, which was once famous, but did not continue long in Repute; yet the Temple, in which it stood, still preserv'd it's ancient Splendor, and was adorn'd with magnificent Structures, and enrich'd with Presents from every part of *Greece*. *Pindar* also hath taken notice of an Altar dedicated to *Jupiter* at *Pisa*, where Answers were given by the Posterior of *Iamus* (e).

There was another very ancient Oracle of *Jupiter* in *Crete*, mention'd also by *Strabo*, from which *Minos* is said to have receiv'd a Plat-form of the Laws afterwards enacted by him; whence *Homer* saith of him,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 1319. (b) *Epitom. Strab.* lib. VII. (c) Lib. VII. (d) Lib. VIII. (e) *Olymp. initio Od. VI.*

Ἐνέωρος βασιλεὺς Δίὸς μεγάλης ταῖς.

Minos, that counsels dar'd with Jove to mix,
Nine years Crete's Scepter sway'd.

That is, (as *Plato* in *Strabo* expounds it) He descended into the sacred Cave of *Jupiter*, (for this Oracle was under ground) and receiv'd from him those precepts, which He afterwards made publick for the common benefit of Mankind. The Will of the Gods was reveal'd in this place by Dreams, in which the Gods came and convers'd familiarly with the Enquirers; as we learn from the Story of *Epimenides* (a), who lay asleep in this place many years; with him also *Pythagoras* descended into this Cave to consult the Gods, as *Diogenes Laerius* hath related in the Life of *Pythagoras*. There was a Temple in the same place dedicated to *Jupiter*, from which to the City *Cnossus* (b) there was a High-road, very pleasant, and delightful. It stood upon Mount *Ida*, and tho' *Maximus Tyrius*, in the fore-mention'd place, calls it Διάτριψ Δίὸς ἀντρού, yet in his twenty-second Dissertation, he saith it was plac'd on *Ida*, to which *Diogenes Laerius*, and others agree. It was sometimes call'd Αρχέσιον, from the word ἀρχέσαι, which signifies to help, or defend; because the Sons of *Titan*, being vanquish'd by *Saturn*, fled into this Cave, and there escap'd the Fury of their pursuing Conqueror (c).

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Oracles of Apollo.

I COME in the next place to speak of the Oracles sacred to *Apollo*, who was thought more peculiarly to preside over Prophets, and inspire into them the knowledge of future Events; for which reason it is, that the Enigmatical Poet calls him Κεφῶς, or Gainful, from κεφδός, which signifies Gain, because of the profit which Mankind receiv'd by his Predictions, saith *Tzetzes* (d), upon that place.

The Oracles of *Apollo* were not only the most numerous, but of greatest Repute; and amongst them the *Delphian* challeng'd the first place, as well for it's Antiquity, (wherein it contended even with that of *D-*

(a) *Maximus Tyrius* Diff. XXVIII. (b) *Plato de Leg.* lib. I. (c) *Erymolog. Auctio.* (d) *Cassandra.* v. 208.

dna) as for the truth and perspicuity of it's Answers, the magnificence of it's Structures, the number and richness of the sacred ἀναθήματα, or Presents, dedicated to the God, and the Multitudes which from all Parts resorted thither for Counsel; in all which respects it surpas'd, not only all the Oracles of other Gods, but even those sacred to *Apollo* himself.

The place in which the Oracles were deliver'd was call'd *Pythium*, the Priestess *Pythia*; the Sports also instituted in honour of *Apollo* were nam'd *Pythian*, and *Apollo* himself *Pythius*; either from *Python* a Serpent, or a Man for his Cruelty so call'd, who possess'd this place, and was overcome by *Apollo*: or ἀπὸ τῆς πύθειν, i. e. to putrifie; because the Carkase of *Python* was suffer'd to lye there and putrifie, and this reason is given us by *Homer* (a): or ἀπὸ τῆς πυθέαν, i. e. to enquire; because the Oracle was there consulted and enquired of, and this is *Strabo*'s (b) opinion: or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphi*, the place of this Oracle, given it from *Pythias* the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*.

The City *Delphi* (as *Strabo* (c) reports) was by some thought to be plac'd in the middle of the World; and the Poets feign that *Jupiter*, being desirous to know the middle part of the Earth, sent forth two Eagles, (or Crows, as *Pindar*, or Swans, as others relate) one from the East, the other from the West, and that they met in this Place. However that be, *Strabo* telleth us, it was plac'd in the middle of *Greece*; whence it is by the Poets commonly call'd Ομφαλός, which word signifieth a Navil, because that is the middle part of Man's body; and therefore *Sophocles* calls this Oracle μεσόμφαλον μαρτίον: and in allusion to that name, *Strabo* and *Pausanias* say, there was to be seen in the Temple the figure of a Navil, made of white Stone, with a Ribband hanging from it, instead of the Navil-string, and upon it were plac'd two Eagles, in memory of the Eagles sent forth by *Jupiter*. But *Lactantius*, and *Phurnutus* are of opinion, that this Name was not deriv'd from the Situation of the Place, but from the divine Answers that were given there, and are in Greek call'd οὐραῖ.

Concerning the Original of this Oracle there are various Reports, *Diodorus the Sicilian* (d) tells us, it first belong'd to *Earth*, by whom *Daphne*, one of the Mountain-Nymphs, was constituted Priestess; the same Author afterwards saith, that in a Greek Poem call'd *Eumolpia*, it is reported to have been sacred both to *Earth*, and *Neptune*; and that *Earth* gave Answers her self, but *Neptune* had an Interpreter nam'd *Pyrco*, and that afterwards *Neptune* resign'd his part to *Earth*. This Goddess was succeeded by *Themis*, who gave Oracles about the time of *Deucalion's Deluge*, and was consulted by him: some

(a) Hymn. in *Apollinem* v. 572. (b) Geogr. lib. IX. (c) Lib. IX. (d) Lib. XVI. cap. XVI.

there are, that will have *Themis* to have possess'd this Oracle from the beginning; and in *Cælius* (a) we find, that others say it belong'd to *Saturn*. However that be, at length it came into the hands of *Apollo*; nor did he long enjoy it alone, for in the War against the Sons of *Titan*, *Bacchus* being mangled and torn in pieces by them, was afterwards restor'd to his Brother *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his Temple, and order'd that divine Honours should be paid him there. This Fable you may find quoted out of *Callimachus* and *Euphorion*, by *Isaac Tzetz* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* (b), where *Agamemnon* is brought in sacrificing to *Bacchus* in the Temple of *Delphinian Apollo*. Hence some say, the City *Delphi* was so call'd, q. *Ἄστελοι*, which word signifieth Brethren, because *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were both Sons of *Jupiter*.

We find it related in *Diodorus the Sicilian* (c), that this Oracle was first discover'd by Goats, in memory whereof the *Delphians*, when they ask'd Counsel of the God, for the most part offer'd a Goat. The manner of the discovery was thus: Upon Mount *Parnassus*, where Goats were wont to feed, there was a deep Cavern, with a small, narrow Mouth, to which when any of the Goats approach'd, they began immediately to leap after an unusual and antick manner, uttering strange and unheard of sounds; the Goat-herd (*Pluarch* calls him *Coreas*) observing this, and wondring what should be the cause of it, went himself to view the Cavern, whereupon he also was seiz'd with a like Fit of Madness, leaping and dancing, and fore-telling things to come. This being nois'd abroad, vast Multitudes of People flock'd to the Place, where as many as look'd in, were inspir'd after the same manner. At length, when many were possess'd with such a degree of Divine Phrenzy, as to throw themselves headlong into the *Krago*; there was an Edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any Man to approach to it; and a *Tripus* was plac'd upon the Mouth of it, upon which a Virgin was appointed to sit, and therè deliver the Answers of the God. This is the most common Account of the Original of this Oracle: *Pausanias* hath given some others, which I shall forbear to mention, being unwilling to abuse the Reader's patience in the repetition of any more vain and useless Fables. Thus much however is certain (if any thing at such a distance may be call'd so,) viz. That this Oracle was very ancient, and flourish'd above an hundred Years before the *Trojan War*.

Concerning the *Tripus* plac'd upon the mouth of the Cavern, there are different Opinions: some say, it was a Pot fill'd with dust, thro' which the *Afflatus* pass'd into the Virgin's Belly, and thence proceeded out of her Mouth. The Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (d) saith, it was a wide-mouth'd Brass-Pot, fill'd with *ἀσπροί*, or Pebbles, by the leaping of which the Prophetess made her Conjectures. Others are of opinion, that it was a large Vessel supported by three Feet, into

(a) *Le&t. Ant.* lib. XVI. cap. XL. (b) Vers. 209. (c) *Biblioth. Hist.* l. XVI.
(d) *Lysistrate*.

which

which the Prophetess plung'd her self, when she expected an Inspiration. But, according to the more common opinion, *Cælius* (a) hath prov'd at large, that it was not a Vessel, but a Table, or Seat, on which the *Pythia* lean'd, or sat. The cover of the *Tripus*, or, as some say, the *Tripus* it self, they call'd *Ολυμπός*, which word properly denotes a Mortar, or round Stone, according to *Hesychius*; whence *Apollo* is call'd in *Sophocles*, *Εὐολυμπός*, and his Prophetess, *Εὐολυμπία*. And this, as some are of opinion, gave occasion to the Proverb, *Ἐν ὅλυμπῳ δύρω*, which is applied to those that speak prophetically; but others derive it from a certain Diviner, call'd *Holmus*; and others (amongst whom is *Aristophanes* the Graminarian, in *Zenodotus*) refer it to the old superstitious Custom of sleeping in these *ὅλυμποι*, when they deliv'red a Prophetic Dream. *Pharnutus* will have the *Tripus* to have been sacerd to *Apollo*, either because of the perfection of the Number Three; or in allusion to the three celestial Circles, two of which the Sun toucheth, and passeth over the third in his Annual Circuit. The *Tripus*, saith the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b), had three Legs, by which were symbolically signified the knowledge of the God, as distinguish'd by the three Parts of Time, viz. Present, Past, and, Future,

Ος τὸς γέτει τὰ τ' ἐόντα, τὰ τ' ἐσόντα, ταχέι τ' ἐόντα.

Who knew things past, and present, and to come.

The same *Tripus* was not always us'd; the first, it is probable, might be plac'd there by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countrey; afterwards, when *Pelops* married *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus*, King of the *Eleans*, he presented to *Apollo* a *Tripus*, wrought by *Vulcan*, which seems to have been that famous one made of Brass, so famous amongst the Poets. There was also another *Tripus* of Gold, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (c) reports, dedicated to *Apollo* on this account: Certain Fisher-men at *Miletus*, having sold their next draught to some Persons that stood by, cast their Nets into the Water, and drew up a Golden *Tripus*; whereupon there arose a very hot Contention between the Fisher-men and their Chap-men; the Fisher-men alledging, that they sold nothing but the Fish they were to take, and that therefore the *Tripus* belong'd to them; The Buyers, on the other hand, replyed, that they had bought the whole draught, and therefore laid a just claim to whatever came to the Net; at length, when neither side would yield, they agree'd to submit the matter to *Apollo*'s determination, whereupon they came to *Delphi*, and there receiv'd this Answer,

(a) *Le&t. Antiq.* lib. VIII. cap. XV. (b) *Initio Pluti.* (c) *Laco citat.*

Ἐγεγε Μιλύτε, τείποδος πέτε Φοῖβον ἔρωτάς;
Ος σοφίη πάντων τέωτος, τέτω τείποδα δός.

Art Thou, a Native of *Mileus*, come
T' enquire what must be with the *Tripod* done?
Give it to Him, who's wisdom claims a right
Above all others.

Mr. Hutchin.

This Oracle was given at the time when the seven Wise-men flourished in *Greece*; the *Tripus* therefore was presented to one of them, (which that was, is not agree'd on by ancient Writers) He modestly refusing it, they offer'd it to another, and so on to the rest, till it had been refus'd by them all; whereupon it was determin'd to consecrate it to *Apollo* himself, as being the Fountain of all Wisdom. The *Tripus* was call'd by the *Latin* *Cortina*, of which appellation there are several reasons assign'd, for which I refer you to the Grammarians. Others say, *Cortina* was only the Cover of the *Tripus*, and therefore derive it from the word *corium*, i. e. a Skin, because it was made, as they say, of *Python*'s Skin. Lastly, others more probably think it signified the Tent, within which was kept the sacred *Tripus*, and that because of its figure, which was, like that of a Cauldron, round; upon the same account *Cortina* was us'd to signifie the Tiring-room in the Theater, or the Curtains, or Hangings, out of which the Players us'd to be usher'd on to the Stage; for the same reason the celestial *Hemisphere* is by *Ennius* call'd *Celi cortina*; and the *Tholus*, or round Compass at the top of a Theater, is by another nam'd *cortina Theatri*.

The Person, that deliver'd the Oracles of the God, was a Woman, whom they call'd *Pythia*, *Pythonissa*, and *Phabas*: the most celebrated of these, saith *Pausanias* (a), was *Phaeonoe*, who is remarkable, not only as being the first Priestess of that Oracle, but more especially because she was the first (as most say,) that cloath'd the Oracles with Heroick Verse. But *Bao*, a *Delphian* Lady, in one of her Hymns, reports that *Olen*, with the *Hyperboreans*, first instituted this Oracle, and return'd Answers in Heroick Verse, of which He was the first Inventor; Her words we find in *Pausanias* to be thus,

Ἐγεγε τοι εὑρυνσον χειρίσθεντο
Παιᾶτε Ταρπεόων, Πάχασος, καὶ διὸς Αγγεῖος, &c.

Where *Hyperboreans* to thy lasting praise
Eternal Oracles did consecrate.

Then she proceeds to enumerate some others of the *Hyperboreans*, and in the End of the Hymn adds,

(a) *Phocicis.*

Ολύν θ', ὃς γένετο πεῖστος Φοῖβοιο μεράτας,
Πρώτος δ' ἀρχαῖων ἐπίκων τεκτήνας ἀνδρίν.

No *Græcian* yet warm'd with Poetick Fire
Cou'd fit th' unpolish'd Language to the Lyre,
Till the first Priest of *Phæbus Olen* rose,
And chang'd for smoother Verse, their stunning Prose.

Mr. Hutchin.

But herein She contradicts (saith my Author) the common opinion of Mankind, grounded on the Testimony of ancient Writers, who unanimously agree in this, That never any but Women were the Interpreters of this God.

Venerius (a) is of opinion, that there were more than one *Pythia* at the same time; which he gathers out of *Herodotus*, who in the sixth Book of his History reports, that *Cleomenes* corrupted with bribes the Prophetess *Perialla*, who was *vaticinantum mulierum antistes*, the President of the Prophetesses: How true this may be I know not, but I do not remember that ever I have read of above one at the same time; and tho' the words quoted by *Venerius* are in the *Latin* Version, yet no such thing is said, or can be inferr'd from the *Greek*, where *Perialla* is only call'd *μεράτης*, which word (however it may seem to signify a Prophet superior to the rest) according to it's common acceptation implies no more than *μάνης*, for so *Euripides* (b) hath us'd it, when he saith *μεράτης κακῶν*, i. e. one that fore-telleth evils to come. And in like manner *Herodotus* himself in another place hath us'd the Verb *μεράτειν*: more instances would be needless.

These Women were, at the first, Virgins, till one of them was deflow'd by *Echechrates* a *Thessalian*; and then choice was made of Women above fifty years of Age; that so they might either be secur'd from the Attempts of Lust, or, if they should be at any time forc'd to the violation of their chastity, having pass'd the time of Child-bearing they might remain undiscover'd, and not bring the Oracles, or Religion into Contempt: nevertheless they wore the habit of Virgins, thereby to signify their Purity, and Virginal Modesty. They were oblig'd to observe the strictest Laws of Temperance and Chastity; not being allow'd to wear rich and costly Apparel, or use phantastical Dresses; and *Plutarch* (c) hath told us, they neither anointed themselves, nor wore Purple Garments. The *Pythia*, before she ascended the *Tripus*, us'd to wash her whole Body, especially her Hair, in *Castalis*, a Fountain at the Foot of *Parnassus*, where the Poets, Men inspir'd by the same Deity, us'd to wash and drink. At her

(a) *De Divination. & Orac. Antiq.* (b) *Helena.* (c) *Lib. de Pyth. Orac.*

first sitting down upon the *Tripus*, She us'd to shake the Laurel-tree that grew by it, and sometimes to take the Leaves, and eat them. Her self also, and the *Tripus* were crown'd with Garlands of the same Plant, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (a) at this Verse, where one asketh,

Tί δή το Φοῖς ἔλανει εἰς σεμιάτων;

What from the Oracle with Garlands trimm'd
Has Phabus utter'd.

Nor did the *Pythia* only make use of Laurel in this manner, but other Prophets also, because it was thought to conduce to inspiration; whence it was peculiarly call'd *μαντικὸν φύτόν*, the Prophetick Plant. The *Pythia* being plac'd upon the *Tripus*, receiv'd the Divine Afflams in her Belly; and she is commonly call'd *ἔγγασπιψίθη*, or *εργάζεται*, because the *Dæmon* sometimes spoke within her. She was no sooner inspired, but she began imminently to swell, and foam at the mouth, running round, tearing her Hair, cutting her Flesh, and in all her other Behaviour appearing like one phrenetick and distracted. But she was not always affected in the same manner, for if the Spirit was in a kind and gentle Humour, Her Rage was not very violent; but if sullen and malignant, She was thrown into extreme Fury; insomuch, that *Plutarch* (b) speaks of one that was enrag'd to such a degree, that She affrighted, not only those that consulted the Oracle, but the Priests themselves, so that they run away and left her; and so violent was the Paroxysm, that in a little Time after she dyed. Some say, that under the *Tripus* hath been seen a *Dragon* that return'd Answers.

The Time of consulting the Oracle, was only one Month in a Year. This Month, *Plutarch* (c) tells us, was call'd *Βύσιον*, which, as many are of Opinion, was so nam'd q. *Φύσιον*, from *φύειν*, i. e. to Spring up, because it was in the beginning of Spring, when all things flourish and put forth buds; but this (saith he) is not the true reason, for the *Delphians* do not use *B* for *Φ* (as the *Macedonians*, who for *Φίλιππος*, *Φιλάρχης*, and *Φιγούρης*, say *Βίλιππος*, *Βαλαρχῆς*, and *Βιγούρης*) but instead of *Π*; for they usually say *βατεῖν*, for *πατεῖν*, and *βιαρῆν*, for *πιαρῆν*: *Βύσιον* therefore is put for *Πύσιον*, so call'd *Ἄλλη τὴν πύσιον*, because in that Month they were allow'd to enquire of *Apollo's* Oracle, and this is their genuine and Country-way of speaking. The seventh day of this Month they call'd *Apollo's Birth-day*, naming it *Πολύφορον*, (not *πολύφορον*, as some read it) not because they bak'd a sort of Cakes call'd *φλοις*, but because the God did then return a great many Answers; and at the

(a) In *Plato*. (b) De Defect. Orac. (c) Quaest. Græc. IX.

first the *Pythia* gave Answers only on this Day, as *Callisthenes* and *Anaxandridas* report. To this purpose *Plutarch*. And even in later ages, Oracles us'd only to be given once every Month.

Whoever went to consult the Oracle, was required to make large Presents to the God, whereby it came to pass, that this Temple in Riches, Splendor, and Magnificence was superior to almost all others in the World. And *Aphetoria opes* (so call'd from *Aphètrop*, a name of *Apollo*, given him, as some say, from sending forth Oracles) have been proverbially us'd for abundance of wealth. Another thing required of those that desired Answers, was, that they should propound their Questions in as few words as might be: this we learn from *Philostatus* (a), in the Life of *Apollonius*. It was the Custom also, to offer Sacrifice to *Apollo*, in which except the Omens were favourable, the Prophets would not give any Answer. At these Sacrifices there were five Priests, saith *Plutarch* (b), nam'd *Oσιοι*, i. e. Holy, that assisted the Prophets, and perform'd many other Offices with them, being suppos'd to be descended from *Deucalion*; there was one also that presidèd over these, call'd *Oσιωτῆς*, or Purifier; tho' *Plutarch* saith, that the Sacrifice slain when any of the *Oσιοι* were declar'd, was call'd by that name; unless instead of *τὸ θυσίου ἱερέων*, or the Sacrifice kill'd, we might be allow'd to read *τὸ θυσίου ἱερέων*, or the Person that kill'd the Sacrifice. There was another Priest also that assisted the Prophets in managing the Oracle, whom they call'd *Aστραπ*, upon the same account that *Apollo* was so named.

The Answer was always return'd in *Greek*, as appears from *Cicero* (c), who, speaking of the Oracle, reported by *Ennius* to be given to *Pyrrhus* the *Epirote* by *Apollo*, viz.

Aio te, Aæcida, Romanos vincere posse.

Go Pyrrhus, go, engage with Warlike Rome,
Fate has decree'd th' irrevocable Doom,
And you the Valiant Romans shall o'recome.

Mr. Hutchin.

concludes it was genuine, because the *Pythia* never us'd to speak in *Latin*: as also for that in *Pyrrhus's* time they had left off delivering Answers in Verse, which had been the Custom in all former Ages, from the first foundation of the Oracle, deriving (as hath been said already) its Original from *Phæmonæc*, the first *Pythia*. And the ancient *Greeke* deliver'd their Laws in Verse, whence it came to pass, as *Aristotle* witnesseth, that *ῥόμον*, which in its proper acceptation signifieth a Law, is often us'd to signify Verses, or Songs. The ancient Philosophers, as oft as they thought fit to Communicate their Mysteries to the

(a) Lib. VI. cap. V. (b) Loc. cit. (c) Lib. II de Divinatione.

World, cloath'd them in Verse ; in short, those Ages scarce seem to have written any thing Curious, or Excellent, nor any thing of weight or moment, but in Verse. The Verses of the *Pythia* were for the most part, saith Plutarch (*a*), rude and unpolish'd, and not comparable to those of *Homer*, or *Hesiod* ; yet, saith he, this is no reflexion upon *Apollo*, the Patron of Poets, because He only communicated the knowledge to the *Pythia*, which She deliver'd in what Dress She pleas'd ; the Sence therefore was his, the Words her own. In the same Book he tells us, that some were of Opinion, that there were Poets maintain'd in the Temple, to catch the Oracles as they were given, and wrap them up in Verse. The Verses were for the most part Hexameter, insomuch that this Oracle was thought to be none of *Apollo*'s, because it was not Heroick enough to become the Author,

*Σοφίς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δὲ Εὐριπίδης,
Αυστρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.*

To Wisdom Sophocles makes just pretence,
Yet do's to sage Euripides give place,
As he and all Men must to Socrates.

Mr. Hutchin.

In later Ages, when Oracles began to grow into dis-repute, this Custom of Verifying was left off, the reason whereof hath been sufficiently disputed already by Plutarch in a Treatise on that Subject, to which I refer the Reader. I shall only add one thing more to be observ'd, That as the Custom of giving Answers in Verse never obtain'd so universally, but that sometimes they were deliver'd in Prose, as Plutarch hath prov'd by a great many instances ; so neither was it ever so wholly left off, but that sometimes Oracles were pronounc'd in Verse, an instance whereof he giveth in his own Time.

The Delphian Oracles, if compar'd with some others, might justly be call'd plain, and perspicuous ; and, as Hermeas the Philosopher tells us, it was usual for those that had receiv'd an obscure Answer at Dodona, to desire *Apollo* at Delphi to explain the Meaning of it ; He adds also, that *Apollo* had interpreted a great many of them. Nevertheless, they were generally very obscure, and ambiguous ; insomuch, that *Apollo*, as some say, was call'd *Λοξίας*, because his Answers were *Λοξὰ καὶ στολῖα*, i. e. crooked, as it were, and hard to be understood. And Heraclitus in Plutarch, speaking of *Apollo*, saith, *Ἐτε λέγει, ἐτε κρύπτει ἀνὰ σημαῖες*, i. e. He doth not speak the Truth plainly, nor yet altogether conceal it, but only give small Hints of it ; so that if the Event happen'd contrary to any Man's expectation, he might rather accuse his own ignorance and mistake in mis-interpret-

(*b*) Lib. de *Pythia* Orac.

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ing the Answer, than call in question either the Knowledge, or Honesty of *Apollo*.

The Veracity of this Oracle was so famous, that *Tὰ ἐν Τεινόδοσι*, i. e. the Responses given from the *Tripus*, came to be us'd proverbially, for certain and infallible Truths : and, as Cicero rightly argues, it is impossible the *Delphian Oracle* should ever have gain'd so much Repute in the World, or have been enrich'd with such vast presents from almost all Kings and Nations, had not the truth of it's Predictions been sufficiently attested by the Experience of all Ages. But in later Times the case was altered ; and so Cicero tells us, it was a long while before his Days ; nay, Demosthenes, who flourish'd three-hundred Years before him, complain'd the *Pythia* did *Φιλαττίζειν*, or speak as Philip the Macedonian would have her. Another time she was said to receive a bribe of *Cleisthenes*, to perswade the *Lacedemonians* to free the *Athenians* from the Tyrants, that were impos'd on them. Perilla the *Pythia* was depriv'd of her Office for being corrupted by one of Cleomenes's Agents, to say that Demaratus, Cleomenes's Colleague, was not the true Son of *Afflo*, to the end it might be thought he was not his lawful Successor, and upon that account be dethron'd.

At what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain ; Strabo (*a*) hath told us, that in his time it had lost it's ancient Reputation ; and in Juvenal's (*b*) time, the Gods had quite forsaken it, if any credit may be given to him, when he saith,

— *Delphis Oracula cessant.*

The *Delphian Oracles* are now no more.

Lucan (*c*) telleth us, that it had ceas'd a long time before the the Battle at Pharsalia,

— *Non ulla Secula dono
Nostra carent maiore Deum, quam Delphica sedas
Quod sicut.* —

No greater gift can bounteous Heaven bestow,
Nor do's our Age a greater Blessing want
Than silenc'd *Delphi*. —

Mr. Hutchin.

But this must not be understood of a total Defect, or perpetual Silence ; for this Oracle, as van Dale (*d*) hath abundantly prov'd, did several times loose it's prophetick faculty, and again recover it. *Zonian* (*e*) reports, that Answers were given in his Time, which was about the Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*. But he

(*a*) Lib. IX. (*b*) Sat. VI. v. 554. (*c*) Lib. V. (*d*) Dissert. de Orac. (*e*) *Alexander Pseudoman.*

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Of the Religion of Greece.

is at a loss, whether those Oracles were indeed *Apollo's*, or only supposititious. And farther, 'tis certain that this, and those at *Delos*, and *Dodona*, with some others, continued till the Reign of *Julian the Apostle*, and were consulted, saith *Theodore*, by him; and at what time they were finally extinct, is altogether uncertain: who ever desireth to be more particularly inform'd about their cessation, may consult *van Dale's* Treatise on that Subject.

When the God forsook *Delphi*, he betook himself to the *Hyperborean Scythians*, as we learn from *Claudian*,

— pulcher Apollo
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.

Ah! abject *Delphi*, see thy God resides
In distant *Hyperborean* Climates.

Mr. Dechairs.

Abaris, a Scythian, one of *Apollo's* Priests, is said to have written a Book concerning his Oracles, and removal to that Place. And the *Athenians*, at a time when the Plague rag'd over all *Greece*, receiv'd an Oracle from thence, commanding them to make Vows and Prayers in behalf of the rest; and they continued to send Gifts and Offerings thither, as they had formerly done to *Delphi*.

I might enlarge about the Magnificence and Splendor of the *Delphian Temple*, but I fear I have already trespass'd too far upon the Reader's patience; if any one therefore have Curiosity and Leisure enough to employ about such Trifles, he may have a large and exact Description of all the magnificent Structures, rich Presents, curious pieces of Art, and other Rarities belonging to that Place, in *Pausanias*.

Delos was the most celebrated of all the *Cyclades*, which were a Knot of Islands in the *Ægean Sea*. It is famous among the Poets for having been the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and was therefore accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the *Persians*, when they pillag'd, or destroy'd almost all the other *Grecian* Temples, durst not attempt any thing upon the Temple in this Island; which was seated on the Sea-shore, looking towards *Eubœa*, in the very place, where *Apollo* was feign'd to be born. He had in Image erected in this place in the shape of a *Dragon*; and gave Answers for their Certainty, and Per-spicuity, not only not inferiour to those at *Delphi*, but, as some report, (a) far exceeding them, and all other Oracles of *Apollo*; being deliver'd in clear, plain Terms, without any ambiguity, or obscurity. But these Answers were not to be expected all the Year, *Apollo* only kept his Summer's Residence in this Place, and in Winter retired to *Patras*, a City of *Lycia*, as *Servius* hath observ'd in his Comment upon these words of *Virgil*,

(a) *Alexand. ab Alex.*

Of the Religion of Greece.

*Qualis ubi hybernam Lyciam, Xanthique fluenta
Deserit, ac Delum maternam invicit Apollo (a).*

Such Pomp and Splendor God *Apollo* grace,
When He his Winter *Lycia*, or that Place
Which *Xanthus* Silver Streains wash kindly, leaves,
And *Delos* visits, whence He answers gives.
In Summer Seasons.

Mr. Dechairs.

The Altar was by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wonders of the World; it was erected by *Apollo* at the age of four Years, and comp'sd of the Horns of Goats kill'd by *Diana* upon Mount *Cynthus*, which were compacted together in a wonderful manner, without any visible Tye or Cement, whence *Ovid* saith of it,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

— 'tis strange to see
How each in th'other twin'd the Goat-horns lie,
And make an Altar bound with n'ere a Tye.

Mr. Dechairs.

To Sacrifice any living Creature upon this Altar was held unlawful, and a prophanation of the Place, which it was the Gods Will to have preserv'd pure from blood, and all manner of Pollution. *Thucydides* (b) reports, that no Dogs were permitted to enter into the Island; and it was unlawful for any Person to dye, or be born in it; and therefore, when the *Athenians* were by the Oracle commanded to purifie it, they dug up the dead Bodies out of their Graves, and wasted them over the Sea, to be interred in one of the adjacent Islands; this done, the better to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an Edict, commanding that whoever lay sick of any mortal or dangerous Disease, and all Women great with Child, should be carried over to a little Isle call'd *Rhena*.

I must not omit in this place the annual Procescion made by the *Athenians* to *Delos*, in honour of *Apollo*. The first Author of this Custom was *Theseus*, who, being sent with the rest of the *Athenian* Youths into *Crete*, to be devour'd by the *Minotaur*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, that if He would grant them a safe return, they would make a solemn Voyage to his Temple at *Delos* every Year. This was call'd *Orœcia*, the Persons employ'd in it *Orœci*, and *Δηλαστα*, from the name of the Island, the Chief of them *Apœlaipos*, and the Ship in which they

(a) *Aeneid. IV. v. 143.* (b) *Lib. IV.*

went Θεωρίς, or Δηλίας, which was the very same that carried *Theseus* and his Companions to Crete ; being (faith Plutarch) preserv'd by the Athenians till Demetrius the Phalerean's time, they restoring always what was decay'd, and changing the old and rotten Planks for those that were new and entire ; infomuch, that it furnish'd the Philosophers with matter of Dispute, Whether after so many Reparations and Alterations it might still be call'd the same individual Ship ; and serv'd as an Instance to illustrate the Opinion of those, that held the body still remain'd the same numerical substance, notwithstanding the continual decay of old parts, and acquisition of new ones, through the several Ages of Life ; for which reason Callimachus (^a) calls it's Tackle everliving,

— ἀεὶ ποντα Θεωρίδος, ἵππα φοῖσι,
Κερποτίδαι πέμπτοι τονία νηὸς ἔκεινος.

To great Apollo's Temple ev'ry year,
The sturdy *Theoroi* th' Athenians send,
Yet spight of envious Time, and angry Seas
The Vessel ever whole will be.

Mr. Dechairs.

The beginning of the Voyage was computed from the time that Apollo's Priest first adorn'd the Stern of the Ship with Garlands, saith *Plato* (^b) ; and from that time they began to cleanse and lustrate the City ; and it was held unlawful to put any Malefactor to death till it's return ; which was the reason that Socrates was repriev'd thirty days after his condemnation, as we learn from *Xenophon* (^c). The *Theori* wore Garlands of Laurel upon their Heads, and were accompanied by two of the Family of the Kings, who were appointed to be Πλαθόριτοι at Delos for that Year, of which Office I have already treated. Before them went certain Men with Axes in their Hands, in shew as if they design'd to clear the Ways of Robbers; in memory, that Theseus, in his Journey from *Trazen* to *Athens*, free'd the Countrey from all the Robbers that infested those Parts. To this Custom *Aeschylus* (^d) seems to allude, when he saith,

Πέμπτοι δὲ αὐτὸν, καὶ στείλουσι μέγα
Κελδοποιοὶ πᾶσις Ηραῖσι, χθόνα
Ανίκησγεν πιθεῖτες ἡμεραρχίην.

Mov'd with a Sense of Piety
To Him th' Athenians do repair,

(a) Hymno in Belum. (b) In Thadone. (c) Memorab. lib. IV. (d) Eu-
mens. initio.

Still

Still as they on their Journey go,
Whatever Parts infested be
With Robbers cruel Outrages,
Setting 'em free.

Mr. Dechairs.

When they went thither they were said ἀναβάντειν, to ascend ; when they return'd ἀναβαίνειν, to descend. When they arriv'd, they offer'd Sacrifice, and celebrated a Festival in Honour of Apollo : this done, they repair'd to their Ship, and sail'd homewards. At their return, all the People ran forth to meet them, opening their Doors, and making Obeysance as they pass'd by ; the neglect of which respect makes *Theseus* complain in *Euripides* (^e),

Οὐ γάρ τις μὲν οὐδὲ Θεωρίης ἀξιοῦ δόμος
Πύλας ἀνοίξεις δύρρυς περιστέπειν.

My scornfull Citizens I find neglect,
Rushing to crow'd about the op'ned Doors,
And pay Me that Respect which is decree'd
For one that from the Embassie returns.

Mr. Dechairs.

The next Oracle I shall speak of, is that of Apollo *Didymaeus*, so nam'd (^b) from the double light imparted by him to Mankind, the one directly and immediately from his own Body, which causeth the Day ; the other, mediately, and by reflection from the Moon, which enlightneth the Night. The place of it was also call'd *Didyma*, and belong'd to the Milesians. It was also call'd the Oracle of the *Branchides*, and Apollo himself was call'd *Branchides*, from *Branchus*, who was reputed the Son of *Machaerus*, but begotten by Apollo ; for it was no unusual thing for the ancient Heroes to be call'd the Sons of two Fathers, the one Mortal, who was always their Mothers Husband ; the other some lascivious Deity, that had fallen in Love with her : so Hercules was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Amphitryon*; Heritor of *Priamus* and Apollo, with many others. This *Branchus* having on a certain time kiss'd Apollo, receiv'd from him a Crown and Scepter, together with the gift of Prophecy, and presently after disappear'd. Some time after, a magnificent Temple was erected in honour of Him, and dedicated to Him and Apollo ; whence *Statius* saith he was

— patrioque aequalis honori.

In honour equal to his Father *Phœbus*.

(a) Hippolyto. (b) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. I cap. XVII. (c) Theb. III.

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Others

Others derive the Name from *Branchus*, a *Theffalian* Youth, belov'd by *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his own Temple, and commanded that Divine honours should be paid him after Death. But *Stephanus the Byzantian* (a) telleth us, that this Oracle was sacred to *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and perhaps it might belong to all three.

In the time of the *Perſian War* (b), this Temple was spoil'd and burn'd, being betray'd into the Hands of the *Barbarians* by the *Branchidae*, or Priests that had the care of it; but they, conscious of their own wickedness, and fearing least they should meet with condign Punishment, desired of *Xerxes*, that as a requital of their Service, he would grant them a Habitation in some remote part of *Asia*, whence they might never return into *Greece*, but live secure, being plac'd beyond the reach of Justice; *Xerxes* granted their Request; whereupon, notwithstanding a great many unlucky Omens appear'd to them, they founded a City, and call'd it after their ancient name, *Branchidae*. But for all this, they could not escape Divine Vengeance, which was inflicted on their Children by *Alexander the Great*, who, having conquer'd *Darius*, and posseſ'd himself of *Asia*, utterly demolish'd their City, and put all it's Inhabitants to the Sword, as detesting the very Posterity of such impious Wretches.

The *Perſians* being vanquish'd, and Peace restor'd to *Greece* (c), the Temple was rebuilt by the *Milesians*, with such magnificence, that it surpass'd all the other *Grecian* Temples in Bigness, being rais'd to such a bulk, that they were forc'd to let it remain uncover'd; for the compass of it was no less than that of a Village, and contained, at leaſt, four, or five *Stadia*.

Another of *Apollo's* Oracles, we read of in *Abe*, a City of *Phocia*, mention'd by *Herodotus* (d), and *Stephanus the Byzantian* (e); by the latter of which we are told, it was more ancient then the *Delphian*. *Sophocles* (f) also hath taken notice of it,

Οὐρέν τὸν ἀθίλον εἴμι
Γᾶς ἐπ' ὅμηρὸν σέεων,
Οὐλ' εἰς τὸν Αβαῖον γένευ.

Hence all Religion, now I will no more
Trouble that hallow'd Fane, which equally
Parts the divided Earth, no Journies make
To *Abe* for the Answers of a God;
In vain 'tis to be good.

Mr. Dechar.

The Scholiasts on this place are of opinion, that *Abe* was a City in *Lycia*, but are sufficiently refuted by the testimonies already cited.

(a) Voce Δισύρξ. (b) *Strabo lib. XIV.* & *Suidas* in voce Βεγεζίδη. (c) *Strab. loc. cit.* (d) *Lib. I. cap. XLVI.* (e) Voce Αβαι. item *Hesychius*, & *Phavorinus*. (f) *Oedip. Tyr. v. 902.*

At *Clares*, a City of *Ionia*, not far from *Colophon*, thiere was another Oracle sacred to *Apollo*, first instituted by *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who fled thither in the second *Theban War*, when the *Epigoni*, i. e. the Sons of those that were slain in the former War, invaded *Thebes*, under the conduct of *Alcmeon*, in revenge of their Fathers Deaths. The Person that deliver'd Answers, was a Man, who was generally chosen out of some certain Families, and for the most part out of *Mileus* (g): He was usually unlearn'd, and very ignorant, yet return'd the Oracles in Verses wonderfully satisfactory, and adapted to the intention of the Enquirers; and this by the Virtue of a little Well, feign'd to have sprung out of the Tears of *Manto*, when she bewail'd the desolation of her Country: into this He descended when any Man came to consult him; but paid dear for his Knowledge, for the Water was very prejudicial to his Health, and, as *Pliny* (h) hath told us, a means to shorten his Life.

At *Larissa*, a Fort of the *Argives*, there was an Oracle of *Apollo* surnam'd Δειποδότης, from *Diras*, a Region belonging to *Argos*. The Answers in this place were return'd by a Woman, who was forbidden the company of Men; every Month she sacrific'd a Lamb in the Night, and then, having tasted the Blood of the Victim, was immediately seiz'd with a Divine Fury.

Apollo had another famous Oracle at *Eutresis*, a Village in *Bœotia* (c), seated in the way between the *Thebians*, and *Plataeans*.

At *Tegyra*, a City in *Bœotia*, there was an Oracle sacred to *Tegyran Apollo*, which was frequented till the *Perſian War*. but after that remain'd for ever silent (e).

No leſs famous was *Ptoous*, a Mountain in *Bœotia*, for the Oracles given by *Apollo* surnam'd *Ptoous* from that Place, where was a Temple dedicated to him. This Oracle ceas'd when *Thebes* was demolish'd by *Alexander* (d).

Apollo, surnam'd Δαφνίς, from *Daphne* his beloved Mistress, or the Laurel, into which she was transform'd, had an Oracle near the Cestalian Fountain, the Waters of which were also endu'd with a prophetick Virtue (f).

Apollo was call'd *Ismenius*, from *Ismenus* a River, and Mountain in *Bœotia*, in which he had a Temple, and gave Answers to those that came to enquire of him.

Pausanias (g) hath told us of another place in *Bœotia*, where *Apollo* return'd Answers, viz. a Stone call'd Σωπεγνήσις, upon which he had an Altar, erected out of the Ashes of Victims offer'd to him; whence he was call'd *Spodius* from Σπόδος; i. e. ashes; whence for Σπόδης in *Pausanias* must be read Σπίδης. He did not here, as in other places signifie his will *viva voce*, but by Omens, in the observation of

(a) *Cæl. Rhod. Ant. Lect. lib. XXVII. cap. V.* (b) *Nat. Hist. lib. II. cap. CIII.* (c) *Stephanus in voce Εὔτρητος.* (d) *Plutarch. Pelopida.* (e) *Pausanias Bœoticus.* (f) *Clemens Protrept.* (g) *Pausan. Ibidem.*

which

which He instructed Persons appointed for that purpose; for this way of Divination also was in use amongst the *Grecians*, especially at *Smyrna*, saith my Author, where was a Temple built on the outside of the City-wall for that Purpose. Thus much of the Oracles of *Apollo*.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Oracle of Trophonius.

Trophonius, the Son of *Erebus*, and Brother of *Agamedes* (*a*), being posses'd with an immoderate Thirst of Glory, built himself a Mansion under Ground, at *Lebadea* a City of *Bœotia*, into which when he enter'd, he pretended to be inspired with an extraordinary Knowledge of future Events; but at length, either out of Design to raise in People an Opinion, that he was translated to the Gods, or being some way necessitated thereto, perish'd in his Hole (*b*). *Cicero* (*c*), giveth us a very different account of his Death; when he tells us, that *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, having built Apollo's Temple at *Delphi*, requested of the God, that, as a Recompence for their Labour, he would give them the best Thing that could happen to Man; *Apollo* granted their Petition, and promis'd them, that what they desired should be effected the third Day after; accordingly, on that Day in the Morning they were found dead. Several other Fables concerning him, and the manner of his Death you may find in the *Scholiast* upon the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes*.

However that be, *Trophonius* had divine Honours paid him after Death, and was worshipp'd by the name of *Jupiter Trophonius* (d) nor was it a thing unusual for Men Deified to be honour'd with the name of a God, I might give you several instances of the same Nature, but one shall suffice for all, viz. that of *Agamemnon*, who was worshipp'd at *Sparta* by the name of *Jupiter Agamemnon*, as *Lycophron* witnesseth (e),

Εμὸς δ' ἀκοίτης, διμωίδος νύμφης ἄναξ,
Ζεὺς Σπαρτάτης αἰμύλοις κλυδίστεται,
Τιράδις μεγίστας παց' Οἰδάλη τέννοις λαζεών.

Then shall my Husband, whom a Captive Bride
I now obey as my superior Lord,

By subtle crafty *Spartans* Jove be call'd,
And worshipp'd so, from their Pósterity
Receiving greatest Honours. —

Mr. Dechâir.

Which words *Cassandra* speaks of *Agamemnon*, whose Captive and Concubine she was after the Destruction of Troy.

This Oracle came first into repute on this Account: On a time, when for the space of two years there had been no Rain in *Bœotia*, all the Cities of that Countrey, with a joynt consent, appointed chosen Persons to go to *Delphi*, there to pay their Devotions to *Apollo*, in the Name of their Countrey, and desire his Advice and Assistance: The God accepted their Piety, but return'd them no other Answer, than that they should go home, and consult *Trophonius* at *Lebadea*. The Embassadors immediately obey'd, and repair'd to *Lebadea*, still remaining as much in the dark, as at the first; there being not the least Sign or Foot-step of any Oracle in that place: at length, when they had search'd a long time to no purpose, and began to despair of success, one *Saon* an *Acrepheian*, the Senior of all the Embassadors, esp'y'd a swarm of Bees, and immediately took up a resolution to follow them; by this means he came to a Cave, into which he had no sooner enter'd, but by some evident tokens perceiv'd, that in that place was the Oracle, *Apollo* had commanded them to enquire of. Upon this he pay'd his Devotion to *Trophonius*, and receiv'd from him a well-come, and satisfactory Answer, together with Instructions in what Manner, and with what Rites and Ceremonies he would have those that should come for Advice, to approach him (*a*).

The Place of this Oracle was under the surface of the Earth, and therefore it was commonly call'd *κατάβασις*, and the Persons that consulted it *καταβαινοτες*, because the way to it was a *Descent*. Concerning it, there are innumerable Fables, which it would not be worth the while to mention in this place; I shall therefore pass them by, only giving you the Accounts *Pausanias* and *Plutarch* have left of it; the former of which consulted it in person, and thereby had opportunity of being an Eye-witness of what he reports. His words are thus translated by Mr. Abel:

" Whosoe're's exigencies oblige him to go into the Cave, must
" in the first place make his abode for some set-time in the Chappel
" of Good Genius and Good Fortune; during his stay here, he abstains
" from hot Baths, and employs himself in performing other sorts of
" Atonements for past offences; he is not wholly debar'd bathing,
" but then it must only be in the River Hercynna, having a suffi-
" cient sustenance from the Leavings of the Sacrifices. At his going
" down he sacrificeth to *Trophonius* and his Sons, to *Apollo*, *Saturn*
" and *Jupiter*, (who hath the title of King) to *Juno Heniocha*, and
" *Ceres*, call'd *Europa*, reported to be *Trophonius*'s Nurse. There's a

(a) *Suidas* voce Τροφύσις. (b) Thaverin. (c) *Tusq. Quæst.* lib. I. (d) *Strabo* lib. IX. (e) *Cæsandr.* v. 1123.

"Priest stands consulting the Bowels of every Sacrifice, who according to the Victim's aspects, prophesies whether the Deity will give an auspicious and Satisfactory Answer. The Entrails of all the Sacrifices confer but little towards the Revealing of Trophonius's Answer, unless a Ram, which they offer in a Ditch, to Agamedes, with supplication for success, that night on which they descend, presents the same Omens with the former; on this depends the Ratification of all the rest, and without it their former Oblations are of none effect: if so be this Ram cloth agree with the former, every one forthwith descends, back'd with the eagerness of good Hopes; and thus is the Manner: Immediately they go that night along with the Priests to the River *Hercynna*, where they are anointed with Oyl, and washt by two Citizen's Boys, aged about thirteen years, whom they call *Eppuzis*, i. e. *Mercuries*; these are they, that are employ'd in washing whoever hath a mind to consult; neither are they remiss in their Duty, but, as much as can be expected from Boys, carefully perform all things necessary. Having been washt, they are not straightway conducted by the Priests to the Oracle, but are brought to the River's Rises, which are adjacent to one another: here they must drink a dose of the Water of it, call'd *Lethe*, or *Oblivion*, to deluge with oblivion all those things, which so lately were the greatest part of their concerns. After that, they take the Water of *Mnemosyne*, viz. Remembrance, to retain the remembrance of those things, that shall be exhibited to them in their Descent; amongst which is expos'd a Statue, adorn'd with that admirable carving, that it's set up by the People for *Dedalus*'s workmanship; whereupon they never exhibit it, unless to Descendants: to this therefore, after some venerable obeysance, having mutter'd over a Prayer or two, in a linnen Habit set off with Ribbands, and wearing Pantofles, agreeable with the fashion of the Countrey, they approach the Oracle, which is situated within a Mountain near a Grove, the foundation of which is built spherical-wise, of white stone, about the size, in circumference, of a very small Threshing-floor, but in heighth scarce two cubits, supporting brazen Obelisks, encompass'd round with ligaments of brass, between which there are doors that guide their passage into the midst of the Floor, where there's a sort of a Cave, not the product of rude Nature, but built with the nicest accuracy of Mechanism and Proportion; the Figure of this Workmanship is like an Oven, it's breadth diametrically (as nigh as can be guess) about nine cubits, it's depth eight, or thereabouts; for the guidance to which there are no stairs, wherefore 'tis requir'd that all comers bring a narrow and light Ladder with them, by which when they are come down to the bottom, there's a Cave between the Roof and the Pavement, being in breadth about two *assiagai*, and in heighth not above one; at the mouth of this, the Descendant having brought with him Cakes dipt in Honey, lies along on the ground,

"ground, and shoves himself Feet foremost into the Cave; then he thrusts in his Knees, after which the rest of his Body is rowl'd along, by a force not unlike that of a great and rapid River, which overpowering a Man with it's vortex, tumbles him over Head and Ears. All that come within the approach of the Oracle, have not their Answers reveal'd the same way: some gather their Resolves from outward appearances, others by word of mouth; they all return the same way back, with their Feet foremost. Among all that have descerded, 'twas never known that any was lost, except one of the Live-guard of *Demetrius*; and besides 'tis credible the reason proceeds from the neglect of the Rituals in his descent, and his ill design; for he went not out of necessity to consult, but out of an avaricious humour, for the sacrilegious conveyance back of the Gold and Silver, which was there religiously bestow'd; wherefore 'tis said, that his Carcase was thrown out some other way, and not at the Entrance of the sacred Shrine. Among the various Reports that flie abroad concerning this Man, I've deliver'd to Posterity the most remarkable. The Priests, as soon as the Consultant is return'd, place him on *Mnemosyne*'s Throne, which is not very far from the Shrine; here they enquire of him, what he had seen, or heard; which when he hath related, they deliver him to others, who (as appointed for that Office) carry him stupify'd with amazement, and forgetful of himself, and those about him, to the Chappel of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*, where he had made his former stay at his going down; here, after some time, he's restor'd to his former Senes, and the chearfulness of his Visage returns again. What I here relate, was not receiv'd at second-hand, but either as by ocular demonstration I have perceiv'd in others; or what I've prov'd true by my own Experience; for all Consultants are oblig'd to hang up engrav'd on a Tablet, what they have seen, or heard.

Thus far *Pausanias*. *Plutarch*'s Relation concerns the Appearances exhibited to Consultants; which, tho' they were various, and seldom the same, being it is a remarkable Story, I will give it you, as it is translated by the same Hand.

"*Timarchus*, being a Youth of Liberal Education, and just initiated in the Rudiments of Philosophy, was greatly desirous of knowing the Nature and Efficacy of *Socrates*'s *Demon*; wherefore communicating his project to no Mortal Body but Me and *Cebes*, after the performance of all the Rituals requisite for Consultation, He descended *Trophonius*'s Cave; where having stay'd two nights and one day, his return was wholly despair'd of, insomuch that his Friends bewail'd Him as dead: in the Morning He came up very brisk, and in the first place pay'd some venerable acknowledgments to the God; after that, having escap'd the staring Rout, He laid open to us a prodigious Relation of what he had seen or heard, to this purpose: In his Descent, he was beset with a caliginous Mist, upon which he pray'd, lying prostrate for a long time, and

" not having Sence enough to know whether he was awake, or in a dream, He surmises, that he receiv'd a blow on his Head, with such an echoing violence, as dissever'd the Sutures of his Skull, thro' which his Soul migrated ; and being disunited from the Body, and mixt with bright and refin'd Air, with a seeming contentment, began to breath for a long time, and being dilated like a full Sail, was wider than before. After this, having heard a small noise, whistling in his Ears a delightsom sound ; he lookt up, but saw not a spot of Earth, only Islands reflecting a glimmering flame, interchangeably receiving different colours, according to the various degrees of Light. They seem'd to be of an infinite number, and of a stupendious size, not bearing an equal parity betwixt one another in this, tho' they were all alike, viz. globular : it may be conjectur'd, that the circumrotation of these mov'd the Aether, which occasion'd that Whistling, the gentle pleasantness of which bore an adæquate agreement with their well-tim'd motion. Between these there was a Sea, or Lake, which spread out a Surface, glittering with many Colours, intermixt with an azure ; some of the Islands floated in 's Stream, by which they were driven on the other side of the Torrent ; many others were carry'd to and fro, so that they were well-night sunk. This Sea, for the most part, was very shallow and fordable, except towards the South, where 'twas of a great depth ; it very often ebb'd and flow'd, but not with a high Tide ; some part of it had a natural Sea-colour, untainted with any other, as miry and muddy as any Lake. : The rapidness of the Torrent carry'd back those Islands from whence they had grounded, not situating them in the same place as at first, or bringing them about with a circumference ; but in the gentle turning of them, the Water makes one rising Rowl : betwixt these, the Sea seem'd to bend inwards about (as near as he cou'd gues) eight parts of the whole. This Sea had two mouths, which were Inlets to boisterous Rivers, casting out fiery foam, the flaming brightness of which cover'd the best part of it's natural Azure. He was very much pleas'd at this Sight, until he lookt down, and saw an immense *Hiatus*, resembling a hollow'd Sphere, of an amazing and dreadful profundity ; it had darkness to a miracle ; not still, but thicken'd, and agitated : here he was seiz'd with no small fright, by the astonishing hubbubs, and noises of all kinds, that seem'd to arise out of this hollow, storn an unfathomable bottom, viz. he heard an infinity of Yells and Howlings of Beasts, Cries and Bawlings of Children, confus'd with the Groans and Outrages of Men and Women. Not long after, he heard a voice invisibly pronounce these words.....

What follows is nothing but a prolix and tedious Harangue upon various subjects. One thing there is more especially remarkable in this account, viz. That he makes *Timarchus* to return from Consultation with a brisk and cheerful countenance, whereas 'tis commonly reported, that all the Consultants of this Oracle became penive and

and melancholy ; that their Tempers were sow'r'd, and their Countenances, however gay and pleasant before, rendred dull and heavy ; whence of any Person dejected, melancholy, or too serious, it was usually said, *eis Τροφωνία μεμαρτυρεῖται*, i. e. He has been consulting the Oracle of *Trophonius*. But this is only to be understood of the Time immediately ensuing Consultation ; for, as we learn from *Pausanias*, all Enquirers recover'd their former cheerfulness in the Temple of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*.

CHAPTER XI.

Of other Grecian Oracles.

Amphiaraus was the Son of *Oicleus*, and married *Eriphyle* the Sister of *Adrastus*, King of *Argos* ; he was an excellent Soothsayer, and by his Skill forefaw that it would prove fatal to him, if he engag'd himself in the *Theban War*. Wherefore, to avoid inevitable destruction, He hid himself, but was discover'd by his Wife *Eriphyle*, whom *Polynices* had corrupted with a Present of a golden Chain. Being discover'd, he was oblig'd by *Adrastus* to accompany the Army to *Thebes*, where it happened to Him as He had foretold ; for, together with his Chariot and Horses, he was swallow'd up by the Earth. Whence *Ovid* saith of him,

Notus humo mersis Amphiaraus equis.

Some say this Accident happen'd in the way betwixt *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, and for that reason the place is call'd *Apyx*, i. e. a Chariot, to this day, saith *Pausanias* (a).

After his Death, he was honoured with Divine Worship ; first by the *Oropians*, and afterwards by all the other *Grecians* : And a stately Temple, with a Statue of white Marble, was erected to him in the place where he was swallow'd up, saith my Author, being about XII miles distant from *Oropus*, a City in the confines of *Attica* and *Bacotia*, which for that reason is sometimes attributed to both Countries. There was also a remarkable Altar, dedicated to him in the same place ; it was divided into five parts : The first of which was sacred to *Hercules*, *Jupiter*, and *Paonian Apollo* : The second to the *Heroes*, and their Wives : The third to *Vesta*, *Mercury*, *Amphiaraus*, and the Sons of *Amphilochus*, (for *Alcmaeon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, was not allow'd to partake of any of the Honours pay'd to *Amphilochus*, or *Amphiaraus*, because he slew his Mother *Eriphyle*) The fourth to *Venus*, *Panacea*, *Jason*, *Hygia*, and *Paonian Minerva*. The fifth part to the *Nymphs*, *Pan*, and the Rivers *Achelous*, and *Cephissus*.

(a) *Atticus*.

Answers were not deliver'd, as those of *Apollo*, by a *Pythonissa*, but in Dreams: *Sophon* the *Gnosian*, who publish'd the ancient Oracles in Heroick Verses, reports, That *Amphiaraus* return'd an Answer to the *Argives* in Verse; but my Author herein contradicteth him, and reports farther, that it was the general opinion, that only those, who were inspir'd by *Apollo*, gave Answers after that manner; whereas all the rest made Predictions either by Dreams, or the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beasts. He adds, for a confirmation of what he had said before, viz. that these Answers were given in Dreams, That *Amphiaraus* was excellently skill'd in the Interpretation of Dreams, and Canoniz'd for the Invention of that Art.

They that came to consult this Oracle, were first to be purify'd by offering Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*, and all the other Gods, whose Names were inscrib'd on the Altar: (a) *Philostratus* adds, they were to fast 24 hours, and abstain three days from Wine. After all, they offer'd a Ram in Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*; then went to sleep lying upon the Victim's Skin, and in that posture expected a Revelation by Dream. In the same manner did the People of *Apulia Daunia* expect Answers from *Podalirius*, who died there, and return'd Prophetick-dreams to those that came to enquire of him: whoe'er consulted him, was to sleep upon a Sheep's skin at his Altar, as we learn from these words of *Lycophron* (b),

Δορκεῖς δὲ μήλων πύμες ἐγκοιμώμενοι
Χρίσταις καὶ ὑπὸν πᾶσιν τημερτῆ φάσην.

They, whose aspiring Minds curious to pry
Into the Mystick Records of Events,
Ask aid of *Podalirius*, must sleep
Prostrate on Sheep-skins at his hallow'd Fane,
And thus receive the true Prophetick Dreams.

Mr. Huichin.

To return. All Persons were admitted to this Oracle, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were to enjoy no benefit from *Amphiaraus* in this way: for, as *Herodotus* reporteth (c), He gave them their option of two Things, viz. His Counsel and Advice, to direct them in time of Necessity; or his Help and Protection, to defend them in time of Danger; telling them they must not expect both: whereupon they chose the latter, thinking they had a greater need of Defence, than Counsel, which they could be sufficiently furnish'd with by *Delphian Apollo*.

This Oracle was had in very great esteem: *Herodotus* (d) reckons it amongst the five principal ones of *Greece*, consulted by *Cræsus*, before his Expedition against *Cyrus*; viz. the *Delphian*, *Dodonean*, *Am-*

piaraus's, *Trophonius's*, and the *Didymean*; and *Valerius Maximus* (a) saith, it was not inferior to the two first of those already mention'd, or that of *Jupiter Hæmon*.

Near the Temple was the Fountain, out of which *Amphiaraus* ascended into Heaven, when he was receiv'd into the number of the Gods, which for that reason was call'd by his Name; it was held so sacred, that it was a Capital crime to employ the Waters of it to any ordinary use, as washing the hands, or Purification; nay it was unlawful to offer Sacrifice before it, as was usual at other Fountains: The chief, and perhaps only use it was employ'd in, was this, viz. they that by the advice of the Oracle had recover'd out of any Disease, were to cast a piece of coyn'd Gold, or Silver into it; and this (b) *Pausanias* tells us was an ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the primitive Ages.

At *Pharæ*, a City of *Achaia*, Answers were given by *Mercurius Agyæus*, so nam'd from ἀγορὰ, i.e. the Market-place, where was a Statue of stone erected to him, having a Beard, which seems to have been a thing unusual in his Statues; before it was plac'd a low Stone-altar, upon which stood brazen Basons soldered with Lead. They that came for Advice, first offer'd Frankincense upon the Altar, then lighted the Lamps, pouring Oyl into them; after that, they offer'd upon the right side of the Altar a piece of Money, stamp'd with their own Counter-impresion, and call'd Χαλκός, then propos'd the Questions they desir'd to be resolv'd in, placing their Ear close to the Statue, and after all departed, stopping both their Ears with their Hands, till they had pass'd quite through the Market-place; then they pluck'd away their Hands, and receiv'd the first Voice that presented it self, as a Divine Oracle. The same Ceremonies were practic'd in *Egypt*, at the Oracle of *Serapis*, as (c) *Pausanias* hath reported.

(d) At *Bura* in *Achaia*, there was an Oracle of *Hercules*, call'd from that City *Burracus*; the place of it was a Cave, wherein was *Hercules*' Statue: Predictions were made by throwing Dice. They that consulted the God, first address'd themselves to him by Prayer; then taking four Dice, out of a great heap that lay ready there, they threw them upon the Table; all the Dice had on them certain peculiar marks, all which were interpreted in a Book kept for that purpose; as soon therefore as they had cast the Dice, they went to the Book, and there found every Man his Doom.

At *Patra*, (e) a City on the Sea-coast of *Achaia*, not far from the Sacred Grove of *Apollo*, there was a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which were erected three Statues, two to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, standing; the third to *Earth*, sitting upon a Throne. Before the Temple there was a Fountain, in which were deliver'd Oracles, very famous for the truth of their Predictions. These were not given upon every account, but concern'd only the Events of Diseases. The manner of

(a) *Vita Apollonis Tyanei lib. II.* (b) *Cassandra v. 1050.* (c) *lib. viii. cap. cxxxiv.*
(d) *Lib. I. c. xlvi.*

(a) *Lib. VIII. c. XV.* (b) *Atticis.* (c) *Achaicis.* (d) *Ibidem.* (e) *Pausanias ibidem.*

consulting was this; They let down a Looking-glass by a small cord into the Fountain so low that the bottom of it might just touch the surface of the Water, but not be cover'd by it; this done, they offer'd Incense and Prayers to the Goddess; then looked upon the Glass, and from the various Figures and Images represented in it, made Conjectures concerning the Patient.

(a) At *Trazen*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was an old Altar dedicated to the *Muses* and *Sleep*, by *Ardalus*, one of *Vulcan's Sons*; who was the first Inventor of the Flute, and a great Favourite of the *Muses*, who from him were call'd *Ardalides*. They that came for Advice, were oblig'd to abstain certain days from *Wine*. Afterwards they lay down by the Altar to sleep, where, by the secret Inspiration of the *Muses*, proper Remedies for their Distempers were reveal'd to them.

(b) At *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was a Temple of *Aesculapius*, famed for curing Diseases; the Remedies of which were reveal'd in Dreams. When the Cure was perfected, the Names of the diseased Persons, together with the manner of their Recovery, were registered in the Temple. This God was afterwards translated to *Rome*, by the Command of *Delphian Apollo*, who told them, that was the only way to be free'd from the Plague, which at that time rag'd exceedingly amongst them: whereupon they sent Embassadors to *Epidaurus*, to desire the God of them; but the *Epidaurians* being unwilling to part with so beneficial a Guest, *Aesculapius* of his own accord, in the shape of a great Serpent, went straight to the Roman ship, where he repos'd himself, and was with great veneration convey'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with great joy; and having deliver'd them from the Distress they lay under, was honour'd with a Temple in the little Island, encompas'd by the River *Tibur*, and worshipped in the same Form he had assum'd. This Story is related by *Pliny* (c), and *Ovid* (d).

At *Amphiclea*, call'd by *Herodotus Ophitea*, by *Stephanus Amphices*, there was a Temple sacred to *Bacchus*, but no Image, at least, none expos'd to publick view. To this God, saith *Pausanias* (e), the *Amphicleans* ascribe both the Cure of their Diseases, and the Foretelling of future Events; the former he effected by revealing proper Remedies in Dreams; the latter, by inspiring into his Priests Divine Knowledge.

Strabo, in his Description of *Corinth*, telleth us, *Juno* had an Oracle in the *Corinthian Territories*, in the way between *Lechaeum* and *Page*.

There was also in *Laconia*, a Pool sacred to *Juno*, by which Predictions were made after this manner: They cast into it Cakes made of Bread-corn; if these sunk down, good; if not, something dreadful was portended.

(f) *Cælius Rhodiginus* telleth us out of *Philostratus*, that *Orpheus's Head* at *Lesbos*, gave Oracles to all Enquirers, but more especially to the

(a) *Pausanias*. (b) *Idem Corinthiac*. (c) *Lib. IV.* (d) *Met. XV. Phœcicis*. (f) *An-*
tiquitat. lib. XV. cap. IX.

Grecians; and told them, That *Troy* could not be taken without *Heracles's Arrows*: He adds, that the Kings of *Persia* and *Babylon*, often sent Embassadors to consult this Oracle, and particularly *Cyrus*, who being desirous to know by what death he was to die, receiv'd this Answer, Τὰ ἐμα, ὁ Κύρος, τὰ σά i.e. My Fate, O *Cyrus*, is decreed you. Whereby it was meant he should be Beheaded; for *Orpheus* suffer'd that death in *Thrace*, by the fury of the Women, because he profess'd an hatred and aversion to the whole Sex: his Head being thrown into the Sea, was cast upon *Lesbos*, where it return'd answers in a Cavern of the Earth. There were also Persons initiated into *Orpheus's Mysteries*, call'd *Οφεστελεῖται*, who assur'd all those that should be admitted into their Society, of certain Felicity after Death: which when *Philip*, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, *Leotychidas the Spartan* reply'd, Why do not you die then, you Fool, and put an end to your Misfortunes, together with your Life? At their Initiation, little else was requir'd of them, besides an Oath of Secrecy.

In *Laconia*, in the way betwixt *Oebylus* and *Thalamiae*, (a) *Pausanias* faith, there was a Temple and Oracle of *Ino*, who gave Answers by Dreams, to those that enquir'd of her.

(b) *Plutarch* maketh mention of another famous Oracle in *Laconia*, at the City *Thalamiae*, which was sacred to *Pasiphae*, who, as some say, was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, and had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*. Others are of opinion it was *Cassandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this place, was call'd *Pasiphae*, μηδὲ τὸ πάσιν φένειν τὴν μαρτυρία, from revealing Oracles. Others will have it, that this was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transformed into a Laurel, and honour'd by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. This Oracle, when *Agis*, King of *Sparta*, endeavour'd to reduce the *Spartans* to their ancient manner of living, and put in force *Lycurgus's old Laws*, very much countenanced and encouraged his Undertaking, commanding the People to return to their former State of Equality. Again, when *Cleomenes* made the like Attempt, it gave the same Advice, in this manner, as my Author relates the Story (c): About that time, saith he, one of the *Ephori*, sleeping in *Pasiphae's Temple*, dream'd a very surprizing Dream; for he thought he saw the four Chairs remov'd, where the *Ephori* us'd to sit and hear Causes, and one only plac'd there; and whilst he wonder'd, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying, *This is best for Sparta*.

Upon the top of *Citheron*, a Mountain in *Bœotia*, was a Cave call'd *Spragidum*, where many of the Inhabitants of that Countrey were inspir'd by the Nymphs, call'd *Spragitides*, and thence nam'd, *Nupspinatos* (d), i.e. inspir'd by the Nymphs.

(a) *Lassita*. (b) *Agide*. (c) *Cleomenes*. (d) *Pausanias Bœotio*.

Ulysses had an Oracle amongst the *Eurytanians*, a Nation of *Aetolia*, as (*a*) *Aristotle* is said to report by *Tzetzes*, in his *Comments upon Lycophron*, who hath these words concerning *Ulysses*,

(*b*) Μάρνη δὲ νεκρὸν Εὐγυντὸν σέλην λέως,
Ο, τ' αἰπὺ ναῖον Τελευτῆνας ἐδέθλιον.

Aetolian People the dead Prophet crown.

Several other Oracles we read of in Authors, "as that of *Tiresias*, and *Aegeus*, with others of less Repute; which for that reason I shall forbear to mention.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Theomancy.

HAVING given you an Account of the most celebrated Oracles in *Greece* which make the first and noblest Species of Natural Divination; I come now to the second, call'd in Greek *Θεομαντεία*, which is a compound word, consisting of two parts, by which it is distinguish'd from all other sorts of Divination; by the former (*viz.* θεός) it is distinguish'd from Artificial Divination, which, tho' it may be said to be given by the Gods, yet does not immediately proceed from them, being the effect of Experience and Observation. By the latter (*viz.* μαντεία) it is oppos'd to Oracular Divination; for tho' *Mantēia* be a general Name, and sometimes signifie any sort of Divination; yet it is also us'd in a more strict and limited Sense, to denote those Predictions that are made by Men; and in this acceptation it is oppos'd to *Xenomantēis*, as the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* has observ'd (*c*).

Thus much for the Name. As to the Thing, it is distinguish'd from Oracular Divination, (I mean that which was deliver'd by Interpreters, as at *Delphi*, for in others the Difference is more evident) because that was confin'd usually to a fixed and stated Time, and always to a certain Place; for the *Pythia* could not be inspired in any other place but *Apollo's Temple*, and upon the sacred *Tripos*; whereas the *Θεομαντεῖς* were free and unconfin'd, being able (after the offering of Sacrifices, and the performance of the other usual Rites) to prophesie at any Time, or in any Part of the World.

(*a*) *Iliacor. Polit. a.* (*b*) *Vers. 799.* (*c*) *In Oedip. Tyr.*

As to the Manner of Receiving the Divine Inspiration, that was not always different; for not only the *Pythia*, but the *Sibyls* also, with many others, were possess'd with Divine fury, swelling with rage, like Persons distracted, and beside themselves. (*a*) *Virgil* describes the *Sibyl* in this hideous posture,

—Cui talia fanti
Aene fores subito non vultus, non color unus
Non comæ mansæ comæ, sed pectus arhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est manine quando
Nam propiore Dei.

Thus at the Entrance spake the sacred Maid;
And now no settl'd Air, or Feature staid
'Thro' the whole symmetry of her alter'd Face,
For fleeting Colours seiz'd each other's place.
But when the head-strong God, not yet appeas'd,
With holy Phrensy had the *Sibyl* seiz'd,
Terro' froze up her grizly Hair; her Breast
Throbbing with holy Fury, still exprest
A greater horrour, and She bigger seems
Swoln with th' *Afflatus*, whilst in Holy screams
Sh' unfolds the hidden mysteries of Fate.

Mr. Hutchin.

Few that pretended to Inspiration, but raged after this manner, foaming and yelling, and making a strange, terrible noise; sometimes gnashing with their Teeth, shivering and trembling, with a thousand other antick Motions: and therefore some will have their Name (*viz.* μαντίς) to be derived ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας, i. e. from being mad.

Other Customs also they had common to them, with the *Pythia*; I shall only mention those about the Laurel, which was sacred to *Apollo*, the God of Divination, ever since the Death and Metamorphosis of his Beloved *Daphne*, and thought to conduce very much to Inspiration, and therefore call'd μαντικὸν φύτον, the Prophetick Plant; whence *Claudian* saith of it,

—Veneri præficia Laurus.

The Laurel skill'd in Events.

With this therefore they us'd to crown their Heads, as *Euripides* (*b*) saith of *Cassandra*. And *Aeschylus* (*c*) also agrees with him herein, when he saith of her,

Καὶ σκῆνης, καὶ μαντεία μετὶ δέην σέπη.

Her Hand a Laurel-scepter grasp'd, her Neck
The same Prophetick Plant with Garlands grac'd.

(*a*) *Aen. lib. VI. v. 47.* (*b*) *Andromache.* (*c*) *Agamemnon v. 1273.*

Where

Where by σκῆπτρον, he means a Staff of Laurel, which Prophets usually carried in their Hands; it was call'd in Greek θυμάτειον, as we learn from Hesychius. Farther, it was usual for them to eat the Leaves of this Tree; and therefore (a) Lycophron saith of Cassandra,

Δαρυνθήσων φοίδας εἰς λαβμῶν ὄπε.

The Mouth with Lauril-morsels often bless'd,
In' Mystic words unriddl'd future Truths.

And the Sibyll in Tibullus speaks of it, as one of her greatest Privileges, placing it in the same rank with that of Virginity, a thing held by her very sacred, tho' not always observ'd by other Prophets; for Cassandra was Agamenon's Concubine; and tho' the condition of a Captive might lay some force upon her, yet 'tis agree'd by all, that Helenus married Andromache; and nothing is more commonly known, than that Blind Tiresias was led up and down by his Daughter Maya. But to return to the Sibyll: Her words in Tibullus are these,

*Sic usque sacras innoxia Laurus
Vescar, & eternum sit mihi Virginitas.*

With holy Laurel may I e're be fed,
And live, and die an unpolluted Maid.

Thus much of these Prophets in general; I shall only add, that they, as also other Diviners, were maintain'd at Athens at the publick Charge, having their Diet allow'd in the Πενταγεῖον, or Common Hall, as the Scholiast upon Aristophanes observes.

Of the Θορυβοῖς there were three sorts among the Græcians, distinguished by three distinct manners of Receiving the Divine Afflatus. One sort were possest'd with prophesying Demons, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them; or spoke out of the Bellies, or Breasts of the possest'd Persons, they all the while remaining speechless, and not so much as moving their Tongues, or Lips; or rather pronounc'd the Answer themselves, making use of the Members of the Demoniac. These were call'd Δαιμονόλυπτοι, i. e. possest'd with Demons; and because the Spirits either lodged, or spoke within their Bodies, they were also named Εγγασεῖμοι, (which Name was also attributed to the Demons) Εγγειμάτεις, Στεργομάτεις, Εγγαστίται, &c. This way of Prophesying was practic'd also in other Countries, and particularly amongst the Jews, as also Necromancy: For the Prophet Isaiah denounces

(a) Cassandra v. 6.

God's heavy Judgments upon those that made use of either of them. (a) His words, as they are translated by the Seventy, run thus, Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπων τοὺς ὑμᾶς ζητήσατε τὸς ἐγγασεῖμούς, ἵνα τὸς ἁρπαγῆς φωνοῦντας, τοὺς κενολογοῦντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοινίας φωνεῖσιν οὐκ εἴποντο τοὺς δεὸν αὐτὸς ἐκζητήσοις; Τί ἐκζητούσι τὴς ζώντων τὰς μνεῖς;

And if they say unto you, Seek unto them, whose speech is in their Belly, and those that speak out of the Earth, those that utter vain words, that speak out of their Belly: Shall not a Nation seek unto their God? why do they enquire of the Dead concerning the Living? To return: These Diviners were named Εὔρυκλεῖς, and Εὔρυκλεῖται, from Euryalus, the first that practis'd this Art at Athens, as the Scholiast upon Aristophanes hath inform'd us, at these words,

Μίμησάμενος τὸν Εὔρυκλέας φαντεῖαν καὶ διάφορας
Εἰς ἀλλοτεῖαν γαστέρας ἐνθέσεις, καμαράκια πολλὰ χέρια (b).

Like that fantastick Divination,
Which Eurycles of old did first invent,
To enter Bellies, and from thence pronounce
Ridic'lous Whins.

Mr. Finch.

They were also call'd Πύθωνες, and Πυθανοί, from Πύθων, a Prophesying Demon, as Hesychius and Suidas have told us: the same is mention'd in the Acts of the Apostles (c), Εὐίνετο ὃ προεντούχειν ἡμῶν εἰς τερατούχιον, παιδίσκου τινα ἔχοντα πνεύμα Πύθωνος, ἀπεπνεύοντα ἡμῖν. Our Translators have rendred it thus: And it came to pass as we went to prayer, a certain Damself possest'd with a Spirit of Divination met us. But the Margin reads Python, instead of Divination, which is a general Name, and may be us'd in that place, as more intelligible by the Vulgar. Plutarch in his Treatise about the Cessation of Oracles, saith these Familiar Spirits, were anciently call'd Εὔρυκλεῖς, and only Πύθωνες in latter Ages: "It is absurd (saith he) and childish to suppose that God himself, like the Εγγασεῖμοι, which were formerly call'd Εὔρυκλεῖς, but are now named Πύθωνες, should enter into the Bodies of Prophets, and make use of their Mouths and Voices, in pronouncing their Answers.

As to the Original of this Name (Python) there are various Conjectures; the most probable of which seems to be, That it was taken from Apollo Pythius, the God that presides over all sorts of Divination, and afterwards appropriated by Custom to this species; for so we find a great many Words of a general signification, in time made pecu-

(a) Cap. VIII. v. 19. (b) Vespis. (c) Cap. XVI. v. 16.

iliar to some one part of what they signified before. To give you an Instance, *Tugavvōς*, among the ancient Greeks, was apply'd to all Kings, as well the just and merciful, as the cruel and whom we now call *Tyrannicall*; but in more Modern Ages, was appropriated to that latter sort, and became a Name of the greatest ignominy, and detestation. On the contrary, Words of a narrow and limited Sence, have sometimes passed their bounds, and taken upon them a more general and unconfin'd one: so *Martēia*, which at first signified only that sort of Prophesying, that was inspired with Rage and Fury; being derived (as *Plato*, and others after him will have it) ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας, from being Mad; and us'd by *Homer* (a) in that sence, being set in opposition to some other ways of Divination, as that by Dreams, and Entrails, came at length to be a general Name for all sorts of Divination.

The second Sort of Θεουμάντεις, were call'd *Eὐθεστάσεις*, *Eὐθεστικός*, and *Θρονιστές*, being such as pretended to what we also call *Enthusiasm*; and differed from the former, because they contain'd within them the Deity himself; whereas these were only governed, acted, or inspired by him, and instructed in the knowledge of what was to happen. Of this sort were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Musæus*, and several of the Sibyls.

A third sort were the *Exstasiοι*, or those that were cast into Trances or Exstasies, and so lay like Men dead, or asleep, deprived of all Sence and Motion, but after some time, (it may be Days, or Months, or Years, for *Epimenides the Cretan* is reported to have lain in this posture LXXV Years) returning to themselves, gave strange and amusing Relations of what they had seen, and heard. For it was a vulgar Opinion, that Man's Soul might leave the Body, and wander up and down the World; nay, and visit the place of the Deceased too, and see what was done there, and by converse with the Gods and Heroes, be instructed in things useful and necessary for the Conduct of Human Life. *Plato*, in the tenth Book of his *Politicks*, speaks of one *Pamphilus*, a *Phærean*, that lay ten Days amongst the Carcasses of slain Men, and afterwards being taken up, and plac'd upon the Funeral-pile, to be burned, returned to Life, and related what places he had seen in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and what was done there, to the astonishment of all that heard him. *Plutarch* also, in his Discourse concerning *Socrates's Daemon*, saith, it was reported of the Soul of *Hermodorus the Clazomenian*, that for several Nights and Days, it would leave his Body, travel over many Countreys, and return after it had view'd things, and discours'd with Persons at a great distance; till at last, by the treachery of a Woman, his Body was delivered to his Enemies, who burn'd the House, while the Inhabitant was abroad. Several other Stories of the same nature, are recorded in History; which whether true or false, it matters not much, since they were believ'd, and receiv'd as such.

(a) *Iliad* α'.

Thus

Thus much for *Natural Divination*. I come in the next place to speak something of that, which is call'd *Artificial*: In doing which, because Divination, or Prediction by Dreams, bears a somewhat nearer Affinity to the *Natural*, than the rest, and is by some reckon'd amongst the Species of it, I shall therefore in the first place give you an Account of the Customs practis'd in it.)

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Divination by Dreams.

I Shall not in this place trouble you with the various Divisions of Dreams, which do not at all concern my present Purpose; my Design being only to speak of those, by which Predictions us'd to be made, commonly call'd *Divine*: and of these, there were three sorts.

The first was *Xεργηματοποίος*, when the Gods, or Spirits in their own, or under any assumed Form, seem'd to converse with Men in their Sleep: Such an one was *Agamemnon's Dream*, at the beginning of the second *Iliad*; where the God of Dreams, in the form of *Nestor*, adviseth him to give the *Trojans* Battle, and encourageth him thereto, with the promise of certain Success and Victory. Such an one also was the Dream of *Pindar*, in which (as (a) *Pausanias* reports) *Proserpina* appeared to him, and complained he dealt unkindly by her, for that he had compos'd Hymns in honour of all the other Gods, and she alone was neglected by him: She added, that when he came into her Dominions, he should celebrate her Praises also. Not many Days after, the Poet died, and in a short time appear'd to an old Woman, a Relation of his, that us'd to employ a great part of her time, in reading and singing his Verses, and repeated to her an Hymn made by him upon *Proserpina*.

The second is *Oρασια*, which is that wherein the Ideas, or Images of Things, that are to happen, are plainly and clearly represented; and when Things appear in their own shape and likeness: and this is by some call'd *Θεωρητικός*. Such an one was that of *Alexander the Great*, mention'd by (b) *Valerius Maximus*, when he dreamed that he was to be murdered by *Cassander*: And that of *Crasus*, King of *Lycia*, when he dreamed that his Son *Arys*, whom he design'd to succeed in his Empire, should be slain by an Iron Spear, as (c) *Herodotus* relateth.

(a) *Tacit.* (b) *Lib. I. cap. VII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. XXXIV.*

The third Species, call'd *Oreiēs*, is that in which future Events are revealed, by certain Types and Figures; whence it is named Αληγονίας, for an Allegory, as (a) *Heraclides of Pontus* defines it, is a Figure, by which one Thing is express'd, and another signify'd. Of this sort was *Hecuba's*, when she dreamt, she had conceiv'd a Fire-brand; and *Cæsar's*, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother; whereby was signified, he should enjoy the Empire of the Earth, the common Mother of all living Creatures. From this Species, those, whose Profession it was to interpret Dreams, have desum'd their Names, for they are call'd in Greek *Oreiēgētai*, *Oreiēgētai*, from Judging of Dreams; *Oreiēgōtai*, from Prying and Looking into them; and *Oreiēgnētai*, because they were Conversant about them. To one of these three Sorts may all Prophetical Dreams be reduc'd; but the Distinction of their Names is not always nicely, or critically observ'd.

The first Author of all Dreams, as well as other Divinations, was *Jupiter*, as I have already intimated,

— καὶ τὸν ἄρα ἐν Δίου δὲν.

For Dreams too come from Jove.

faith (b) *Homer*. But this must not be understood, as if Dreams were thought immediately to proceed from *Jupiter*: It was below his Dignity to condescend to such mean Offices, and therefore Inferior Deities were employ'd in these, and such like Ministries.

To omit therefore the Apparitions of the Gods, or Spirits in Dreams, upon particular occasions, such as was that of (c) *Patroclus's* Ghost to *Achilles*, to desire his Body might be interr'd: The Earth was thought to be the cause of Dreams, faith *Euripides* (d):

— ὁ πέτυια χρῶν,
Μελανοπλεῖστων μάτερ ὄμείσων.

Hail reverend Earth, from whose prolific womb
Sable-wing'd Dreams derive their Birth.

Where the Scholiast gives this Reason for it, viz. That the Earth, by obstructing the passage of the Light of the Sun, causeth the Night, in which Dreams present themselves, and are upon that account imput'd to the Earth, as their Mother. Or, that out of the Earth proceeds Meat, Meat causeth Sleep, (Sleep being nothing but the Ligation of the exterior Senses, caus'd by humid Vapours ascending from the Stomach to the Brain, and there obstructing the Motion of the Animal Spirits, which are the Instruments of Sensation, and all other

(a) *De Allegor. Homericis.* (b) *Iliad. a.* (c) *Iliad. v.* (d) *Hecub. v. 70.*

Animal Operations) and from Sleep come Dreams; but these were esteem'd meer Cheats, and Delusions, as *Enstathius* telleth us, in his Comment upon the nineteenth Book of *Homer's Odysse*, not far from the end; and such as these he saith the Poet speaketh of, when he maketh Dreams to inhabit nigh the Ocean, the great Receptacle of the humid Element,

Πλέπ δ' ἵστη Ωκεανοῦ τε ἔρδος, καὶ Λαρκάδε πέτσας,
Ηδὲ περ' ἄπλιστο πύλας, καὶ σῆμαν ὄμείσων.

Near to that Place, where with impetuous force
The rowling Ocean takes his rapid course,
Near Phabus's glitt'ring Gates, and that dark Cell,
Which Dreams inhabit.

Mr. Hutchins:

Others were ascribed to the Infernal Ghosts, as *Virgil* hath told us, at the end of his sixth *Aeneid*,

Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.

By this th' Infernal Deities convey
Into the upper World phantaſtick Dreams.

Sophocles also beareth me witness herein, when he brings in *Electra*, saying that *Agamemnon*, out of a concern for *Orestes* and his Designs, haunted *Clytaemnestra* with fearful Dreams,

(a) Οἴμας φύεν, οἴμαι τη γκείρω μέλον,
Πέμψατε ταῖς ὀντῇ μυσταρχοῦτι ὄμείσων.

For He, solicitous of those Affairs,
In frightful Dreams doth Clytaemnestra haunt.

Others were imputed to *Hecate*, and to the *Moon*, who were Goddesses of the Night, and sometimes taken for the same Person; were suppos'd also to have a particular Influence, and to preside over all the Actions, and Accidents of the Night, and therefore invoked at Incantations, and other Night-mysteries, as I shall show afterwards.

But the chief cause of all, was the God of Sleep, whose Habitation, as (b) *Ovid* describes it, was among the *Cimmerii*, in a Den dark as Hell, and in the way to it; around him lay whole swarms of Dreams of all sorts and sizes, which he sent forth when, and whither He pleased; but *Virgil* assigns to the false and deluding Dreams another place, upon an Elin at the entrance of Hell,

(a) *Electra* v. 480. (b) *Metam.* lib. XI. Fab. X

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*In medio ramos ammosaque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens : quam sedem somnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent (a).*

I th' midst an ancient spreading Elm doth grow
Whose clasping arms diffuse a shade below ;
And here, if Fables don't the World deceive,
To ev'ry Branch, to ev'ry trembling Leaf
Clings a phantastick Dream.

Mr. Hutchin.

It may be, he supposes this to have been the Receptacle of some part of them, and the rest to accompany the God of Sleep. Ovid tells us He had three Attendants more ingenious than the rest, which could transform themselves into any Shape, and assume any Form; their Names were *Morpheus*, *Phobetor*, or *Icelos*, and *Phantasus*; the Employment of the first, was to counterfeit the forms of Men, the second imitated the likeness of Brutes, and the last of inanimate Creatures;

(b) *Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ
Morphea ; non illo jussus solertior alter
Exprimis incessus... vulnusque, sonumque loquendi ;
Adjicit & vester, & consuetissima cuique
Verba, sed hic solos homines imitatur. At alter
Fit fera, fit volucris, fit longo corpore serpens,
Hinc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus
Nominat. Est etiam diverse tertius aris
Phantasos ; ille in humum, saxumque, undamque, trabemque,
Quaque vacante anima sciliciter omnia transit.*

He rouz'd the Antick Fiend, than whom none can
More subtly, or more lively mimick Man.
The Beaux, the Clown, he'll in their Garbs express
And set his Tongue to each Man's proper Phrase,
Their Looks, tho' ne're so diff'rent, he can ape ;
But He's oblig'd t' assume an Human shape.
The diff'rent shapes of Beasts a second bears,
And now in snaky Wreathings he appears,
A hissing Serpent ; now again he seems
A tim'rous Bird, thus mixes all extrems.
Him *Icelos* th' Immortal Beings call,
But Men *Phobetor*.
Phantasus next, but He, distinct from these,
Usurps the uncouth shapes of wither'd Trees,
Of Stones, or other lifeless Substances.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) *Aeneid.* VI. v. 283. (b) *Ovid.* Los. citat.

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In *Virgil*, the God of Sleep descended from Heaven upon *Palinus*; which is not to be understood, as if Heaven was his proper Seat; but that he was sent thence, by some of the Ethereal Gods, by whom He had been call'd thither : or else He is to be suppos'd to rove up and down through the Heavens, or Air, to disperse his Dreams among Men, as He sees convenient : (a) *Virgil's* words are these,

*—levis æthereis delapsus Somnus ab astris
Aëra dimovit tenebrosum, & dispulit umbras ;
Te, Palinure, petens, Tibi triflia Somnia portans.*

When nimble Sleep glides through the liquid Air,
Dispells the Clouds, and makes the Skies more clear,
Laden with fearful Dreams, which He doth bear
For Thee, unhappy *Palinurus*.

Mr. Hutchin.

There was another Deity also, to whom the care of Dreams was committed, call'd *Brizo*, from the old Greek word *βείζω*, which signifies to sleep : *Cælius* saith she was worshipped in the Island *Delos*, and had Boats full of all sorts of Things offer'd to her, except Fish. But she was thought rather to assist at the Interpretation of Dreams, than to be the efficient cause of them ; and is therefore by *Hesychius* call'd *Beibearns*. This Account *Cælius* hath taken out of the eighth Book of *Athenaeus*, who adds farther, that they used to pray to her for the Publick Safety, and Prosperity ; but more particularly, that she would vouchsafe to protect, and preserve their Ships.

Having treated of the reputed Authors of Dreams, I shall in the next place speak something of the Ways, by which they were suppos'd usually to come. Now these were two, one for delusive Dreams, which pass'd through a Gate of Ivory ; and another for those that were true, and they pass'd through a Gate of Horn. Descriptions of these two Gates, you may find every where, both in the Greek and Latin Poets, all which I shall therefore omit, only giving you one, in each Tongue : the first is that of (c) *Homer*, where speaking of Dreams, he saith,

*Tὼν οἱ μὴ καὶ ἔλθωσι πλέον ἐλέγουσι,
Οἱ δὲ ἐλεγάμενοι ἐπεὶ ἀργάντα φέροντες.
Οἱ δὲ πλέον κεράνων ἔλθωσι δύρχῃ,
Οἱ δὲ ἐπυμα κραίνονται βερπού ὅτε κεῖ της ἴδηται.*

The second shall be that of (d) *Virgil*, imitated from the former,

(a) *Aeneid.* V. v. 838. (b) *Antiq. Lect.* lib. XXVII. cap. X. (c) *Odyss.* XIX. v. 562. (d) *Aeneid* VI. v. 893.

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Sunt geminæ Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, quæ veris facilis datur exitus Umbris :
Alteræ candentii perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsæ ad Cælum mittunt insomnia Manos.

Vain, and phantastick are the Dreams, that fly
Thro' the great Gate of polish'd Ivory,
With fenceless Whims these to our Heads repair,
Gull us with golden Mountains in the Air :
But when i' th' Morn we wake, our drowsy Eyes
Big with th' expectance of the lovely Prize,
With eager haste the giddy Phantasm flies.
But no such Whims infest our easy Pate,
When Sleep conveys our Dreams thro' th' other Gate,
Compos'd of polish'd Horn. For those from hence
Are true prophetick Dreams, and full of solid Sence.

Mr. Hutchin.

In allusion to these Gates, *Philostratus* saith, they us'd to represent Dreams in a white Garment, wrapp'd over a black one, with a Horn in his Hand. And *Eustathius*, in his Comment upon the fore-mention'd Passage of *Homer*, hath made several Conjectures concerning it, most of which are so frivolous and trifling, that barely to mention them would be lost labour; and such as desire farther satisfaction, if they think it worth their while, may consult the Author.

The Time in which true Dreams were expected, was *Nuxtòs ἀμολγὸς*, and therefore *Homer* telleth us, that *Penelope* having an auspicious Dream about her Son *Telemachus*, who was travelling in search of his Father *Ulysses*, rejoyned the more, because it appear'd to her at that time,

——— ἡ δὲ ἐπικαὶ ἀνόρευσε
Κρήνη Ιχείσιο, φίλαν δὲ οἱ ἡταῖς ιάνθη,
Ως οἱ ἔναρξες ὄρεισην ἐφένετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ (a).

But when *Penelope* awak'd, her Breast
With greater Joy and Gladness was possest,
Becaule at Break of Day the Dream appear'd,

Mr. Hutchin.

What Time that was, Grammarians do not agree; some derive it (saith *Eustathius*) from the privative Particle *α* and *μωλέω*, to walk, or *μοχίω*, to labour and toil, as tho' it were *ἀμολγός*, or *ἀμογός*; and by Epanthesis, *ἀμολγὸς*, as tho' it should signifie the dead of the Night, in which People neither labour, nor walk abroad. Others also think it may signifie

(a) Fine Odyss. IV.

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the middle, or depth of the Night, but for a different reason; for *ἀμολγὸς*, (say they) is the same with *πυκῆς*, i. e. thick, or close compacted; and *Hesiod* hath us'd the word in this sence, when he saith,

Μάζα τ' ἀμολγαῖν.

That is, as *Athenaeus* expounds it, *ποιμνικὴ ἀμυκαία*, a thick Cake, such as the Shepherds, and Labouring Men eat. Others allow it the same Signification, but for a third reason; *Ἀμολγὸς*, (say they) according to the *Glossographers*, amongst the *Achæans*, is the same with *ἄκρη*, which signifies the the midst, or height of any thing, as *ἄκρη Σέρρας*, that part of Summer, when the Heat is most violent, Midsummer; and Men are said to be *ἐν ἄκρῃ*, when they are in their full Strength; and therefore *ἀμολγὸς*, or *ἄκρη νυκτὸς*, must be the depth, or midst of the Night. But this Signification concerns not our present purpose, for I nowhere read, that Dreams had any whit the more credit, because they came in the dead of the Night. *Αμολγὸς* therefore was us'd in another sence, for the time in which they us'd to milk Cattle, being derived from *ἀμέλγω*, to milk; and then *ἀμολγὸς νυκτὸς* must signifie the Morning, in opposition to *ἥμέρας ἀμολγὸς*, or the Evening milking-time: And that it was us'd in this sence, is evident from *Homer's* twenty-second *Iliad*, where he saith the Dog-star (which riseth a little before the Sun) appears *ἐν νυκτὶς ἀμολγῷ*. His words are these,

Παιράνονθ' ὡς' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσυμβόν τεσσιονο,
Ος ἐά τ' ὑπώρεις εἴσαι, ἀειζηλοὶ δέ οἱ σύγαλοι
Φείνοντο πολοῖσι μετ' ἄσπροι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ,
Οὐ τε καῦ οὐδειῶν διπλανοῖν κυλέσιον (a).

Rushing he shone,
As when th' Autumnal Dog-star hast'ning on
To seat himself 'fore Morning in the Skie,
Darts down his blazing Beams from high;
A dazzling Lustre all around is seen,
It burns the brightest in the heavenly Plain.

Mr. Dechairs.

And that this was the Time, in which Dreams were thought to deserve greatest regard, (b) *Horace* assures us,

(a) Il. x. v. 26. (b) I. Sat. X. 51.

*Ait Ego quam Grecos facerem natus mare circa
Versiculos, versus me tali voce Quirinus,
Post medianam noctem visus, quam somnia vera.*

Now being a Roman born,
And Grecian Numbers once resolv'd to try
Quirinus kindly did my Wish deny;
Methought, the Night near spent, when Dreams are true,
'Twas at the dawn of Day, he came unto my view,
And spoke such words as these.

Mr. Dechar.

And Ovid was of the same opinion, when he said,

*Namque sub Auroram jam dormitane lucernā,
Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.*

Near Morn, when Lamps are dwindling out their Light,
And seem to nod for sleep, that part of Night
When Dreams are truest offer'd to our Sight.

Mr. Dechar.

Theocritus also agrees with them,

*Ἐγενδι δ' οὐσ,
Εὖτε καὶ ἀργεῖνον ποιμανεῖ τὴν οὐρανού.*

And now Aurora's just about t' appear,
When surest Dreams do most excuse our Fear.

Mr. Dechar.

The reason of this Opinion was this, viz. They thought all the remainders of the Meat upon their Stomachs might by that time be pretty well digested, and gone; for till then Dreams were believ'd rather to proceed from the Fumes of last-night's Supper, than any Divine, or Supernatural Cause: and therefore Pliny tells us, a Dream is never true presently after Eating, or Drinking; and Artemidorus goes farther yet, when he saith, that there can small credit be given to a Morning Dream, if you have eat too plentifully the Night before; because all the Crudities cannot then be suppos'd to be carried off.

For that reason, they that desired a Prophetick Dream, us'd to take a special Care of their Diet, so as to eat nothing hard of Digestion, as Beans, or raw Fruit. Soine, that they might be sure to be free from Fumes, and sleep with an empty Stomach, were so superstitious as to fast one Day before, and abstain from Wine for three. Fish is not soon, or easily digested, and therefore ('tis probable) was thought to obstruct true Dreams; which seems to have been the reason why such quantities of them were offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddess Brizo; for it was

wal to offer to the Gods the things they had an especial kindness for, or a great aversion from; the former, because they were thought delightful, and acceptable to them; the latter, because they had an Antipathie against them, and therefore 'twas believed it afforded no small pleasure to see them burn and perish upon their Altars. (a) Plutarch observes, that the Polypus's Head was prejudicial to those that desired Prophetical Dreams;

Πλευράδος κεφαλή ἐν ψῷ κεκόν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.

I' th' *Polypus's Head*
Something of Ill, something of Good is bred.

Because it is sweet and pleasant to the Taste, but disquieteth Men in their Sleep, and maketh them restless, causing trouble and anxious Dreams; and therefore he compares Poetry to it, because it containeth many things, as well profitable, as pleasant, to those that make a right use of it; but to others is very prejudicial, filling their Heads with vain, if not impious Notions, and Opinions. In short, all things apt to burden the Stomach, to put the Blood into a Ferment, and the Spirits into too quick and agitated a Motion; all things apt to create vain or strange Imaginations, to disturb Men's Rest, or any way hinder the free and ordinary Operations of the Soul, were to be avoided; that so the Mind and Phantasy being pure, and without any unnatural, or external Impressions, might be the fitter to receive Divine insinuations. Soine choice there was also in the colour of their Cloaths: for Suidas hath told us, it was most proper to keep in a white Garment, as if that could conduce to make the Dreams and Visions the clearer.

Besides all this, (to omit those that expected Dreams from Amphion, or other Deities, in an Oracular way, of which I have spoken in another place) before they went to Bed, they us'd to sacrifice to Mercury; so Calasiris in *Heliodorus*, after he had pray'd to all the rest of the gods, calls upon Mercury, to give him *eὐτελεῖον νύκτα*, i.e. a Night of good Dreams. Now you must know, Mercury was thought to be *Ἄρης*, the Giver of Sleep, as *Eustathius* telleth us, and therefore they usually carved his Image upon the Bed's-feet, which were for that reason call'd *έργανες*, which word Homer hath made use of, when he saith that *Vulcan* caught *Mars* in bed with *Venus*,

Αὔρη δ' αρ' ἔργανες χέες δίσκωντα κύκλῳ ἀπαρτα (b).

Great massy Chains on ev'ry Bed-post round,
With a restless Force God *Vulcan* bound.

(a) Initio Libelli de Audiendis Poetis. (b) Odyss. 6. v. 278.

Again

Of the Religion of Greece.

Again, in the twenty-third Book of his *Odysses*, he hath the same word,

καὶ δὴ στιγμὸν ἔμετε
(a) *Eρμῆν' ἀρίστας*

Then having with his Rule first shap'd it out,
H' a polish'd Bed-post made.

Tho' others will have ἐρμῆς to be derived from ἐρμη, i. e. a Prop, or Support, because by it the Bed was upheld, and supported. However that be, certain it is that one of *Mercury's* Employments was, to preside over Sleep, and Dreams, and the Night also, with all things that belongs to it; for so *Homer* hath told us in his Hymn upon this God, wherein he calleth him

(b) *Ληστήρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγύπτον' ὄνειρων,*
Nuntis ὀπωτηῆρα, πυλιδέρον.

A thieving God, a Cattle-stealer, one
Whose Care are Dreams, and Noises in the Night.

After all this Preparation, they went to sleep, big with expectation of knowing whatever they were solicitous, or concern'd about, before the Morning: But if their Fate was revealed in obscure, or Allegorical Terms, so that themselves could not dive into their meaning, then an Interpreter must presently be consulted. The first of this kind, as *Pliny* (c) reports, was *Amphyctyon*, *Deucalion's* Son: *Pansanias* (as I have told you before) would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, who, he saith, had Divine Honours paid him, for the Invention of that Art: but who ever was the Author of it, it is certain that, amongst the ancient Greeks, it was had in very great Credit, and Reputation, as appears from the number of Books written concerning it; for *Geminus Pyrius* composed three Books upon this subject, *Artemon* the Milesian two and twenty, beside *Panyasis* the Halicarnassian, *Alexander* the Myndian, *Phibus* the Amiochian, *Demetrius* the Phalerean, *Nicostratus* the Ephesian, *Aripho* the Athenian; with others, whose Writings are still extant; such are *Artemidorus*, *Astrampsychus*, *Philo Judeus*, *Achines* the Son of *Syrinus*, *Nicephorus*, &c. But for all this, it was never in so great request as the other Species of Divination; the many false and frivolous Dreams that happened to every Man, cast a suspicion upon all the rest; and those that were nothing but delusions, made those that were true, *θρησκευτοί*, or Propheticall, to be call'd in question; and therefore when the Heroe in (d) *Homer* adviseth the *Gracians* to enquire of some Prophet, what means they might use to appease the anger of the Gods

(a) Ver. 198. (b) Ver. 14. (c) Lib. VII. cap. V. (d) Il. ii.

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he speaks boldly, and without hesitation of *μάρτυς*, or the Inspired Prophet; and *ἱερός*, or him that consulted the Entrails of Victims offered in Sacrifice (for so *ἱερός* must signify in that place) but when he comes to *ὄνειροπλάστη*, or the Interpreter of Dreams, he's forc'd to make a sort of an Apology for what he saith, in this manner,

Ἄλλ' ἦγε δὲ πτερα μάρτυν ἐξεῖσθι, οὐ τελέσαι,
Η καὶ ὄνειροπλάστην, οὐ γάρ τ' ὄνειρα ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.

But come, let's call some Prophet here, or Priest,
Or Dream-Interpreter, for sure, at least
Some Dreams are sent from Jove.

Mr. Dechairs

Whereby he anticipates a Question, that he foresaw might be propos'd to him thus: But why should we ask Counsel of one, whose business is only to expound fallacious, vain Delusions? why should we trust the Safety of the whole Army in the Hands of a cunning, pretending Impostor? To this he answers, That indeed there were a great many false, and deceitful Dreams; but that it could not from thence be concluded, that all Dreams were so: for, notwithstanding the many Delusions that appeared, yet for all that, some of them were true, and came from *Jupiter*, the common Father of all Propheticall Predictions, and therefore might be depended upon. After this manner *Eustathius* has paraphrased the Poet's words. In later Ages Dreams came to be little regarded, except by old doting Women, who were very superstitious in observing them, as (a) *Propertius* gives us to understand, when he saith,

Quæ mea non decies somnia versas annus?

A hundred times old Women have I told
My frightful Dreams.

In more remote Ages, the People that lived near the *Gades*, and *Boristhenes*, and the Inhabitants of *Telmessus*, and *Hybla Gereatis*, a City belonging to the *Cataneans*, in *Sicily*, were famous for their Skill in this Art. The Signs by which they made Conjectures, would be too tedious to mention in this place; if any one has leisure, and vanity enough to employ himself in such solemn and ridiculous Fooleries, let him consult *Artemidorus*.

If Dreams contained in them any thing frightful and terrible, they us'd to disclose their Fears to some of the Gods, offering Incense, or some other Oblation; and praying, that, if Good was portended, it might be brought to pass: if the contrary, that the Gods would avert

whatever ill was boded by them. This telling of Dreams was not appropriated to any particular Deity, for some would discover them to *Hercules*, others to *Jupiter*, as one doth in *Plautus*; however, because the Household-Gods were nearest at hand, and thought to have a particular Concern and Care for the Family, in which they were worshipp'd, it was therefore usual to declare Dreams to them, and particularly to *Vesta*, as you may learn from (a) *Propertius*;

*Vadit et hinc castæ narratum Somnia Vesta,
Quæ sibi, queque mili non nocitura forent.*

Chaste *Vesta* too my Dreams she went to tell,
Such Dreams, as both for You and Me were well.

Mr. Dechairs.

Apollo also had a peculiar Right and Title to this Worship, under the Name of *Bœaclesius*, *Διογένης*, or *Averruncus*, so called from averting Evils, and *αφεστήσεις*, because he presidèd over, and protected Houses, and therefore, as the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* informs us, had Images erected to him in the Porches. Whence, in *Sophocles's Electra*, *Clytemnestra* having seen a terrible Dream, calls upon her Woman thus,

*Ἐπούρε δὲ οὐ δύμασθ'; οὐ ταρέσσι μοι,
Πίδησκετ', ἀναπτ τῷ δ' ὄπως λυτνεῖος
Εὔχεις ἀνάρχεις δειπνάστων ἡ νῦν ἔχει (b).*

Here, bring the Incense, Maid, for I intend
To *Phœbus* strait t' address my self in Prayer,
That he would free me from those aking Fears,
Which pain my troubled Breast.

Mr. Dechairs.

And then she begins her Prayer,

*Κλώσις ἦν ἡδη, Φοῖβε περγασαῖς,
— ἐδ' ἄκεν τῆσδε γέ κάτιον φέρεσσον.
Α γέ περσεῖσθν νυκτὶ τῆσδε φέρματα
Διασῶν ὑνείρων, ταῦτα μοι, Δύκει Ἀγαξ,
Εἰ μὴ πέρινεν ἐμάλα, σὸς τελεσφόρος
Εἰ δ' ἔχθρος, τοῖς ἔχθροις ἐμπαλιν μέδεις.*

Great God *Apollo*, You who from all Harms
Our Houses guard, attend my humble Prayer,

(a) Lib. I. Ep. XXXIX. (b) Ver 635.

The Visions which were to my Fancy brought
Last night in Dreams, if Good they do portend,
Let me enjoy the same; if otherwise,
My Enemies may they the Ill receive.

Mr. Dechairs.

But before that, she had discovered her Fears to the Sun, for *Chrysostomis* tells *Electra*, she had come to the knowledge of her Dream by that means, being informed by one that overheard her,

(a) *Τοιαῦτά τε περγύτος, οὐδέν' ἡλίῳ
Δείκνυσι τέκνα, ἔκλυον ἐξηγερθέντα.*

This I was told by one who present was,
When to the Sun her Dream she did rehearse.

Mr. Dechairs.

Both the *Scholiasts* upon that place tell us, that it was done conformably to the ancient Custom of relating Dreams to the Sun; and *Tridimus* giveth this Reason for it, viz. That, because the Sun is contrary to the Night, he might avert, or expel all the Evils that proceeded from it. The same Custom we find also practis'd by *Iphigenia* in (b) *Euripides*, with this difference, that she discloses her thoughts to the Heavens, whereas *Clytemnestra* had done it to the Sun alone: Her words are these,

*Λαμπεῖ δὲ οὐδὲ φέρεται φέρματα,
Δέξω περὶς αὐτέρη, εἴπει δὲ τοδέ τοιοῦτον.*

But what new Dreams this present Night affords,
To th' Skie I'll tell, if that will benefit.

The doing this they called *ἀποπέμπεσθαι*, *ἀποπομπεῖσθαι*, and *ἀποπεμψεῖν* *ὑποχειρ*, or *ἀποπομπεῖν τῷ ἡλίῳ*, &c.

But before they were permitted to approach the Divine Altars, they were oblig'd to purifie themselves from all the pollutions of the Night; and therefore in (c) *Aeschylus* one saith,

*Ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρέσκει, καὶ χερῶν καλλιέργεια
Εψαυσα πηγῆς, οὐδὲ δυπτέλω χερὶ¹
Βαμψι περσέσκει, ἀποπομπεῖσθαι
Θέλεσσα δύσι τέλαντον.*

As first I rose, I to the Rivers went,
And wash'd away those foul Impurities,

(a) Ibid. v. 435. (b) Taur. v. 43. (c) Persis.

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Which had my Body stain'd; this being done,
I approach'd the holy Fanes, and offer'd up
A Sacrifice to the Deliv'ring Gods.

Mr. Dechar.

(a) *Silius* also mentioneth the same Custom,

*sub lucem ut visa secundent
Oro cælicolas, & vivo pigror in amne.*

I cleanse my self in running Streams, and pray
My Dreams may lucky prove.

For it was unlawful to worship the Gods at any time, till they had purifid themselves by Water, as I have told you before; but at this time it was more especially required. (b) *Perfius* adds farther, that it was usual amongst the Romans, to dip their Heads five tines in the Water, before Morning-prayer,

*Hec sanete ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgite mergis,
Mane caput bis terque, & noctem flumine pargas.*

And lest your Prayer shou'd speak a sinful Mind,
You purge away the Filthiness you find
Procur'd by Night; You to the *Tiber* go,
And down into the Tide You flouncing bow
Five times Your Head.

Mr. Dechar.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of Divination by Sacrifices.

DIVINATION by Sacrifices was call'd *Iερεματεία*, or *Ιεροματία*, and was divided into different kinds, according to the diversity of the Materials offer'd to the Gods. For first they made Conjectures from Signs observ'd in the External Parts, and Motions of the Victim; then from it's Entrails, from the Flame in which it was consum'd, from the Cakes and Flower, from the Wine and Water, and several other Things, of which in their order.

First then, The Art, whereby Observations were made in killing, and cutting up the Victim, was call'd *Ουπησή*. Unlucky Omens were, when the Beast was drawn by force to the Altar, when it escap'd by the way, avoided the fatal Blow, did not fall down quietly, and without relucency, but kick'd, leap'd up, or bellow'd, bled not freely, was long

(a) Lib. VIII. (b) Sat. II. ver. 16.

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a dying, shew'd any tokens of great pain, beat upon the ground, expir'd with Convulsions, or did any thing contrary to what usually happens at the slaughter of Beasts: These were thought to be certain Signs of the Divine displeasure. But on the contrary, the Gods were judg'd to be propitious, and kindly to receive the Devotions paid to them, when every thing was carry'd on with Ease; when the Victim went voluntarily, and without compulsion to the slaughter, endur'd the Blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expir'd without groaning. Somewhat also they observ'd in the wagging of his Tail; whence the Poet saith,

— Κέρνος ποιεῖ καλῶς.

The Victim kindly waggs his Tail.

After this, the Victim being cut open, they made Observations from its Entrails, in which if all things were whole, and sound, had their Natural place, Colour, and Proportion, then all was well: but if any part was decay'd, or wanting, if any thing was out of Order, or not according to Nature, Evil was portended.

The first and principal part to be observ'd, was the Liver; for if that was corrupted, they thought that both the Blood, and all the rest of the Body must be so too; and therefore if it was found very bad, they desisted immediately, nor caring what the other Parts might promise; such Signs were for that reason call'd *ἀκελάδαι*, being such as hinder'd them from going any farther. This observing the Liver was call'd *Ηπατονομία*, which also became a general Name for Divination by Entrails, because it was the chief part of it. If the Liver had a pleasing, and Natural Redness, if it was sound, without spot, or blemish, if its Head was large, if it had two Heads, or there were two Livers, if its Lappets were turned inwards, then abundance of Prosperity, and Success in their Undertakings might be expected. On the other hand, nothing but Dangers, Disappointments, and Misfortunes were to be looked for, if there was *στράς*, (as they call'd it) too much Dryness, or *στρεψίς*, a tie between the parts, especially if it was *ἄλος*, without a Lappet, or the Liver it self was altogether wanting. Bad Signs also were accounted such as these; If it had upon it any Blisters, Wheals, or Ulcers; were parch'd, thin, hard, or of an ugly, blackish Colour; had any corrupt and vitiated Humours, was any way displaced; or, lastly, if in boyling it did not conspicuously appear amongst the rest of the Entrails, was polluted with any nasty, corrupt Matter, became very soft, and, as it were, melted into a Jelly. The Concavous part of the Liver was called *ἴστας*, i. e. belonging to the Family, because the Signs observ'd there concern'd themselves, and their Friends; the Gibbous side *στηλαῖς*, or *ἀπιστάτης*, because the tokens in it concerned their Enemies: if either of these Parts was shriveled, corrupted, or any way changed for the worse, it boded ruin

guin to the Person concern'd in it; but if large, and sound, or bigger than usual, it was a prosperous Omen. The Romans also us'd the same Method; for *Lucan* tells us, *Cæsar's* Victory over *Pompey* was foretold this way: His words are these,

*Quodque nefas nullis impune apparuit exitis,
Ecce videt capiti Fibrarum increscere molam,
Alterius capiti pars agra & marcida pender,
Pars micat, & celeri venas moves improba pulsus.*

Another Ill-presaging Sign was seen,
For of the Liver's Heads one overgrown,
And, as 'twere, squeez'd was by the other down,
Sickish, and wither'd one side quiet lay,
The other leapt, and sportfully did play.

Mr. Dechain.

The Place, or Seat, where all the parts of the Liver lay, was called *πλεῖς*, and *σθήνη*. The Place between the parts in the middle, *πυλαῖς*, and *εὐρυχωέις*, by *Hesychius* οὖδι, or *ἐν Γονᾷ*, by *Euripides* πύλαι,

— πύλαι καὶ σθήνη πέλας
Κακὸς ἐπαυγον τῷ συνοδυτῷ μεγάλοις.

The next thing to be taken notice of, was the Heart, which if it was very little, palpitated much, leaped, was shriveled, or wrinkled, or had no Fat at all, portended bad Fortune; if there was no Heart to be found, it was a deadly Omen.

Next to the Heart, they us'd to observe the Gall, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Membranes, in which the Bowels were inclos'd. If there were two Galls, if the Gall was large, and ready to burst out of its Skin; then sharp and bloody, but yet prosperous Fights were expected. If the Spleen lay in its own place, was clear and sound, of its natural colour, without wheals, hardness, or wrinkles, it boded nothing but Success; as the contrary Signs presaged Misfortunes: So did also the Entrails, if they chanced to slip out of the Hands of him that offered the Sacrifice; if they were besmeard with Blood, of a livid colour, or spotted; were full of Blisters, or Pimplies, fill'd with corrupt or salt Matter, broken or torn in pieces, or stunk like putrified Bodies; lastly, if Serpents crawling, or any thing else terrible and unusual was found in them. If the Lungs were cloven, the Busness in hand was to be deferr'd; if whole and entire, it was to be proceeded in with all possible speed, and vigour.

Other Parts of the Victim did sometimes presage things to come, especially if any thing happened extraordinary, and contrary to the common course of Nature. For Instance, On the day that King *Pyrrhus* was

was slain at *Argos*, his Death was foretold, by the Heads of the Sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own Blood, as *Pliny* (4) reports. Another unlucky Omen happened to *Cimon*, the Athenian General, a little before his Death; for when the Priest had slain the Sacrifice according to Custom, the Blood that ran down, and congeal'd upon the Ground, was by a great many Pinmires carried to *Cimon*, and placed all together at his great Toe: they were a long Time in doing this, before any man perceived them, but *Cimon* had no sooner esp'y'd them out, but the *Augur* brought him word, that the Liver had no Head; and in a very short time after that famous Captain died.

Hither are to be reduc'd some other ways of Divination, by things made use of at Sacrifices; as first, *Πυρεμαντεία*, Divination by the Fire of the Sacrifice. Good Signs were such as these; If the Flames immediately took hold of, and consum'd the Victim, seizing at once all the parts of it; wherefore that it might do so, they usually prepared *τὰ ξερά*, dry Sticks, that would easily take Fire; also if the Flame was bright, and pure, and without Noise, or Smoke; if the Sparks tended upward in the form of a Pyramid, if the Fire went not out till all was reduc'd to Ashes. Contrary Signs were when it was kindled with difficulty, when the Flame was divided, when it did not immediately spread it self over all the parts of the Victim, but creeping along, consum'd them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a streight Line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or downwards, and was extinguish'd by Winds, Showres, or any other unlucky Accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, casting forth Smoke, or Sparks, or died before all the Victim was consum'd. All these, and such like, were unlucky Omens, and signify'd the Displeasure of the Gods. Some of these Signs old *Titus* speaks of in (b) *Sophocles*, as very fatal, and pernicious,

— ἐν δὲ δυμάτων
Ηραστος ἐκ ἔλαφι πεν. ἀλλ' ὅπι αὐτῷ
Μυδῶνα χνις μινελών ἐτίκετο,
Κάπυρε, κανέπινε καὶ μετάφοι
Χολαὶ διεστέρευτο, καὶ καλέργενις
Μηροὶ καλυπτῖς ἐξέκειτο πυελῆς.

At the Sacrifice

No sparkling Flames from up the Fire flew,
But a black Smoak, with cloudy Vapours mixt;
That roll'd, and smother'd all the Place;
Scatter'd abroad the mangl'd Entrails lay,
And Thighs defil'd without their wonted Fat.

Mr. Dechain.

(4) Lib. XI. cap. XXXVII. (b) *Antigon.* ver. 1122.

Some-

Sometimes, when the Entrails foretold nothing certain by Dissection, the Priest made Satisfactory Observations from them in the Fire; and therefore they sometimes took the Bladder, and binding the Neck of it with Wooll, (for which reason Sophocles calls the Bladders *καρδοτετρα κύσεις*) put it into the Fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine: sometimes they took Pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the Fire; and if there arose but one entire Flame, it was taken for a good Omen. In matters of War, or Enmity, they took most notice of the *ώψη λαρυγγός*, or uppermost part in the Flame, and the Gall, *τινέαν τὸ ξύλον*, for that Enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt.

Keropomartēia, Divination by the Smoke of Sacrifices, in which they observed what Windings, and Turnings it made, how high it ascended, and whether in a direct, or oblique Line, or in wreaths; also how it finned, whether of the Flesh that was burned, or any thing else.

Aigavomartēia, Divination by Frankincense, which, if it presently catched Fire, and sent forth a grateful odour, was esteem'd an happy Omen; but if the Fire would not touch it, or any nasty Smell, contrary to the Nature of Frankincense, proceeded from it, it boded some Ill.

Oivopomartēia, and *Tēspomartēia*, Divination by Wine, and by Water, in which they made Conjectures from the Colour, Motion, Noise, and other Accidents of the Wine, of which Libations were made, and the Holy-water, in which the Victims were washed, and some parts of them boyled. (a) *Virgil* hath made mention of them both, in the Story of *Dido*,

*Vidit, thuricremis cum dona imponeret aris,
Horrendum dictu! laices nigescere sacros,
Fusaque in obscurum se vertere vina cruorem.*

Off'ring before the Altar, as she stood,
(Amazing Sight!) Lo, into putrid Blod
The Wine is chang'd, the Water, clear before,
A sudden, muddy Blackness covers o're.

Mr. Detain.

Keidoumatēia, and *Andropomartēia*, Divinations by which Predictions were made from the Flower, with which the Victim was besprinkled. Hither also you may refer *Iχθyomartēia*, Divination by the Entrails of Fishes, for which *Tiresias*, and *Polydamas* are said to have been famous: as also *Ωστοποιία*, which made Predictions by Eggs, and several others.

(a) *Eneid.* IV. v. 453.

Wh. (a) Lib. VII c. LV. (b) *Theocrit.*

Who was the first Inventor of this Divination, is uncertain, by some it is attributed to *Prometheus*, the great Father of most Arts. No doubt it was very ancient: And to great Credit it had, that they would desist from the greatest, and seemingly most advantageous Undertakings, and attempt things most hazardous, and unlikely to be attain'd; if the Entrails of Victims dissuadēd them from the former, or encouraged them to the latter; take but one Instance out of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Aristides*: When *Mardonius* the Persian made an Assault upon the *Grecians*; *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, at that Time General of all the *Grecian* Forces, offer'd Sacrifica, and finding it not acceptable to the Gods, commanded the *Lacedæmonians* laying down their Shields at their Feet, to abide quietly, and attend his Directions; making no Resistance to any of their Enemies. Then offering a second Time, (for if the first Victim afforded not auspicious Omens, it was usual to offer on, till they obtained what they desired) as the Hoste charged, one of the *Lacedæmonians* was wounded: At this Time also *Callicrates*, who by report was the most comely, proper Man in the Army, being shot with an Arrow, and upon the point of expiring, said, That he lamented not his Death, (for he came from home to lay down his Life in the Defence of *Greece*) but that he had died without Action. The cause was heard, and wonderful was the forbearance of the Men; for they repelled not the Enemy that charged them, but expecting their opportunity from the Gods, and their General, suffered themselves to be wounded, and slain in their Ranks; and so obstinate they continued in this Resolution, that tho' the Priests offered one Victim after another without any Success, and the Enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a Foot, till the Sacrifices proved propitious, and the Soothsayers foretold the Victory.

CHAPTER XV.

Of Divination by Birds.

I come in the next place to speak of Divination by Birds; the Invention of which is by some ascribed to *Prometheus*, or *Melampus*, the Son of *Amythaon* and *Dorippe*; (a) *Pliny* reports that *Car*, from whom *Caria* receiv'd its Name, was the first that made Predictions by Birds; and *Orpheus* by other Animals; (b) *Pausanias* telleth us, That *Parnassus*, after whose Name the Mountain *Parnassus* was called, first ob-

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served the Flight of Birds. This Art was very much improved by Calchas, who, as Homer tells us, was

οἰωνοπόλων ὁχ' ἀεισος.

Of Augurs far the best.

At length it arrived at such Perfection, and gained so much Credit in the World, that seldom any thing of moment was undertaken, either in Time of War, or Peace, seldom any Honours conferred, any Magistrates created, without the Approbation of Birds: Nay, other Divinations were sometimes passed by unregarded, if not confirmed by them. At Lacedemon, the King, and Senate had always an Augur attending upon them, to advise with; (a) and Cælius reports, that Kings themselves used to study this Art. The Birds, because they were continually flying about, were thought to observe, and pry into Men's most secret Actions, and to be acquainted with all Accidents; whence that of (b) Aristophanes,

Οὐδεὶς τίδε πέπιστηρ τὸν ἐμὸν, πάλιν εἴπις ἡρ' ὄρυς.

None, but perhaps some Bird, knows any thing
About my Treasure.

And the Scholiast quotes such another Saying out of him;

Οὐδεὶς μέ δειρεῖ πάλιν ὁ παιειπάλιμφος ὄρυς.

None sees me, but the Bird that flieh by.

There is a Proverb also much to the same purpose; for when they thought themselves secure from the Knowledge of all Persons, they us'd to say, Οὐδεὶς τίδε πέπιστηρ, πάλιν γε εἴπις ὄρυς. None is conscious to what I have been conversing about, except perchance some Bird. (c) Aristophanes hath introduced the Birds themselves, telling what religious observance was paid them,

Εσμὲν δι' ὑμῶν Αμύμων, Δελφοὶ, Δωδώνη, Φᾶλος Απόλλων,
ΕΛΘΟΥΤΕΣ γένος τὸν ἐπ' ὄρκεις, ἔπιοι τεσθες απαύλα τεπέπειδε.

For we to You instead of Hammon are,
Instead of Delphi, and Dodona's Oak,
Instead of Phœbus; for our Oracles
You first consult, then prosecute Designs.

(a) Antiq. Le&a, lib. VIII. cap. I. (b) Avibus. (c) Loc. citat.

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The Omens given by Birds were by the Greeks called ὄρυεις, ὄρυ-
οποτικῆ, αἰσημα, οἰωνοί, οἰωνίσματα, &c. And the Observers of
them, ὄρυεοσκόποι, ὄρυισμάντεις, ὄρυιστοσκόποι, οἰωνισταί, οἰωνοθέται, οἰω-
ντίλαι, &c. But afterwards, these Names were promiscuously us'd
for almost all the Species of Artificial Divination; as *Atrispicium*, and
Augurium were among the Latins. Plato is of Opinion that οἰωνιστὴ
was originally a general Name, and written with an ο̄ *Micron*,
οἰωνιστή, signifying any thing, δι' εἰ οἰωνεῖται τὰ μέλλοντα, by which
we make Conjectures of what is to come; but now (faith Aristi-
deus) they write it with ω *Mega*, τὸ ω σεμνωύτες, to give the better
grace to it.

The Grecian Augurs were not, as the Latin, cloathed in Purple, or
Scarlet, but in White, having a Crown of Gold upon their Heads
when they made Observations, as (a) Alexander ab *Alexandro* in-
forms us. They had also οἰωνισθεῖον, i. e. a Place, or Seat appoint-
ed for that purpose, called sometimes by the general Names of Σῶνος,
and Σῶν, as in Sophocles's (b) *Antigone*:

Εἰς γένος παλαιὸν Σῶνον ὄρυιστοσκόπου
Ιζων, ἵνα λέων πάντας οἰωνος λιμένι.

For sitting in my wonted hallow'd Place,
Whither all Birds of Divination flock,

With *Tiresias*, when he expected an Omen; and the Scholiast upon
that place telleth us, this Seat was peculiarly named Σῶν, and that
Tiresias had power to assemble the Birds from all Quarters, when he
had Occasion for them. They us'd also to carry with them writing
Tables, as the Scholiast upon *Euripides* reports, in which they wrote
the Names, and Flights of the Birds, with other things belonging
thereto, least any Circumstance should slip out of their Memory.

The Omens that appeared towards the East, were accounted for-
tunate by the Grecians, Romans, and all other Nations; because the
Great Principle of all Light and Heat, Motion and Life, diffuses its
first Influences from that part of the World. On the contrary, the
Western Omens were unlucky, because the Sun declines in that
Quarter.

The Grecian Augurs, when they made Observations, kept their
Faces towards the North, and then the East must needs be upon
their Right Hand, and the West upon their Left: and that they
did so, appears from *Homer*, who brings in (c) *Hector*, telling *Poly-*
damas, that he regarded not the Birds,

(a) Gen. Dier. XV. cap. X. (b) Ver. 1115. (c) Iliad. μ'. v. 239.

Of the Religion of Greece.

Εἰτ' ὅτι δέξιοι ταν μερὶς ἡῶ τὸ δέλπον τε,
Εἰτ' ἐπ' αἰσχεῖα τοι γε τοντὶ ζόρην μερέντα.

Whether o'th' Right Hand, tow'rds the gilded East,
Or on the Left, towards the dusky West,
They take their Flight.

For this reason, the Signs that were presented to them on the Right Hand, were accounted fortunate; and those on the Left, unlucky. On the contrary, the Romans, making Observations with their Faces towards the South, had the East upon their Left Hand, and the West upon their Right; of which I might give you innumerable Proofs, which for brevity's sake I shall pass by, remitting such as desire farther Satisfaction, to *Varro*, and other Latin Authors. For this reason, whatever was fortunate, the *Grecians* called *δεξιόν*, the Romans, *Sinistrum*, on what Hand soever it appeared. And tho' the Roman Poets do sometimes call things unlucky, *Sinistra*; yet then they speak *Grecian* more: and so doth (*a*) *Virgil*, when he saith,

Sepe sinistra cava prædictit ab illic cornix.
Oft has th' Ill-boding Crow from hollow Oaks
These miseries presag'd.

On the contrary, *Statius*, tho' the business in hand concern'd the *Grecians*, speaks more *Roman*, when he saith in his *Thebaïs*,

Signa feras, lærumque tones.

Hence it came to pass, that things awkward, and foolish were called *Sinistra*; in which sense (*b*) *Virgil* has us'd the word,

Sepe malum hoc nobis (si mens non leva fuisset)
Dc calo tactas memini prædicere querusc;

That is, My Misfortunes were often presaged by the Oakes torn in pieces by Thunder, if I had but had Wit, or Foresight enough to have understood the Divine Prodigies. In (*c*) *Sophocles* the word *αἰσχεῖα* has the same Signification,

Οὐτοὶς γέ σφισθει γ' ἐπ' αἰσχεῖα,
Παῦ Τελευτῆς, ἔστι.

He means, that if *Ajax* had been in his right Wits, he would never have committed Actions so foolish and ridiculous; and the old

(*a*) *Eciog. I. v. 18.* (*b*) *Ib. v. 16.* (*c*) *Ajace v. 184.*

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Scholiast upon that Place tells us in express Terms, that the Right Hand signify'd Prudence, and the Left, Folly; *Αἰσχεῖα*, (saith he) παλαιὸν τὸ μωρὸν ἔκγλαυ, *δεξιὰ* δὲ τὰ ουετά.

Birds were Fortunate, or Unfortunate, either by their own Nature, or by the Place, and Manner of their Appearance: for the same Birds at different Times have boded different and contrary Events. The Unlucky Birds were called *ἔξωλαμοι*, Pernicious; *Σπουδύμοι*, Hated, or Ungrateful; *ἀεικέντοι*, Troublesom, *ab eo priv.* and *εἰνώ cedo*, q. *non sinistra*, i. e. *non sinetes*, because they would not permit a Man to proceed in his Undertakings; so *Sinistra* (if we may believe *Festus*) is rather derived *ἀ sinendo*, than *ἀ sinistrā manus*. For the same Reason they were also named *κωλυπνοι*, and *ἔπικλησι*, because they restrained Men from what they had design'd. Those that appear'd out of their wonted Place, or in any Unlucky Place, were call'd *διρρόι*, and *ἔξεδει*, which words are peculiar to the Soothsayers, tho' they be sometimes applied to other things that are displaced; as when *Euripides* saith, *ἔξεδει χθονὸς*, i. e. Persons banished, and that had left their own Countrey; and *ἔξεδεις φρενῶν*, a Man distracted and out of his Wits, or any thing against Reason in (*a*) *Hippolytus*,

————— ἐκπλήσσοι' με
Φόγοις φρεγαλάσσοντες ἔξεδει φρενῶν.

On the contrary, Lucky Birds were call'd *ἄλιοι*, *σδίοι*, and *οὐιέδει*. I shall give you a brief Account of some of both sorts, and the Omens signified by them; only give me leave first to tell you, that there were two sorts of Ominous Birds: The *ταυτίζεντες*, or *Alites*, whose Flight was observed by the Augurs: And the *ῳσικοι*, or *Oscines*, which gave Omens by their Voices, and Singing.

First then, if a Flock of all sorts of Birds came flying about any Man, it was an excellent Omen, and portended some extraordinary Felicity, or unexpected Success; such as *Diodorus Siculus* observes happened to *Cordius*, who from a poor Country Farm, was exalted to Kingdom.

The *Eagle*, if she appeared brisk, clapping her Wings, sporting about in the Air, and flying from the Right Hand to the Left, was one of the best Omens the Gods could give; as (*b*) *Niphus* telleth us, out of *Appion*. King *Priamus*, designing to go to the *Grecian* Fleet to redeem *Hector*, begs of *Jupiter* that he would give him assurance of his Protection, by sending his beloved Bird, the *Eagle*,

Πέμψο γε οἰωνὸν ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ὃς τέ σοι αὐτὸς
Φίλταλος οἰωνῶν, καὶ εἰ κράτος θεῖ μέγιστον,

(*a*) *Ver. 934.* (*b*) *De Auguriis lib. I. c. IX.*

Δεξίον, ὅρα μής αὐτὸς ἐν ὄφελοισιν νόσοις,
Τῷ πτίσαις δὲ τὰς ἵω Δακῶν ταχυπάλων.

Command, great Jove, the Eagle Your delight,
And Queen of Birds, to take her lucky Flight.
Let her upon my Right Hand straight appear,
And move with noisy Flut'ring thro' the Air :
This happy Sight some cheerful hopes will give,
That from the Greeks my Son I shall receive.

Mr. Dechairs

Aristander observing an Eagle to fly from their Camp to the Enemies, foretold, that *Alexander* should obtain the Victory. Observations also were made from the manner of taking their Prey : For instance, (a) when *Telemachus* was at *Sparta* in search of *Ulysses*, an Eagle came flying upon his Right Hand, bearing in her Talons a tame Goose, which she had caught in her Roost : from which Omen *Helena* then foretold, that *Ulysses* would return, surprize all *Penelope's* Courtiers in his House, and inflict upon them the Punishment they deserv'd. And *Penelope* is said to have made the same Conjecture, from an Eagle that seiz'd upon twenty Geese, feeding in her House. When an Eagle dragg'd a Fawn by the Feet, and cast it down upon *Jupiter Panomphæus*'s Altar, the *Grecians*, tho' before quite disheartened, took such Courage, that they gave the *Trojans* a signal Defeat. On the contrary, when *Hector* attempted to burn the *Grecian* Fleet, an Eagle appear'd towards the Left Hand, carrying in her Talons a Serpent, which made such Resistance, that she, not able to convey it to her Nest, was forc'd to let it fall; whereupon *Polydamas* presently foretold, that *Hector* would be constrained to desist from his Enterprize. When *Penelope's* Suitors waylaid *Telemachus*, there appeared an Eagle on the Left, with a Dove in her Talons ; and *Amphinomus* concluded from that Omen, that their Design would not succeed. When two Eagles appear'd, tearing each other with their Talons, and hovering over the Assembly wherein the Suitors were, *Halibernes* foretold that they should be all slain by *Ulysses*. Lastly, to mention but one Instance more, an Eagle snatching a Javelin out of the Hand of a Soldier of *Dionysius the Syracusan*, portended the Downfall, and Miseries that Tyrant was to suffer.

The Flight of Vulturs was very much observed, because (as some say) they do but seldom appear, and their Nests are rarely, or never found; wherefore a Sight so unusual must needs portend something extraordinary : or, (as *Herodotus* thinks) because Vulturs feed only upon Carcasses, not meddling with living Creatures ; and therefore he tells us, *Hercules* was always well pleas'd, when a Vultur appear'd to him at the Undertaking of any Enterprize ; because he esteem'd it the most just of all the Birds of Prey. But *Aristotle* and *Pliny* reckon them amongst the Unlucky

(a) *Homer. Odys. v. 160.*

Birds; and add, that they were usually seen two or three Days before any great Slaughter ; and it was the common Opinion, that Vulturs, Eagles, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, if they followed an Army, or continued for a considerable Time in any place, were certain Signs of Death, and Bloodshed.

The Hawk is a ravenous Bird, and an unlucky Omen, portending Death (faith *Niphus*) if she appeared seizing upon her Prey ; but if the Prey slipped from her, or made its escape, thereby was signified, that the Man should be delivered from all Dangers. The Buzzard, call'd in Greek *Τειρόχην*, because he has three Stones, was accounted by *Phæmonoe* a very Ominous Bird. The Falcon-Hawk, in Greek *Ιπποτός*, as (a) *Pliny* reports, was very lucky to People that were about Marriage, or any Money-business. This Bird was sacred to *Apollo*, (b) *Homer* tells us ; and when *Telemachus* was solicitous, and troubled in Mind about his Mother's Suitors, appear'd in this manner,

Ως ἀρά οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέντετο θεῖος ὄρνις,
Κίρη, Απόλλωνος ταχύς ἄγριος, ἐν δὲ πέδῳ
Τίττη πτελεῖαν ἔχων, καὶ δὲ πλεγὰ χεῖμνη ἔργα
Μεωνῆς γνός τε, τῇ αὐτῷ Τιτανίαρχοι.

This said, a Falcon-hawk
(*Apollo* sent it) o' th Right Hand, between
The Ship and young *Telemachus* was seen;
Towring he flies, and bears a Dove away,
Clinch'd in his Talons for his dainty Prey ;
Pluck'd from the Roots her Feathers all around
Lie scatter'd in the Air, down to the Ground.

Mr. Dechairs

By which *Theochymenus* foretold, that *Telemachus* should prevail over his Enemies.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon a place, were an unlucky Omen. In *Darius's* Expedition against *Scythia*, the Appearance of them presaged the bad Fortune he afterwards met with, when his Army was totally defeated by the *Scythians*. The same Birds sitting upon *Pyrrhus's* Tent, and *Antony's* Ship, are said to have signified the overthrow of the Armies of both those Generals.

Owls were for the most part looked upon to be unlucky Birds, but at *Athens* were Omens of Victory and Success, being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City ; and therefore the Proverb *Ὥρας ἴματα*, was usually apply'd to Persons, whose Undertakings met with Success. (c) *Plutarch* reports, that when *Themistocles* was consulting with the other Officers, upon the uppermost Deck of the Ship,

and most of them opposed him, being unwilling to hazard a Battle, an Owl coming upon the Right side of the Ship, and lighting upon the Mast, so animated them, that they unanimously concurred with him, and prepared themselves for the Fight. But in other places it was otherwise, as we are told by (a) *Aelian*, who saith, that Owls were unlucky Omens, when they appeared to Men going about any serious Busines: an Instance of which we have in King *Pyrhus*, whose inglorious Death at *Argos* was portended by an Owl, which came and sat upon the top of his Spear, as he held it in his Hand. And for this Reason, when *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* went as Spyes to the *Trojan* Camp, tho' it was Night, the most proper Time for Owls to appear in, yet (b) *Homer* reports, that *Minerva* gave them a lucky Omen, by sending an ἐγωδὸς, or *Horn*,

Toῖοι δὲ δέξιαν ἔχεν ἐρωτῶντος ἐγωδὸν
Παλλὰς Αἴγυαιν —————

As they were marching on, a lucky Horn
Minerva sent —————

Where *Eustathius* saith, that this Bird was a Token of Success, to Men that lay in Ambush, or were engag'd in any such secret Deligns. Yet Owls were not at all times esteemed inauspicious, as appears from *Hieron*, at whose first Admission into Military Service, an Eagle came and sat upon his Shield, and an Owl upon his Spear; by which was signified, that he should be Valiant in War, and Wise in Counsel, and at length arrive to the Dignity of a King. This Story you may find in *Juſtin*, at the end of his Third Book.

The Dove in *Homer* is a lucky Bird. So also was the Swan, especially to Mariners, being an Omen of Fair Weather; for which we have a reason in *Æmilius*, as he is cited by *Niphus*,

Cygnus in auspiciis semper lætiſimus ales,
Hunc optant Nautæ, quia non ſe merit in undis.

The Mariner, when tost by angry Seas,
Straight for a Swan, the luckieſt Omen, prays;
For her ſelf i' th' Waters ne're doth drown.

Crows, and Ravens, if they appeared about an Army, were dangerous Omens. If they came croaking upon the Right Hand, it was a tolerable good Omen: if on the Left, a very bad one; as also the Chattering of Magpies seems to have been. When *Alexander* entered into *Babylon*, and *Cicero* fled from *Anony*, their Deaths were foretold by the Noise of Ravens: And thete Birds alone were thought

(a) *Histor. Anim.* lib. XV. c. LIX. (b) *Iliad.* x.

to have any ſence of their own Predictions, because (as (a) *Pliny* writeth) the worst Omens were given by them, when they made a harsh ſort of a Noise, rattling in their Throats, as if they were choak'd.

Cocks were also accounted Prophetal, especially in Matters of War, for they were ſacred to *Mars*, and therefore are call'd by *Aristophanes* Ἀρετοὶ, and were usually offered in Sacrifice to him, and pi- pluted with him. The Crowing of Cocks was an auspicious Omen, and preſaged *Themistocles*'s Victory over the *Perſians*; in Memory whereof he inſtituted an Annual Feast, call'd Αλεκτησύουν. ἀγῶν, which was obſerved by Fighting Cocks in the Theater. And that Signal Victory, wherein the *Bœotians* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, was foretold by the Crowing of Cocks ſome whole Nights before, which was interpreted to be an Omen of Success; because the Cock, when he is overcome, ſits ſilent and melancholy; but when he obtains the Victory, ſtruts and crows, and as it were Triumphs over his vanquished Enemy. On the contrary, if a Hen was heard to crow, they thought ſome dreadful Judgment was hanging over their Heads.

Thus I have given you a ſhort Account of the Principal Birds, that were esteem'd Ominous; I am not ignorant that there were ſeveral others, by which they made Predictions, and several other ways of Foretelling from thofe I have already mentioned; but what I have ſaid, is, I think, ſufficient; and therefore ſhall not be much farther tedious to you. Only I muſt not forget to tell you, That there were ſome that pretended to understand the Language of Birds, and thereby to be privy to the moſt ſecret Transactions; ſuch an one was the famous Magician *Apollonius* the *Tyanean*, of whom it is reported, that as he was ſitting in a Parlour with his Friends, there came a Sparrow, and chattered to a flock of Birds that were before the Window; *Apollonius* having heard the noise, ſaid, She invited them to a Feat, at ſuch a certain place, where a Mule loaden with Corn, had let his Burden fall: the Company, deſirous to know the truth of the Buſines, roſe up immediately, went to the place, and found it as he had told them. *Democritus* alſo was a pretender to this piece of Skill, and gave out, that he could teach others the Method of attaining it; which he did by telling them the Names of certain Birds, out of a mixture of whose Blood a Serpent would proceed; which being eaten, would without any farther trouble, inſpire into them this Knowledge. It is alſo ſeign'd of *Melampus*, that he arriv'd at this Art, by having his Ears licked by Dragons. Such another Story *Eustathius* relates of *Helenus*, and *Cassandra*, the Children of *Priamus*, the *Trojan* King; viz. That being left in *Apollo*'s Temple, Serpents came to them, and rounding themſelves about their Ears, made them ſo quick of Hearing, that they could diſcover the Counſels, and Designes of the Gods. I muſt add one thing more,

out of *Apuleius*; viz. That when any Unlucky Night-Birds, as Owls, Swallows, Bats, &c. got into a House; to avert the bad Omen, they took especial care to catch them, and hang them before their Doors, that so the Birds themselves might undergo, or atone for those Evils, which they had threatned to the Family.

Thus much for Birds. It will be convenient in the next place, to speak something concerning the Predictions made by Insects, Beasts, and Signs in the Heavens. First then, Ants were made use of in Divination, as may appear from the Instance given in the last Chapter, where I told you, *Cimon's Death* was presaged by them. Another Instance you may have in *Midas*, the *Phrygian King*; for when he was a Boy, and fast asleep, Ants came, and dropt grains of Wheat into his Mouth; whereupon the Soothsayers being consulted, foretold, that he would be the richest Man in the World.

Bees were esteem'd an Omen of future Eloquence, as appears from the Story of *Plato*; for as he lay in the Cradle, Bees are said to have come to him, and sat upon his Lips; whereupon the Augurs foretold, that he should be famous for Sweetness of Language, and delightful Eloquence. And *Pindar* is said to have been expos'd, and nourished by Bees with Honey instead of Milk. Other things also were foretold by them: But the *Romans* esteem'd them an Unlucky and very dreadful Omen, as you may see in *Plutarch's Life of Brutus*.

There was a Locust green, and slow in Motion, call'd *Märns*, which was observ'd in Soothsaying, as *Suidas* taketh notice. Toads were accounted Lucky Omens. Snakes also, and Serpents were Ominous; as appears by the Serpent, that, in *Homer's second Iliad*, devoured eight young Sparrows, with their Dam; which was by *Calchas* interpreted to signifie, that the Siege of *Troy* should continue nine whole Years. Boars were unlucky Omens, boding an unhappy Event to all the Designs of Persons that met them. I shall mention but one more; viz. the Hare, a most cowardly, and timorous Animal; and therefore appearing in time of War, it signified vanquishment, and running away: When *Xerxes* had prepared an innumerable Army to invade *Greece*, it happened that a Mare brought forth a Hare; which Prodigy was a Presage of *Xerxes's* base and cowardly Flight, after his Fleet was destroy'd by *Themistocles*.

I come in the last place to speak a word or two concerning Omens from Heaven. I do not mean those, by which Philosophers and Astrologers made their Predictions; but such as were usually observed by the common People: such were Comets, which were always thought to portend something dreadful, according to that trite saying,

namquam visa est impune Cometa.

Such also were Eclipses of the Sun, or Moon, with which several Armies have been so terrified, that they durst not engage their Enemies,

emies, tho' upon never so great Advantages. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of Superstition, reports, That *Nicias*, the Athenian General, being surrounded on every side by his Enemies, was struck into such a consternation by an Eclipse of the Moon, that he commanded his Soldiers to lay down their Arms, and so, together with a numerous Army, tamely yielded up himself to the slaughter. For the true cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate operation of the Gods, that were thought thereby to give notice of some signal and imminent Danger: and so strongly were the Vulgar possess'd with this Opinion, that *Anaxagoras* brought himself into no small danger, by pretending to assign a Natural reason for them.

Lightnings also were observed; and if they appeared on the Right Hand, accounted Good Omens; but if on the Left, Unlucky: as *Eustathius* hath observed, in his Comment upon the second *Iliad*; where *Nestor* tells the *Græcians*, earnestly desiring to return into their own Country, That *Jupiter* had made a promise, that they should take *Troy*, and confirm'd it by *Lightning*,

Aspάστων δὲ δέξιοι εὐαισχύνασι οὐκαλός φίνεται.

By Ominous Lightning gave the lucky Sign.

Other Meteors also were observed by the Soothsayers, as the *Ignis Lambens*, which was an excellent Omen, presaging future Felicity; as appears from *Servius Tullius*, whose Promotion to the Kingdom of *Rome* was foretold by it. The *Argonauts*, in their Expedition to *Colchos*, were overtaken by a dangerous Tempest, near the *Sigæn* Promontory; whereupon *Orpheus* made supplication to the Gods for their Deliverance; a little after, there appeared two Lambent Flames about the Heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and upon this ensued a fine gentle Gale, the Winds ceasing, and the Sea becoming calm and still: This sudden alteration, begot in the Company a Belief, that the two Brethren had some Divine Power and Efficacy, by which they were able to still the raging of the Sea; insomuch that it became a Custom for Mariners, whenever they were in any dangerous Storms, to invoke their Assistance. If the two Flames (which from this Story are call'd by the Names of the two Heroes) appear'd together, they were ever after esteem'd an excellent Omen, foreboding good Weather; and therefore *Theocritus*, in his Hymn upon the *Dioscuri*, praiseth them for delivering poor Seamen, ready to be swallowed up by the Deep,

*Αλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλκετε νῆσος
Αὐτοῖσιν νάυτοισιν διοιδόσις δενέεσθαι.
Αἴτοις δὲ διολύγουτ' αὔρημα, λίπαντο δὲ γαλάνεα
Αρπέλαγχος, νερέλαιος δὲ διέσφραγμος ἀναύδεις ἄλλαι,*

Of the Religion of Greece.

*Ἐκ δὲ ἀπίλοι τὸν ἐπάγνωτος, ὅντα τὸν ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμαρτίην
Φέτυν, οὐκαίνοιο τὰ μεῖψα πάσον εὑρίσκει πάντα.*

And when the gaping Deep wou'd fain devour
The tatter'd Ship, You hinder't with Your Pow'r.
The stormy Winds that vex the troubl'd Seas,
At Your command, their roaring Blusters cease ;
The pil'd up Waves are still'd, and quiet lain,
An even Calmness makes a watry Plain.
The Clouds that had before obscur'd the Skie,
Vanish away, and quickly dispers'd flye.
The Bears, and other lucky Stars appear,
And bid the Seamen Safety not to fear.

Mr. Creech.

Horace speaketh to the same purpose, calling these two Meteors *Stelle*, or Stars,

Dicam & Alciden, puerosque Leda :
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem ; quorū simul alba Nauis
Stella resulst,
Defluit saxis agitatus Humor
Concidunt Venii, fugiuntque Nubes,
Et minax (quod sic volueret) ponto
Unda recensabit (a).

Alcides next my Muse must write,
And *Leda's Sons* ; one fam'd for Horse,
And one in close, and Handy Fight
Of haughty Brav'ry, and of noble Force.
When both their Stars at once appear,
The Winds are hush't, they rage no more,
(It is their will) the Skies are clear,
And Waves roul softly by the quiet Shore.

Mr. Creech.

If one Flame appear'd single, it was called *Helena*, and was a very dangerous Omen, portending nothing but Storms, and Shipwrecks; especially if it followed *Castor* and *Pollux* by the Heels; and, as it were, drove them away. Tho' *Euripides*, in his *Oreste*, makes them all prosperous and desirable Signs, where speaking of *Helena*, he saith,

Ζώδης γόνος ζῆν νιν ἔρθιτον χρεῶν,
Κάσοει τε Πολυδεύκης τὸν αἰθέρην πίνχαται
Σωδακος ἔστι ταυτίοις σωτήρευς.

(a) Carm. lib. i.

For

Of the Religion of Greece.

For being sprung from *Jove*, she needs must be Immortal too ; and with her Brethren share The Heav'nly Regions, where her glorious Beams Will shine alike, to help the Mariner.

Mr. Dechairs.

The Winds also were thought to contain in them something Prophetical, and were taken notice of in Soothsaying; as appears from *Statius*, when he saith,

Venit, aut alite visa
Bellorum proferre diem.

And as the Birds, or boding Winds presage,
Differ the fatal day of Battle.

I might add a great many others, which I shall pass by, only mentioning one more; viz. the Thunder, the Noblest, and most observed of all the Heavenly Omens. It was Good, or Bad, like other Signs, according to its different Position; for on the Right Hand, was lucky; on the Left, unfortunate. Thunder in a clear and serene Skie, was a happy Sign, and given by *Jupiter* in (b) *Homer*, as confirmation, that he granted the Petitions made to him. The Poet's words are these, where he speaks of *Ulysses* that had been supplicating the God for some Sign, to encourage him in his Enterprize against *Penelope's* Courtiers;

Ως τοσὶν εὐχόμενοι τῷ δὲ ἔχειν μητέται Ζεὺς,
Αὐτίκα δὲ εὐρύτοσεν ἐπ' αἰγλίνειν Ολύμπιον
Τύρων ἐκ νεφέων, γύνης δὲ δῖος Οδυσσεύς.

Thus pray'd the Sire : and All-wise *Jupiter* Forth-with, propitious to his earnest Prayer, A Clap of Well-presaging Thunder sent, From bright *Olympus* Crystall Firmament, Which glads his Soul.

Mr. Hutchins.

To avert unlucky Omens given by Thunder, it was usual to make a Libation of Wine, pouring it forth in Cups. And they stood in so much fear of Lightning, that they adored it, as (b) *Pliny* observes, and endeavoured to avert its malignant Influences, by hissing, and whistling at it; which they call'd *ποντικέειν*, as it is evident from (d) *Aristophanes*, when he saith, *καὶν ἀρεσπόλω*, If I cast forth Lightning, they'll hiss; where the *Scholiast* observes, that it was usual *ποντικέειν*, to hiss at the Lightning.

(a) *Ithabid.* III. (b) *Odyss.* v. V. 102. (c) *Lib. XXVIII. cap. II.* (d) *Vespis.*
CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Divination by Lots.

OF Lots there were four sorts, viz. Political, Military, Lusorius, and Divinatory: the three first do not at all concern my present purpose, however treated of by some in this place. Of the Prophetic there were divers sorts, two of which were most in use, viz. Σπιχμαυτεία, and Κληροκαυτεία.

Σπιχμαυτεία, was a sort of Divination by Verses, wherein it was usual to take Fatidical Verses, and writing them upon little pieces of Paper, put them into a Vessel, and so draw them out, expecting to read their Fate in the first Draught. This was often practis'd upon the Sibylline Oracles, which were dispersed up and down in *Greece*, Italy, and all the *Roman Empire*: whence it is, that so frequent mention is made in Authors of the *Sortes Sibyllinae*. Sometimes they took a Poet, and opening in one, or more places, accepted the first Verse they met with, for a Prediction. This was also called Παλαιόμαρτησις from the *Rhapsodies of Homer*; and, as some are of Opinion, proceeded, at the first, from the Esteem which Poets had amongst the Ancients, by whom they were reputed Divine, and Inspired Persons. But, as *Homer* had of all the Poets the greatest Name, so also the *Sortes Homericæ* of all others were in the most Credit: Yet *Euripides*, and other Poets were not wholly neglected, but had some share in this Honour. *Virgil* also, and the *Latin Poets*, were made use of in this way, as appears as well from other Instances, as that remarkable one of *Severus*, whose Promotion to the *Roman Empire* was foretold by opening at this Verse,

Tu regere Imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Remember, Roman, with Imperial Sway
To rule the People.

The Christians also practis'd the like on the Bible, according to that of *Nicophorus*, Ανοίγειν ἔκειν διν ἐν ψαλτειώ περίεντα ψαλτειών σποειῶν, i. e. He judged it necessary to dip into the Psalter, that there he might find a Support, or Defence against the Distress he laboured under. And *Heracilius* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have asked Council of the New Testament, καὶ εὑρεῖν διηγένεται ἐν Αλαζανίᾳ χειράσαι, and to have been thereby perswaded, to winter in *Alazania*. And Saint *Augustin* himself, tho' he disallows this Practice

Secular Affairs, yet seems to approve of it in Spiritual Matters, as appears from his (a) Epistle to *Januarius*.

Κληροκαυτεία, was a sort of Divination, wherein they made Conjectures, by throwing τοὺς κλῆρους, or Lots; where you may observe, that Lots were called in the plural number κλῆροι, and by the Latin, sortes; to distinguish them from κλῆρος, and sors, which in the singular number usually signified the Hint, or Occasion given to Miners, to make their Conjectures by, as the Scholiast upon *Euripides* reports. These κλῆροι were usually black and white Beans; amongst the Ancients little Clods of Earth; Pebbles also, Dice, or such like things, distinguished by certain Characters, or Marks: these they cast into a Vessel, and having made Supplication to the Gods, to tell them, drew them out, and according to the Characters, considered what should happen to them. All Lots were sacred to *Mercury*, whom they thought to preside over this Divination; and therefore the Ancients, as (b) *Eustathius* observes, εὐφειας ἐνεργ., i. e. for good Luck's sake, and that *Mercury* might be propitious to them, cast with the rest of the Lots, to put in one, which they called κληρογύη, or *Mercury's Lot*, which was an Olive-leaf, and was drawn before the rest. This Divination was either invented, or at least much practis'd by the *Thrie*, who were three Nymphs, that nursed *Apollo*, that at length the word Θεῖαι came to be a Synonymous term with κλῆροι: whence the Proverb,

Πολλοὶ θεοσέβλοι, πλῆρει δὲ τε μάντεις ἀνδρεῖς.

Crowds of your Lot-diviners ev'ry where,
But few true Prophets.

To this Species of Divination we may reduce Παλαιόμαρτησις, Prophesying by Rods, mentioned also in the Holy Writings, wherein (c) *Hosea*, amongst other abominable wickednesses committed by the Israelites, reckons this as none of the sinallest; Εν συμβόλοις ἐπηρέστων, παραδοῖς αὐτῷ ἀπίγγειλον αὐτῷ, πυράματι πορνεῖας ἐπλανθίσαται, καὶ ἀπέδοται οὐτὸς τῷ θεῷ αἴρεσθαι. Our Translation renders it thus, My people ask counsel at their Stocks, and their Staff declareth unto them; for the spirit of Whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God. The Manner of it seems to have been thus; they took small Sticks, and having put certain Characters upon them, cast them into a Vessel, and then drew them out. Not much different was Βελομαρτεία, in which Divination was made by Arrows, taken together in a Quiver. Others are of opinion, that the Arrows

(a) Epist. CXIX. (b) Il. v. p. 548. Ed. Eastl. (c) Cap. IV. v. 12.

were cast into the Air, and the Man was to steer his course the same way, that the Arrow inclined in it's descent. And the like has been practis'd, even in our Days, upon Sticks erected. This seems to be the Divination said to be us'd by Nebuchadnezzar, in Ezechiel, where he deliberates about invading the *Israelites*, and the *Ammonites*: The words are these, as they are render'd by our Translators; (a) *Appa-*
a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and a
Juda in Jerusalem the defenced. For the King of Babylon stood at the
parting of the way, at the head of two ways, to use divination: he made
his Arrows bright, (the Septuagint Translation speaks not of *sword*,
but *ēcēdōs*) *he consulted with Images, he looked into the Liver.* At his
right hand was his *Divination for Jerusalem, to appoint Captains, to wa-*
the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint
uttering Rams against the Gates, to cast a Mount, and to build a Fort. Be-
cause the Prophet speaks of making his Arrows bright, some are of
Opinion, that he divined by looking upon the Iron-heads of the
Arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; in the
same manner, as some in our Days, pretend to tell Fortunes, by look-
ing upon their Nails, saith *Clariss* upon the place. Another Method
of Divination by Rods was us'd by the *Scythians*, and is described in
(b) *Herodotus*. From the *Scythians* it was derived, with some alteration,
to the *Germans*, and is described by (c) *Tacitus*. Others also you may
read of in (d) *Strabo*, (e) *Athenaeus*, and (f) *Ammianus Marcellinus*;
but these, and some others, I shall pass by, as not pertinent to my
present Design.

Another way of Divination by Lots was used in *Greece*, and *Rome*, which was this: The Person that was desirous to learn his Fortune, carried with him a certain number of Lots, distinguished by several Characters, or Inscriptions, and walking to and fro in the publick Ways, desired the first Boy that met him, to draw; and if that which came forth, agree'd with what he had conceiv'd in his Mind, it was taken for an infallible Prophecy. This Divination is by *Plutarch*, in his Treatise about *Iris* and *Osrus*, said to be deriv'd from the *Egyptians*, by whom the Actions and Words of Boys were carefully observ'd, as containing in them something Divine, and Propheticall; and that for a reason no less absurd, than the Practice itself; all the grounds they had for it being only this, *viz.* That having wandered up and down, in a fruitless search after *Osrus*, hap-pened at last upon a Company of Boys at Play, and was by them inform'd about what she had so long sought for in vain. To this Custom of Divining by Boys, as some think, (g) *Tibullus* alludes when he saith,

(a) Cap. XXI. v. 20. (b) Lib. IV. (c) Lib. de Morib. German. (d) Lib. XI.
(e) Lib. XII. (f) Lib. XXIX. (g) Lib. I. Eleg. III.

illa sacras pneri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Restituit e trivis omnia certa puer.

Thrice in the Streets the sacred Lots she threw,
And thence the Boy did certain Omens shew.

But I am rather of Opinion, that the Poet speaks of a different kind of Lots, which was this: In the Market, High-ways, and other places of concourse, it was usual for a Boy, or Man, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Ayptins*, to stand with a little Tablet, call'd in Greek *τιτάνες ἀγρυπνίος*, or *ἀγρυπνή οὐράς*, upon which were written certain Fatidical Verses, which, according as the Dice light upon them, told the Consultants what Fortune they were to expect: Sometimes, instead of Tablets, they had Pots, or Urns, into which the Lots were thrown, and thence drawn by the Boys; and I am the rather inclined to think the Poet's Words are to be understood in this Sense, because he saith, the Woman her self, that had a mind to be instructed, what was to befall her, took up the Lots; which can never be meant of the Boy's drawing Cuts out the Woman's Hand. *Ariemidorus*, in his Preface, speaks of *σφόδρας ἐν αγορᾷ μάγοις*, i. e. Diviners in the Market-place; and the *Sortes viales* were very common at *Rome*: the *Circus* was thronged with those, and a great many other Diviners, which the poor, silly Women used to consult, as (a) Ju-
venal witnesseth: His words are these,

Si mediocris erit, sphaerum lustrabit utrumque
Metarum, & sortes ducet: frontemque, mansumque
Præbebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.
Diribitis responsa dabit Phryx augur, & inde
Conductus, dabit astrorum, mundique peritus;
Asque aliquis Senior qui publica fulgura condit.
Plebeium in Circo positum est, & in eggere fatum;
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
Confusit ante Phalas, Delphinorumque columnas
An saga vendenti rubat capone relitto.

The middle sort, who have not much to spare,
Into the crowded *Circus* straight repair,
And from the cheaper Lots their Fortunes hear.
Or else to cunning *Chiromancers* go,
Who clap the pretty Palm, and thence their Fortunes know.
But the rich Matron, who has more to give,
Her Answers from the *Brachman* will receive.
Skill'd in the Globe and Sphear, he gravely stands,
And with his Compass measures Seas, and Lands.
The Poorest of the Sex have still an Itch
To know their Fortunes, equal to the Rich;
The Dairy-maid enquires if she may take
The trutly Taylor, and the Cook forsake.

(a) Sat. VI. v. 851.

Whereby it appears, that Lots had very small Credit in Juvenal's Days, being consulted only by the meaner sort, and such as were not able to be at the charge of more reputable Divinations. *Didymus* tells us, this was done by *Jupiter*, who being desirous, that *Apollo* should preside in chief over Divination, brought Lots, which are said to have been invented by *Minerva*, into disrepute.

C H A P T E R XVII. , Of Divination by Ominous Words, and Things.

ANOTHER sort of Divination there was, very different from all those I have hitherto spoken of, which foretold things to come, not by any studied Methods, but by certain Accidents, and Casual Occurrences, that were thought to contain in them Prefages of Good, or Evil. Of these there were three sorts: The first was of Things Internal, by which I mean those that affected the Persons themselves. The second, of Things External, that only appeared to Men, but did not make any Impression upon them. The third were Ominous Words. Of these in their order.

First of those Omens that Men received from themselves, which are distinguished into four Kinds: 1. Marks upon the Body, as *ελατα*, Spots like Oyl. Secondly, sudden Perturbations, seizing upon the Mind; such were the *Panici terrores*, Panick Fears, which were sudden Frights, and Conternations, that seized upon Men, without any visible cause, and therefore were imputed to the Operation of Demons, especially *Pan*, upon Men's Phansies. Of these there is frequent mention in History; as when *Brennus*, the Gallick General, had been defeated by the *Greeks*, the Night following, He, and the remainders of his Troops were seized with such Terrors, and Distractions, that, ignorant of what they were a doing, they fell together by the Ears, wounding, and killing one another, till they were all utterly destroy'd. Such another Fright gave the *Athenians* a great Advantage against the *Persians*, inasmuch that *Pan* had a Statue erected for that piece of Service; as appears from one of *Simonides*'s Epigrams,

Τὸν τρεχόπτην ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Αργίδην, τὸν Μίδων,
Τὸν μετ' Αθηναῖς σύντοτο Μιλτιάδην.

Grateful Miltiades rais'd this Monument,
That Me Arcadian Pan doth represent;
Because I aided him, and Warlike Greece
Against the Powerful Medes. —

The reason why these Terrors were attributed to *Pan*, was, because when *Osiris* was bound by *Typho*, *Pan* and the *Sayrs*: appearing, cast him into a Fright. Or, because he frighted the Giants, that waged war against *Jupiter*. In these Terrors, whereof there was either no apparent Cause, or at least none answerable to the greatness of the sudden Conternation; it was a good Remedy do to something quite contrary to what the Danger would have required, had it been such as men vainly imagined. Thus *Alexander* caused his Souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were on a sudden in a great Fear of they knew not what.

All sudden and extraordinary Emotions and Perturbations, in Body, or Mind, were looked upon as evil Omens; such was that of *Penelope*'s Courtiers described by (a) *Homer*, and said to have been caused by *Minerva*, their implacable Enemy;

μυησῆρι δὲ Παλλὰς Αθέων
Απεισον γέλον ὄρσε, περέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα.
Οἱ δὲ ἥδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶντις ἀλλοτείοισιν
Αἰμορέψκαται δὲ μὴ κρέα πάσιν· ὅστε δὲ ἔρσε σφέων
Δακρύοιν πίμπλαστο· γόον δι' ὁἶστο θυμός.

The Courtiers straight offend Pallas seiz'd
With profuse laughter, not to be appeas'd;
And raving frantic thoughts, they now appear
O'rewhelm'd with laughter, not what first they were:
Their Eyes with briny tears o'reflow'd, their Food
Amazing Sight! seem'd chang'd to putrid Blood.
Nothing their anxious thoughts doth entertain,
But lamentable grief. —

An Augur that was present amongst them, was affrighted at so dreadful an Omen, and presently broke out into this Exclamation,

Α δειλοὶ τί κακὸν τόδε πάγετε;
Ah wretched Men! what Fate is this you bear?

The third sort of Internal Omens, were the *Παλμοὶ*, or *παλμαὶ νεισικατα*, so called οὐτὸς τὸ πάλλειν, from Palpitating. Such were the Palpitations of the Heart, the Eye, or any of the Muscles, called in *Latin Salificationes*; and *Βέμερ*, or a Ringing in the Ears; which if it was in the Right Ear, was a lucky Omen; so also was the Palpitation of the Right Eye, as *Theocritus* telleth us,

Αλλεται ὄφθαλμός μοι δὲξις—
My Right-Eye twinkles.—

(a) Odyss. v. v. 345

(a) *Niphus* hath enumerated all the Parts of the Body, with all the Omens to be gathered from the Palpitations of each of them; whom you may consult at leisure. *Melampus*, the famous Fortune-teller, dedicated a Book upon this subject to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: Another to the same purpose was compos'd by *Posidonius*, as *Suidas* reports; the Title of which was Πελματονία.

The fourth sort of Internal Omens, were the Πταρμοι, or Sneezings, which were so superstitiously observ'd, that Divine Worship was thought due to them; tho' some say this Adoration was only an Expiation of the Omen: Others are of Opinion, as (b) *Casaubon* observes, That Sneezing was a Disease, or at least a Symptom of some Infirmitiy; and therefore when any Man Sneezed, it was usual to say, Ζει, May you Live; or, Ζει σωσυ, God bless you. To this Custom *Ammianus* alludes, in an Epigram upon a Fellow with a long Nose, which he faith was at so great a distance from his Ears, that he could not hear himself Sneeze,

Οὐδὲ λέγε, Ζει σωσυ, ὅταν πληρῇ, καὶ γὰρ ἀκεῖ
Τοῦ ἐγνὸς, πολὺ γὰρ ἀκοῦσις ἀπέχει.

His long-beak'd Snout, at such a distance lies
From his dull Ears, that he ne're hears it Sneeze;
And therefore never do's he say, God bless.

Where you may observe, That it was not only usual for Persons that stood by, to cry, Ζει σωσυ, but also for Men when themselves Sneezed. However it be, it is certain, that Sneezing was accounted sacred, as appears from (c) *Athenaeus*, who proves that the Head was esteemed holy; because it was customary to swear by it, and adore as holy the Sneezes that proceeded from it: And *Aristotle* tell us in express Terms, That Sneezing was accounted a Deity, Τὸν Πταρμὸν δεῖν μύθου. *Casaubon* also has proved the same, out of (d) *Xenophon*; where he reports, that the Souldiers with one accord worshipp'd it as a God. But it is scarce supposable, they could be so far immers'd in ignorance, as to think every Act of Sneezing a Deity; nor do *Aristotle*'s words necessarily imply they did; for no more need be understood by them, than that there was a God of Sneezing, called Πταρμός. And *Xenophon* may be expounded the same way, viz. That when the Souldiers heard a Sneeze, they worshipped the God, i. e. the God of Sneezing: Or it may be, no more is meant, than that they worshipped God, perhaps in the usual form of Ζει σωσυ, or by casting up some other short Ejaculation to any of the Gods, to avert the Omen.

(a) *De Augur. I. I. c. IX.* (b) *In Atheneum I. II. c. XXV.* (c) *Loc. cit.*
(d) *De Expedit. Cyri lib. III.*

However,

However, it is certain that great regard was given to Sneezing, insomuch that if a Man Sneezed at such a Time, or on such a side, it was enough to perswade them to, or discourage them from any Busines of the greatest moment. *Enphrantides* reports, that a Sneeze upon the Right Hand was us'd by *Themistocles* to his Souldiers, as a prevailing Argument to perswade them to fight. Such a Sneeze happening, whilst *Xenophon* was making a Speech, was thought a sufficient Reason to constitute him General. And *Socrates* himself, tho' a great despiser of Heathen Superstitions, judg'd it not unreasonableness, to catch advice from another Man's Nose, and make a Sneeze serve instead of an Admonition from the *Demon*, that is said to have continually attended upon him, giving him Counsel how to demean himself upon all Occasions.

Sneezing was not always a lucky Omen, but varied according to the alteration of Circumstances: for once when *Xenophon* was persuading his Souldiers to encounter the Enemy, a Sneeze was accounted so dangerous an Omen, that they were forced to appoint publick Prayers, for the Expiation of it. If a Man Sneezed in the Morning, it was a good Omen; but if in the Afternoon, a bad one; the reason of which is accounted for by *Aristotle*, in his Problems. If a Man Sneezed at the Table, while they were taking away; or if another happened to Sneeze upon his Left Hand, it was unlucky; if on the Right Hand, fortunate. If in the Undertaking any Busines, two, or four Sneezes happened, 'twas a lucky Omen, and gave Encouragement to proceed; if more than four, the Omen was neither Good, nor Bad; if one, or three, it was unlucky, and dehorting them from proceeding in what they had designed. If two Men were deliberating about any Busines, and both of them chanced to Sneeze together, it was a prosperous Omen, as (a) *Niphus* relates, in his Book of Auguries, where he has enumerated a great many other Circumstances in Sneezing, and the Omens thought to be given by them.

I come in the next place to speak something concerning the Omens that appear'd to Men, but were not contain'd in their own Bodies; of which there were several sorts: As first, The Beginnings of Things were look'd upon to contain something ominous; as *Ovid* has observ'd,

Rerum principiis omnia inesse solent;
Ad primam vocem timidas advertimus aures,
Et primam visam consulit Augur avem.

Hither also are to be referred Εὐδαήσ σύμβολα, or Omens offering themselves in the way, of which *Polis*, and *Hippocrates* (not the Physician) are said to have written Books.

(e) *De Auguriis cap. VIII.*

Such

Such as these were, the meeting of an Eunuch, a Black, an Ape, a Bitch with whelps, a Fox with Cubs; a Snake lying so in the Way, as to part the Company; a Hare crossing the way. A Woman working at her Spindle, or carrying it uncovered, was thought to be very prejudicial to any Design, and to blast whatever Hope they had conceiv'd about any thing; especially about the fruits of the Ground. A Weeze crossing the way, was a sufficient Reason to defer a Publick Assembly for that Day; it was call'd *χαλινή*, and Artemidorus gives the Reason, why its Running by was so much taken notice of; viz. because it is *ιοντηρός* to *δίκη*, that is, (as Mr. Bogan explains it) the Letters in each word signify the same Number; viz. 42. All these were *δυσάντιλα*, *δυσιώνισα*, and *δυσιά διάπετα*, i. e. unlucky, and abominable Sights.

Another sort of External Omens were those that happen'd at home, and the Divination that observed them, was call'd *Τὸν οἰκοτοπικὸν*, concerning which it is reported, that Xenocrates wrote a Treatise. Such as these were the coming in of a black Dog, a Mouse eating a Egg of Salt, the appearing of a Snake, or Weeze upon the House-top. This sort of Divining by Beasts, is reported by Suidas, to have been invented by Telegonus. Such also were the Throwing down of Salt, the Spilling of Water, Honey, or Wine, taking the Wine away, while any Person was drinking, a sudden Silence, and ten thousand other Accidents. In putting on their Clothes, the Right side must be serv'd first; and therefore if a Servant did but give his Master the Left Shoe first, he was sure to have it thrown at his Head.

Hither also may be referred the various Actions that were thought to contain in them Good, or Bad Fortune. For Instance, At Feasts it was accounted lucky to crown the Cup with a Garland,

Pateramque Corona
Induit

And with a Garland did the Cup surround.

saith Virgil: And, *Vina coronant*, in imitation of Homer's Heroes, used to drink out of Cups, that were *δισεπέρεις οίνοιο*. the reason of which (saith Enstathius, out of Athenaeus) was this, viz. Because a Garland represents a Circle, which is the most capacious, and completest of all Figures. It was usual also, to carry home the Fragments left at Sacrifices, for good Luck's sake, as I have observed in another place; and these were call'd *ψεύται*, because they were thought to contribute to the preservation of their Health (a) &c. Thus much of Ominous Actions, and Accidents, whereof I have only given you some that were most remarkable and usual; for it would be an endless

(a) Hesychius.

undertaking, to enumerate all of them, every Day's Reading being able to furnish almost infinite numbers.

In the last place, I come to speak something of Ominous Words, such as they were Good, or Bad, were believed to prestage accordingly. Such Words were call'd *χλιδύνες*, or *φίμωται*, *ἄντο τὰ φίμωται*, the Latin Omen is so called, q. Oremen, quia fit ab ore, i. e. because it proceeds from the Mouth, saith Festus: You may render them Voices, Tully hath call'd them by the Name of *Voces*: The Pythagoreans (with he) used to observe the Voices of Men, as well as of the Gods. This sort of Divination, was most in use at Smyrna (as Pausanias reports) where they had *χλιδύνεων ἱερόν*, a Temple, in which Answers were returned this way; and Apollo Spodius gave Oracles in Thebes, in the same Manner, as I have already told you: But the first Invention of it is attributed to Ceres.

Words that boded Ill, were called *χακοὶ σῆται*, or *δυσφρίται*; and he that spoke them, was said *βλασφημεῖν*, *φθέγγειν βλασφημίαν*, as Epidius terms it; where he speaks of certain Ominous Words let fall by a Servant, at a Feast, just as one of the Company was going to drink,

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφέγγετο.

Unlucky Words one of the Servants spoke.

Horace calleth it *obscenare*, or as some read, *obsecnare*; for *scena* signifies Luck, either good, or bad; and the Words Horace calleth *Male Verba*,

male ominatis
Parcite verbis.

Ill-boding Words forbear to name.

With Words as these, they had always a superstitious Care to avoid; so much that instead of *στρωματεῖον*, i. e. a Prison, they would often call it *σκηνα*, i. e. an House; for *τίτην*, *καλλίδει* for *μεσός*, *αὐτός* for *Ευρύτης*, *Εὐρύδης*, or *Σεμνᾶς θεᾶς*, and such like: For there were great many Words, which they made almost as great a Scruple to speak, as the Jews their *Nomen Tetragrammaton*. And therefore in Time of Divine Worship, as I have observ'd before, nothing was more strictly commanded, than that they should *εύφημεῖν*, or avoid all Ominous Expressions; Which, if they were spoken by a Brother, or any other person related to the Person, whose Business was in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and accounted them so much the Worse. Mr. Dryden hath excellently expressed this Custom in his *Oedipus*, where after the Heroe has been thundering a great many dreadful Imprecations upon the Murderers of Laius, Jocasta is introduced, speaking thus,

Jocasta.

Jocasta. At your Devotions? Heaven succeed your Wishes;
And bring th' effect of these your pious Pray'r's
On You, on Me, and All.

Priest. Avert this Omen, Heaven!

Oedipus. O fatal sound! Unfortunate Jocasta!
What hast thou said? an ill hour hast thou chosen
For these fore-boding Words; why, we were cursing.

Jocasta. Then may that Curse fall only where You laid it.

Oedipus. Speak no more!
For all thou say'st is ominous: We were cursing;
And that dire Imprecation hast thou fasten'd
On Thebes, and Thee, and Me, and All of us.

Jocasta. Are then my Blessings turn'd into a Curse?

O unkind Oedipus! My former Lord
Thought Me his Blessing: be thou like my Laëus.

Oedipus. What yet again! the third time hast thou curs'd Me?
This Imprecation was for Laëus's Death,
And thou hast wish'd Me like Him.

Mr. Dryden.

Which Verses I have here transcribed, because they do fully represent the ancient Custom of catching at Ominous Expressions.

Some Words, and Proper Names there were, which import Success, answerably to their Natural Signification; of which take this Instance: Leotychides desiring of a Samian his Assistance against the Persians, asked him his Name; and being told it was Ηγονίσπατος; i. e. the Leader of an Army; reply'd, Ηγονίσπατος δέ χρωμε τὸν οἰωνὸν, I embrace the Omen in the Name; δέ χρωμε τὸν οἰωνὸν, amongst the Greeks, importing the same with accipere Omen amongst the Latins, which signifies the accepting of an Omen, and applying it to the Business in hand: For it was thought to lye very much in the Power of the Hearer, whether he would receive the Omen, or not; *Ostentorum viris in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saith Pliny, i. e. The Force and Efficacy of Omens depended upon the Persons, to whom they appear'd. For if the Omen was immediately catched by the Heart, or struck upon his Imagination, it was Efficacious; but if it was neglected, or not taken notice of, it was Invalid, and of no Force. And therefore Virgil introduces Æneas, as it were, snatching Æsculapius's Words from his Mouth; for the Harpies, and Anchises abiding in another place, having foretold, that the Trojans should suffer so dreadful a Famine, that they should be forc'd to gnaw their very Tables, for want of better Provisions,

(a) *Sed non ante datam cingetis mænibus Urbem,
Quam Vos dira fames, nostræque injuria cedis,
Ambeas subigat malis absumere mensas.*

(a) Æneid. III. v. 255.

With Walls the City shall not bulwark'd be,
Ere Famine shall revenge our Injury;
Sad Famine, when the once luxurious Lord,
Instead of Food, shall gnaw the sapless Board.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they landed in Italy; and happening to dine upon the Grass, instead of Tables, or Trenchers, which their present Circumstances did not afford, they laid their Meat upon their Bread, which afterwards they Eat up also; at which in jest

(a) *Hecus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.*

See, says Iulus, we our Tables eat,

Æneas presently catched the Omen, as the Poet subjoyns,

— ea Vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem; primamque loquentis ab Ore
Eripuit Pater, ac stupefactus Numine prebit.

The lucky found no sooner reach'd their Ears,
But straight they quite dismiss'd their former cares.
His good old Sire with admiration struck
The boding Sentence when yet falling took,
And often roll'd it in his silent Breast.

Mr. Hutchin.

For Good Luck's sake, whenever they apply'd themselves to any serious Business, they took especial care to begin with such a preface as this, Θεὸς, Θεὸς, or Διὸς πάτερ, or ἔστι μηδὲν εὖ; like to Persius's *Si bene sit*; and that old threadbare saying of the Romans, *Quodcumq[ue] bonum, fælix, fortunatumque sit*. And all their Works, and Speeches were begun in the Name of some God; whence *Aeneas*,

Ex Æt[us] ἀρχόμεθα —————

Let us with Jove begin.

Which Theocritus has borrowed from him, in his seventeenth Eclogue, and Virgil in his third. (b) Xenophon gives the Reason of this practice, viz. That things undertaken in the Name of the Gods, were like to have the most prosperous Events.

It will not be improper to add in this place, that Certain Times also were Ominous, some Days being accounted Fortunate, and causes of Success; others Unfortunate, and causes of the miscarriage of things undertaken upon them, as Hesiod in his Days observes,

(a) Æneid. VII. ver. 116. (b) Lib. de Ration. redit.

Ἄλλοτε μητρὶς πέλει ἡμέρα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.

Some Days, like rigid Step-Dames, adverse prove,
Thwart our Intentions, crois what e're we love;
Others more Fortunate, and lucky shine,
And, as a tender Mother, bless what we design.

Mr. Hutchin.

Some Days were proper for one Busines, others for another, and some for none at all, as my Author relates in the fore-mentioned Poem; where he runs through all the Days in the Month, declaring the Virtue and Efficacy of them.

The way to avert an Omen, was either to throw a Stone at the thing, or to kill it outright, if it was an Ominous Animal, that so the Evil portended by it, might fall upon its own Head: If it was an unlucky Speech, to retort it upon the Speaker with an *eis κεφαλίου σοι*, *Tibi in caput redeat*, i. e. Let it fall upon thy own Head: Which perhaps is an Expression borrowed from the *Iēgōrōποι*, who, when they esp'y'd any thing in the Victim, that seemed to portend any Misfortune to themselves, or their Country, used to pray, that it might *eis κεφαλίου τούτῳ τείπει*, be turned upon the Victim's Head. The like Expressions are sometimes made use of in Holy Scripture, as in the fifteenth Verse of *Obadiah's Prophesie*, *Tὸ ἀνταπόδομα οὐ ἀνταπόδομεται εἰς κεφαλίου σοι*: Or, as our English Translators have rendred it, *Thy Reward shall return upon thine own Head*. And again in the third Chapter of *Kings* (a), *Kαὶ ἀνταπέδωκε Κυρὸς τὸν κράτος οὐ οὐ κεφαλίου σοι*, in English thus; And the Lord hath return'd thy wickedness upon thine own Head. (b) *Herodotus* reports, that it was an *Ægyptian Custom*, from which it's probable the *Græcians* derived theirs, "They curse (saith he) the Head of the Victim in this manner, That if any Misfortune impended over themselves, or the Country of *Ægypt*, it might be turn'd upon that Head. Instead of these Imprecations, sometimes they us'd to say, *Eis ἀχαρέν μοι*, or *Μὴ γενόμενον, Dii meliora*, i. e. God forbid. Sometimes they us'd to spit three times into their Bosoms, at the sight of a Mad-man, or onc troubled with an Epilepsie; of which Custom *Theocritus* hath taken Notice,

τεῖς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπιποτα κόλπου.

Into my Bosom thrice I spit.

This they did in Defiance, as it were, of the Omen; for Spitting upon any Man was always reckon'd a Sign of the greatest Contempt and

(a) Lib. III. Ver. 44. (b) *Euterpe cap. XXXIX.*

Averfation: whence *πίειν*, i. e. to spit, is put for *καλαρεγεῖν, ἐν κατερὶ λογιέν*, i. e. to conteinn, as the Scholiast of *Sophocles* observes upon these words in *Antigone*,

——— πίεσαι ωτὶ δυσμανῆ.

Spit on him as an Enemy.

Lastly, upon the Meeting of an unlucky Omen, they often desisted from what they were doing, and began it afresh, as appears from *Europides*, in whom a Person, upon the Hearing of an Ominous Word as he was drinking, immediately threw the Drink upon the Ground, and call'd for another Cup.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of Magick, and Incantations.

BESIDES the Methods of Foretelling future Events already mentioned, and that Divination which is commonly called *Physical*, because it makes Predictions without any Supernatural Assistance, by the mere Knowledge of *Physical*, or Natural Causes; there are several others, most of which are comprehended under the Names of *Magia*, and *Ἐπωδι*, i.e. Magick, and Incantations; between which tho' some make a nice Distinction, yet they bear a near Relation to each other, and therefore I shall treat of them conjunctly in this place. And tho' some of the Species of these Divinations might be invented in later Ages, and never practis'd in Old *Greece*, whose Customs alone it is my chief Design to describe, not meddling with those Innovations, that were introduc'd in later Times, after the *Græcians* were subjected to the Roman Empire; yet since it is very difficult to determine exactly of all, which were truly Ancient, and which purely Modern; since also there is frequent mention of them in Writers of the middle Ages, especially those that lived towards the Declination of the *Roman* Greatness, I shall beg the Reader's Leave to give a brief Account of the most remarkable of them: For to enumarate all, would be an Endless, as well as Unreasonable Undertaking; and a great many of them (such as those wherein the *Incubi*, and *Succubi* were concern'd) contain in them too much of Profaneness and Horror, to be endured by any civilized Ear.

Magical Arts are said by the *Græcians* to have been invented in *Persia*, where at the first they were had in great Honour, and Reputation;

for the *Máyoi* were those, that apply'd themselves to the Study of Philosophy, and the strict Search after the most Curious Works, and hidden Mysteries of Nature: They were usually chosen to superintend the Divine Worship, and all Religious Rites and Ceremonies; they continually attended upon the Kings, to advise them in all Affairs of moment, and were preferred to the highest Honours, and Places of greatest Trust. But afterwards the Case was altered, for when they left off the Contemplation of Nature, and betook themselves to the Invocation of Demons, and other mean Arts, their former Credit and Esteem was, in a manner, quite lost, or, at least, very much diminished.

This Art is said to have been introduced among the *Græcians* by one *Oeithænes*, that came into *Greece* with *Xerxes*, and dispersed the Rudiments of it here and there, as he had opportunity. It was afterwards much improved, and almost brought to Perfection by *Democritus*, who is said to have learned it out of the Writings of certain *Phoenicians*. But I shall not trouble you with any more Stories concerning it's Original, or Progress, it being more pertinent to my Design, to give you a short Account of the various Species thereof.

First then, *Nekromantia*, was a Divination, in which Answers were given by deceased Persons. It was sometimes performed by the Magical use of a Bone, or Vein of a dead Body, after the manner of the *Thessalians*: Or by pouring warm Blood into a Carcase, if it were to renew Life in it, as *Erietho* doth in *Lucian*; or by some other Inchantments, to restore dead Men to Life; with which the Poet was very well acquainted, when he said,

Dum vocem defuncto in corpore querit;
Protinus adstricetus caluit crux, atraque foviit
Vulnra.

While he seeks Answers from the lifeless Load,
The congeal'd Gore grows warm with reeking Blood,
And chears each ghastly Wound.

Sometimes they used to raise the Ghost of deceas'd Persons, by various Invocations, and Ceremonies; which I will give you in the words of Mr. Dryden, who, in his *Oedipus*, introduces *Tiresias* raising *Lajus's* Ghost to discover his own Murderers;

Tiresias. Choose the darkest part o' th' Grove;
Such as Ghosts at Noon-day love.
Dig a Trench, and dig it nigh,
Where the Bones of Lajus lye.
Altars rais'd of Turf, or Stone,

Will th' Infernal Powers have none.

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. "Tis done.

Tiresias. Is the Sacrifice made fit?

Draw her backward to the Pit:

Draw the barren Heifer back,

Barren let her be, and black.

Cut the curled Hair that grows

Full betwixt her Horns, and Brows:

And turn your Faces from the Sun:

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. "Tis done.

Tiresias. Pour in Blood, and Blood-like Wine,

To Mother Earth, and Proserpine;

Mingle Milk into the Stream;

Feast the Ghosts that love the stream.

Snatch a Brand from Fun'ral Pile;

Toss it in to make it boyl;

And turn your Faces from the Sun;

Answer me, if this be done.

These Verses I have chosen, because they contain so Elegant a Description of these Infernal Rites: after this he makes *Tiresias's* Daughter sing, to char in the Ghosts from their Retirements. Some other Ceremonies also were practised by them, but differ'd not much from those used in Parentations, of which I shall give a more full and exact Account afterwards.

This Divination, if the Dead appeared only in Aiery Forms, like Shades, was called *Σκιομαντεία*, and *Ψυχομαντεία*. It might, I suppose, be performed in any Place; but some Places were appropriated to this use, and called *Nekromantia*, several of which are mentioned by the Ancient Poets; but two of them were most remarkable: The first of which was in *Thebsprotia*, where *Orpheus* is said to have return'd to Life his Wife *Eurydice*; the other in *Campania*, at the Lake *Averus*, celebrated by *Homer*, and *Virgil*, in their Stories of *Ulysses*, and *Euæas*.

Topomantia, or Divination by Water, sometimes called *Πηγομαντεία*, when it w: done by Fountain-water: In this they observed the various Impressions, Changes, Fluxes, Refluxes, Swellings, Diminutions, Colours, Images, &c. in the Water. Sometimes they dipp'd a Looking-glass into the Water, when they had a desire to know what would become of a Sick Person; for as he looked well or ill in the Glass, accordingly they presumed of his future Condition. Sometimes they fill'd a Bowl with Water, and let down into it a Ring, equally poised on each side, and hanging by a Thread tied to one of their Fingers: then in a Form of Prayer requested of the Gods to declare, or confirm the Question in dispute; whereupon, if the

the thing proposed was true, the Ring of its own accord would strike against the side of the Bowl a set number of Times. Sometimes they threw three Stones into the Water, and observed the Turns they made in sinking. Instead of Water, sometimes use they made of Oyl, and Wine, and then the Liquor was called *χύτα*, and instead of Stones, they sometimes used Wedges of Gold, or Silver. This Divination was sometimes performed in a Basin; and thence called

Λεγομαντεία: which also was sometimes practised in a different manner, thus; They distinguish'd the Stones, or Wedges with certain Characters, and then, having invoked the *Dæmon* in a set Form, propos'd the Question they had a mind to be satisfied about; to which an Answer was returned in a small Voice, not unlike an Hiss, proceeding out of the Water. The *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron* is of Opinion, that the Method of Divination was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, and practis'd by *Ulysses*; which he thinks gave occasion to all the Poetical Fiction about his Descent into the Infernal Regions, to consult *Tiresias*' Ghost (a). Sometimes Divination by Water was performed with Looking-glasses, and was called

Κανθημαντεία. Sometimes also *Glasses* were used, and the Image of what should happen, represented without Water. Sometimes it was performed in a Vessel of Water, the middle part of which was call'd *γάσπι*, and then the Divination termed

Τασεμαντεία, the manner of which was thus: They filled certain round Glasses with fair Water, about which they placed lighted Torches; then invoked a *Dæmon*, praying in a low, murmuring Voice, and propos'd the Question to be solved: A chaste and un-polluted Boy, or a Woman big with Child, was appointed to observe with greatest Care, and Exactness, all the Alterations in the Glasses at the same desiring time, beseeching, and also commanding an Answer, which at length the *Dæmon* used to return, by Images in the Glasses, which by Reflexion from the Water represented what should come to pass.

Κρυσταλλομαντεία, was performed by polished, and enchanted Crystals, in which future Events were signified by certain Marks, and Figures.

Δακτυλομαντεία, was a Divination by Rings enchanted, or not according to some position of the Celestial Bodies. A Ring of that sort, they say, *Gyges* the King of *Lydia* had, which when he turned the Palm of his Hand, he became invisible to others, but could be seen by every Body: and by the help of this, he enjoy'd his Mistress, the Queen, and slew his Master *Candaules*, whom afterward he succeeded.

Ουρχομαντεία, was performed by the Nails of an unpoluted Man cover'd with Oyl and Soot, which they turn'd to the Sun, the Reflec-

whose Rays was believed to represent by certain Images, the things they had a mind to be satisfied about.

Αιεγμαντεία, foretold future Events from certain Spectres, or other Appearances in the Air: And sometimes thus; They folded their Heads in a Napkin, and having placed a Bowl full of Water in the open Air, propos'd their Question, in a small, whispering Voice; at which time the Water boyled, or fermented, they thought what they had spoken was approved of, and confirmed.

Λεθαμαντεία, was sometimes performed by a Precious Stone, called *Λίθος*: which they wash'd in Spring-water in the Night by Candle-light; the Person that consulted it, was to be purified from all manner of pollution, and to have his Face covered: this done, he repeated divers Prayers, and placed certain Characters in an appointed Order; and then the Stone moved of its self, and in a soft, gentle murmur, or (as some say) in a Voice like that of a Child, returned an Answer. By a Stone of this Nature, *Helenus* is reported to have foretold the Destruction of *Troy*.

(a) *Theocritus* has given us an Account of two sorts of Divination practis'd by a Countrey Swain, to try what share he had in his Mistress's Affections; his Words are these,

Ἐγὼν τῷν, ὅκε μὲν μεμναθέω εἰ φίλεες με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατάγημα,
Αλλ' αὖτας ἀπαλῷ ποτὲ πάχει εἴειραφάνηπ.
Εἴπε νὴ Αγροὶ ταλαντέα, κοσκινόμαστι,
Α τῷν τοιολογίσαι, παρειάτι, ἔντον ἐγώ μὴν
Τίν ὄλογος ἔκειμαι· τὸ δέ μεν λόγον ἀδέντα τοῖη.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,
Whether I shou'd be happy in my Love;
I prest the *Long-live*, but in vain did press,
It gave no lucky sound of good Success:
To *Agrio* too I made the same Demand,
A cunning Woman she, I crost her Hand:
She turn'd the *Sieve*, and *Sheers*, and told me true,
That I shou'd love, but not be lov'd by You.

Mr. Creech.

Where the Shepherd complains he had found his Suit was rejected these two ways: First, by the Herb *Telephilum*, which being crushed in his Hand, upon his Arm, returned no sound; for it was usual to strike that, or some other Herb against their Arms, and if they crackled in breaking, Good; if not, it was an unlucky Omen. Not much unlike this, was the Divination by Laurel-leaves, which they threw into the Fire, and observed

(a) *Idyll. III. v. 28.*

how

how they crackled in burning; from which Noise, some say, Lawd was called *δάφνη*, q. *δά φωνή*. The other way of Divining, mentioned by *Theocritus*, was by a Sieve, which an old *Gypse* used in telling poor, silly People their Fortunes. This they call'd *Κοσκιομαντεία*, it was generally practised to discover Theeves, or others that were suspected of any Crime, in this manner: They tied a Thread to the Sieve, by which it was upheld, or else placed a pair of Sheers, which they held up by two Fingers; then prayed to the Gods to direct, and assist them; after that, they repeated the Names of the Persons under suspicion, and he, at whose Name the Sieve whirled round, or moved, was thought to have committed the Fact. Another sort of Divination was commonly practised upon the same account, which was called

Αξιομαντεία, from *Αξίνη*, i. e. an Ax, or Hatchet, which they fixed so exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might be at poise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the Hatchet made any the least motion, was found guilty.

Κεραλομαντεία, was by the Head of an Ass, (as the Name imports) which they broyl'd on Coals; and after having muttered a few Prayers, they repeated the Persons Names as before; or the Crime, in case one was only suspected; at which, if the Jaws made any motion, and the Teeth chattered against one another, they thought the Villain sufficiently discovered.

Αλειφρομαντεία, was a very Mysterious Divination, in which they made use of a Cock, in discovering secret, and unknown Transactions or future Events. It was effected after this manner: Having wrote in the Dust the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet, and laid a grain of Wheat, or Barley upon every one of them, a Cock magically prepared was let loose amongst them, & those Letters, out of which he picked the Corns, being joyn'd together, were thought to declare whatever they were desirous to be certified of. This Divination the famous Magician *Proclus*, *Proclus's Master*, is said to have made use of, with a Design to find out the Person, that was to succeed *Valens Cæsar* in the Empire; but the Cock picking up only four of the Grains, viz. those that lay upon the Letters θ. s. o. δ. left it uncertain, whether *Theodosius*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodectes*, was the Person designed by the Fates to be Emperour. However, *Valens* being informed of the Master, was enraged at it, put to death several Persons, for no other reason, than that their Names began with those Letters; and made diligent search after the Magicians themselves; whereupon *Jambinus* to prevent the Emperour's cruelty, ended his Life by a Draught of Poison.

Σιδηρομαντεία, was performed by a Red-hot Iron, upon which they laid an odd number of Straws, and observed what Figures, Burnings, Sparklings, &c. they made in burning.

Μαντεδομαντεία, was by observing the Motions, Figures, &c. melted

Melted Lead. The three following Methods of Divination are by some reckon'd amongst the various sorts of Incantations.

Τεφρομαντεία, or Divination by Ashes; which was performed in this manner: They wrote the Things they had a mind to be resolved about, in Ashes upon a Plank, or any such thing; this they expos'd to the open Air, where it was to continue for some Time; and those Letters, that remained whole, and no ways defaced by the Winds, or other Accidents, were thought to contain in them a Solution of the Question.

Βατυομαντεία, or Divination by Herbs, especially *Ελεισθράκος*, or *Salvia*; or by Fig-leaves, and then called *Συκομαντεία*, was practised thus: The Persons that consulted, wrote their own Names, and their Questions upon Leaves, which they expos'd to the Wind, and as many of the Letters as remained in their own Places, were taken up, and being joyned together, contained an Answer to the Question.

Κηρυγμαντεία, or Divination by Wax, which they melted over a Vessel of Water, letting it drop within three definite spaces, and observed the Figure, Situation, Distance, and Concretion of the Drops. Besides these, there were infinite other sorts of Divination; as *Χειρομαντεία*, *Φυτογραμμία*, which was practised in *Socrates's Time*, *Ορνιθομαντεία*, *Κελυφομαντεία*, *Γεωμαντεία*, *Λυχνομαντεία*, mentioned, with several others, by *Ariatus* in his Prognosticks, and *Pliny* in his Natural History; but these I shall pass by, and only trouble you with one more, which is so remarkable, that it cannot be omitted, viz.

Φαρμακεία, which was usually performed by certain medicated, and enchanted Compositions of Herbs, Minerals, &c. which they called *ημάρα*: By these, strange and wonderful things were effected: Some of them taken inwardly, caused Blindness, Madness, Love, &c. such were the Medicaments, by which *Circe* transformed *Ulysses's* Soldiers. Others infected by a touch; such was the Garment which *Medea* sent to *Creusa*. Others spread their Venom afar off, and opered upon Persons at a great Distance. There were also *Φάρμακα σωτηρία*, which were Amulets against the former; such was the Herb *Moly*, which preserved *Ulysses* from *Circe's* Inchantments; the Laurel, the Sallow-tree, the Rhamn, or Christ-thorn, Flea-bane, the Jasper-stone, and innumerable others mentioned by *Albertus Magnus*, and *Orpheus* in his Book *De Lapillis*; Likewise certain Rings, which *Aristophanes*, in his *Pisistratus*, calls *Δακτυλίοις φαρμακίτας*. At this Art the *Thessalians* were not famous of all the *Græcians*; *Democritus*, and *Pythagoras* are also said to have been skilled in it. Every Story is full of the prodigious Operations wrought by it, some of which I shall give You from a Witch's own Mouth in *Ovid*; (a)

Cum volui, ripis miranibus, amnes
In fontes redire suos, concussaque sesto,

(a) Met. l. VII. Fab. 2.

Of the Religion of Greece.

Stantia concusio cantu freta; nubila pello
Nubilaque induco; ventos abigoque vocoque;
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces;
Vivaque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terrâ,
Et syrvas moveo, jubeoque tremiscere montes;
Te quoque, Luna, traho.

When e're I please, the wondring Banks behold
Their Waters backwards to their Fountains rowl'd;
The Seas, if rough, and in vast ridges rise,
As tho' their angry Waves wou'd dash the Skies,
I give the word, and they no longer roam,
But break, and glide away in silent Foam.
If plain, and calm, the Ocean's surface lye,
Smooth, like some well-spread Azure Canopy,
I rouze th' untruly Waves with hid'ous Roar,
And bid their swelling heaps insult the Shore;
Then straight the watry Mountains heave their Heads,
O're-leap their bounds, and drown th' enamell'd Meads.
Clouds Me obey, and at my Summons sent,
Infest, or quit th' Ethereal Firmament.
Winds too, on downy Wings attend my Will,
And as I bid, or boist'rous are, or still.
I burst the Vipers by my Magick Verse,
And from their Bas' rend both Rocks and Trees.
The thronging Woods I move; at my Command
The Moon shrinks back, and Mountains trembling stand.

Mr. H. H.

Where you may observe the last Verse, wherein the Inchantress beth,
that she was able to draw the Moon from her Orb; for the Ancients
really believ'd, that Incantations had power to charm the Moon in
Heaven; according to that saying of *Virgil*,

Carmina vel calo possunt deducere Lunam (a).

The Moon my Verses from her Orb can draw.

And whenever the Moon was eclipsed, they thought it was done by
the Power of Magick; for which reason it was usual to beat Drums
and Kettles, to sound Trumpets, and Haut-boys, to drown, if it were
possible, the Voices of the Magicians, that their Charms might not
reach her. The Moon also was thought to preside over this, and
therefore was invoked together with *Hecate*, to whom the Invention of it was ascribed; and therefore *Medea* in *Euripides* saith, of all the Gods, she paid the greatest Veneration to *Hecate*;

Οὐ γὰ μὰ τῷ δάνοιναν, λῷ ἐχώ σέβω
Μάνισα τάντων, καὶ συνεργὸν εἰλόπουλον,
Εργίστων.

(a) Eclog. VIII.

Of the Religion of Greece.

For by the Goddess, whom I most adore,
Infernæ Hecate, whom now I chuse
Co-partner of my Black Designs.

The Rites used at the Invocation of this Goddess, are given us by
(a) *Apollonius* in these words;

Δῆ τότε μέστης νύκτα Διεμμοιχεῖδι φυλάξεις
Ακρατοτοῦ ξοῖος λεσσάνδρῳ τολεμαῖος.
ΟἴΓρ ἄνδε τ' ἄλλων ἐνī φάρεστος κανένεστος
Βόθεγν ὁρύζαντος φειγχά, πιὸ δὲ ἐνī Σῆλης
Αργεῖον σφάζειν, καὶ αδειάτον ἀμοδετοῦσαι,
Αὐτὸς πυρκαϊὺς εὖ τηνότες ὅπῃ βόδρῳ.
Μενογλῦν δὲ Εργάτης Περονίδε μελίσσονος,
Λείενται ἐκ δὲ πελῷ στρελνία, ἔργα μελισσῶν.
Ενδιαὶ δὲ ἑπτετα δεὸν μεμηνύμενοι ἵλασην.
Ἄντο πυργίης ἀναχαλέον, μιδέ σε σοῦπος
Ηὲ τωδῶν ὄροντος μελεπτόθλιναι ὅπλα,
Ηὲ κυνῶν ἔλασι, μίνως τὰ ἔκαστα κολεόδαι.

When lab'ring Night has half her journey run,
Wash'd in some purling Stream, repair alone,
Clad in a dusky Robe, and dig a Pit,
Round let it be, and raise a Pile in it.
Then kill a tender Ewe; when this is done,
O' th' new-rais'd Pile, unquarter'd lay her on.
And if you *Perses* Daughter wou'd appease,
Pour a Libation, which the painful Bees
Have first wrought up within their waxen Hives.
Next pray the Goddesses wou'd propitious prove,
Then backwards from the flaming Altar move;
But let no Yels of Dogs, or seeming noise
Of Feet behind, turn back thy steady Eyes,
And frustrate all thy former Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.
To this sort of Divination are to be referr'd Charms, and Amulets against
Poison, Venom, and Diseases. *Suidas* reports, that the Curing of Distemper by
Sacrifices, and the repetition of certain Words, was practis'd ever
since the time of *Minos* King of Crete; and (b) *Homēr* relates, how *au-*
tolycus's Sons stanched *Ulysses*'s Blood, flowing from a wound he receiv'd
in hunting a Wild Boar, by a Charm;

(a) *Argon.* III. v. 1028. (a) *Odyss.* i. v. 456.

S 1 2

ΩΤΕΙΛΙΨ

Ωτειλῶ δ' Οδυσσῆς ἀμύμανος ἀντίθεσιο
Δῖστης θησαυρός, ἐπαιδῆς δ' αἴμα κελουρί^ν
Ἐχεδών.

With nicest care, the Skilful Artists bound
The Brave, Divine Ulysses' ghastly Wound;
And b' Incantations stranck'd the gushing Blood.

Hither are also to be reduced enchanted Girdles, and other Things worn about Men's Bodies, to excite Love, or any other Passion, in those with whom they conversed: such was the Κέρδος in *Homērōs Iliads*, given by *Venus* to *Juno*, for the allurement of *Jupiter* to her Lovers, as *Eustathius* observes, upon the afore-mentioned Veries in the *Odyssēa*. But as concerning these Practices, I shall have occasion to add something more, when I come to treat of Love-affairs.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Grecian Festivals in general.

FESTIVALS were instituted upon four Accounts; First, in honour of the Gods, to whom, besides the Worship every Day paid them, some more Solemn Times were set apart. Especially, if they had conferred any signal Favour upon the Publick, or upon Private Persons, had assisted them in Defending their Countrey, had given them Victory over their Enemies, had delivered them out of any apparent Danger, or blessed them with Success in any Undertaking, it was thought but reasonable to set a part some Time for offering Sacrifices, and Praises to them, as grateful Acknowledgments for the Benefits received at their Hands.

Secondly, in order to procure some especial Favour of the Gods, for (as you may learn from the following Chapters) several of the Festivals were instituted with a Design to render the Gods propitious, and willing to grant some particular Blessings, as Health, Children, and such like. And in Times of Famine, Pestilence, or other publick Calamities, the Oracles usually advised their Consultants to institute Solemn Festivals, as the only Method to appease the angry Gods, and obtain of them Deliverance from the Evils they groaned under.

Thirdly, in Memory of Deceased Friends, of those that had done any remarkable Service for their Countrey, or died valiantly in the Defence of it. This was no small Encouragement to Men of Genius,

rous and Noble Dispositions to enter upon honourable Designs, when they saw that the Brave Actions of the Virtuous did not perish with them, but their Memories were ever held sacred by Succeeding Generations.

Fourthly, Festivals were instituted, as Times of Ease, and Rest to Labourers; that amidst all their Toil, and Sorrow, and as it were a Recompense thereof, some Days of Refreshment might be allowed them. And for some one, or more of these Ends, most Festivals seem to have been first instituted.

(a) Aristotle reports, that amongst the Ancients they had few, or no Festivals, besides those after Harvest, or Vintage; for then they used to meet, and make merry with the Fruits they had gathered, Eating, and Drinking plentifully; for they esteem'd this a sort of offering their First-fruits to the Gods, whom they thought honoured by so doing; and therefore Feasts were called Θοίναι, q. θεῖναι, ὅπερ τὰς θεοὺς οἰνὸς δεῖν τελέμανον, i. e. because they thought they were obliged, in duty to the Gods, to be drunk. And *Sextus*, in the same Author, tells us, That the Words δαίναι, and μίδαι, were derived from the same Original, Τόν τε οἶνον δῆν πλεῖον, οὐ πλεῖον ἀλλα οἰνοπάθειαν θεῶν ἔνειν τελεωφέρεις, δῆν καὶ δοίναι, καὶ δεῖναι, καὶ μίδαις ὀνομασθεῖαι. i. e. Banquets were called Θοίναι, δαίναι, and μίδαι, from Θεός, or God; because it was usual at those Times to consume great quantities of Wine, and other Provisions in honour of the Gods.

In later Ages, when the Gods were encreased almost to the number of Men, and the old frugal way of Living was laid aside, the number of Festivals was enlarged, and the manner of them quite altered: for whereas formerly the Solemnities consisted in little or nothing, besides offering a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after that making merry themselves; now a great many Games, Processions, and ten thousand Superstitious Observances, in imitation of the Fabulous Actions of the Gods, were introduced, and practised, to the vast charge of the Publick.

The Athenians, as they exceeded all other People in the number of their Gods, so they outdid them in the number of their Festivals; which, as (b) Xenophon reports, were twice as many, as any other City observed: Nor did the Number, and Frequency of them abate any thing of the Solemnity, Splendour, and Charges at their Observation. The Shops, and Courts of Judicature were shut up, on most of those Days; the Labourers rested from their Works, the Tradesmen from their Employments, the Mourners intemitted their Sorrows; it was unlawful for a Cry, a Groan, or a sorrowful Expression to be heard; and nothing but Ease and Pleasure, Mirth and Jollity were to be found amongst them.

(a) Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. VIII. c. IX. (b) De Repub. Atheniens.

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Most of them were celebrated at the Publick Charge; and left their Treasury should be exhausted by so frequent Evacuations, several means were contrived to supply and replenish them. For Instance, after *Tirasybulus* had deposed the *Tyrants*, their Estates were confiscated for this use, as *Harpocrateion* observes out of *Philochorus*: And when the State was reduced to it's old *Democracy*, if any of the Citizens, through too much Wealth, became formidable to the poorer sort, and objects of their Envy, it was customary to compel them to contribute towards the defraying of the Expences at Publick Festivals; and so by conferring upon them a great (tho' chargeable, and dear-bought) Honour, at once sweeten the Imposition, (if not also oblige those on whom it was impos'd) and rid themselves of those Fear, and Jealousies, which the Inmoderate Opulence of private Persons might reasonably give to a Popular State.

Thus much of Festivals in General: as to the Particulars, I have omitted very little that is material in the Tracts of *Messius*, and *Castellanus*, upon this Subject; and some things not taken notice of by either of them, and perhaps not unworthy your Observation, I have added. Yet I do not pretend, that this is a complete, or entire Collection of the *Grecian Festivals*; for that would be endless (seeing almost every Man of Repute, and that had done any Notable Service for the Publick, had his Anniversary Day) and impossible, since hundreds of them (especially those that were observed by the less considerable Cities) are not so much as mentioned in any Author at this Day extant; or but barely mentioned, without any Account of the Persons, to whom they belonged, or the Ceremonies used at their Celebration: However, as much as is necessary to the Understanding of the Ancient *Greek* Writers, the following Chapters will furnish.

CHAPTER XX.

Grecian Festivals.

ΑΓΗΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ, and ΑΓΗΤΟΡΙΑ.

Mentioned by *Hesychius*, without any Notice of the Deity, whose Honour they were observed. It is not improbable, they might belong to *Apollo*, and be (at least the latter of them) the fair with the *Lacedemonian Kapveia*. This Conjecture is grounded upon the words of *Hesychius*; who tells us, that *Ayntis* was the Name of the Person consecrated to the God at the *Kapveia*, and that the Festival

Of the Religion of Greece.

Festival it self was term'd *Ayntica*, which Name seems to have been deriv'd from *αγνω*, that Festival being observ'd in Imitation of *στρατιωτικὴ αγωγὴ*, or, the Military way of Living, as *Athenaeus* (a), and *Bystathius* (b) have observ'd. It is not unlikely, the former might belong to *Venus*, whose Priest (as *Grammarians* inform us) was call'd *Ayntos*, in *Cyprus*.

ΑΓΡΑΝΙΑ,

Was celebrated at *Argos* (c), in Memory of one of *Pratus*'s Daughters; being, in all probability, the same with

ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΑ,

Which (as the same Author tells us) was observ'd at *Argos*, in Memory of a deceas'd Person. It was also celebrated at *Thebes* with Solemn Sports.

ΑΓΡΑΤΛΙΑ,

At *Athens*, in Honour of *Agraulus*, or *Aglaurus*, the Daughter of *Otrops* and the Nymph *Aglaoris*, and Priestess of *Minerva*, to whom he gave the Surname of *Aglaurus*, and was worshipp'd in a Temple dedicated to her. The *Cyprians* also (as *Porphyry* (d) reports) honour'd her by the Celebration of an Annual Festival in the Month *Aphrodisias*, at which they offer'd Human Victims; and this Custom is said to have continu'd till the Time of *Diomedes*.

ΑΓΡΙΩΝΙΑ,

In Honour of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Aleuviōς*, from his Cruelty, as (e) *Plutarch* is of Opinion; or because he convers'd with, and was attended by Lions, Tygers, and other Savage Animals; which procur'd him the other Name of *Ωμηνός*, which properly denotes an Eater of raw Flesh, or any Barbarous Person. This Solemnity was observ'd in the Night, after this manner: The Women (f) being assembled, made a strict Search after *Bacchus*, as if he had fled from them; but after some time, finding their Labour to be in vain, said, that He had retir'd to the *Muses*, and conceal'd Himself amongst them. This being done, and the Ceremony ended, they regal'd themselves with an Entertainment; after which, the Time was pass'd away by proposing Riddles, and cramp Questions. Large quantities of *Ivy* was us'd at this Time (g), because that Plant was accounted sacred to *Bacchus*; and so great Excesses were sometimes committed, that once the Daughters of

(a) Lib. IV. (b) *Iliad. o'*. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *De Abstinentia lib. II.* (e) *An-*
timus. (f) *Plutarch Sympos. lib. VIII. Quæst. I.* (g) *Idem Quæst. Roman.*

with Vocal Musick, in Honour of *Erigone*, sometimes call'd *Aleia*, the Daughter of *Icarius*; who, out of an excess of Grief for the Misfortunes of her Father, hang'd her self: whence the Solemnity had the Name of *Aiōgea*. At her Death, she requested the Gods, that if the Athenians did not revenge *Icarius's* Murder, their Virgins might end their Lives in the same manner, that she did. Her Petition was granted, and a great many of them, without any apparent cause of Discontent, became their own Executioners; Whereupon, to appease *Erigone*, they instituted this Festival, by the Advice of *Apollo*. Others report, (a) that it was observ'd in Honour of King *Temalensis*; or of *Ægisthus*, and *Clytaemnestra*. And some are of Opinion, (b) that it was first observ'd by command of an Oracle, in Memory of the Daughter of *Ægisthus* and *Clytaemnestra*, who in company of her Grand-father *Tyndarus*, took a Journey to *Athens*; where she prosecuted *Orestes* in the Court of *Areopagus*; and losing her Cause, hang'd her self for Grief.

ΑΚΤΙΑ,

A Triennial Festival, Solemniz'd at *Aetium* in *Epirus*, with Wrestling, Horse-racing, and a Fight, or Race of Ships, in Honour of *Apollo*, who had the Surname of *Aetius*, from that Place (c).

ΑΛΑΙΑ, or ΑΛΕΑΙΑ,

To *Minerva*, surnam'd *Alea*, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where that Goddess was honour'd with a Temple of great Antiquity (d).

ΑΛΕΚΤΡΥΩΝ ΑΓΩΝ,

A Cock-fight at *Athens*, in memory of the Cocks, from whose Crowing *Themistocles* receiv'd an Omen of his Success against the Persians (e).

ΑΛΙΑ,

Solemn Games (f) Celebrated at *Rhodes*, upon the Twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Γορπαῖα*, which answers to the Athenian *Σεπτημῶν*, in Honour of the Sun, who is call'd in Greek *Ἥλιος*, and *Αλέας*, and is said to have been born in the Island of *Rhodes*; the Inhabitants of which were reputed his Posterity, and therefore call'd *Heliades*, as we learn from *Strabo* (g). The Combatants in these Games were not only Men, but Boys; and the Victors were rewarded with a Crown of Poplar.

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Etymolog. Magnum*. (c) *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Clement Protrept.* *Aelianus Hist. Anim.* lib. XI cap. VIII. (d) *Pausanias Arcadicus*. (e) *ibid.* *Aelianus lib. II. cap. XXVIII.* (f) *Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. Od. VIII.* (g) *Lib. XIV. AΛΙΑ.*

ΑΛΑΚΑΘΟΙΑ,

At *Megara* (a), in Memory of *Alcaetho*, the Son of *Pelops*; who lying under a Suspicion of having murder'd his Brother *Chryippus*, fled to *Megara*; where having overcome a terrible Lion, that wasted the Country, and had slain, beside many others, King *Megareus's* own Son; he so far ingratiated himself, that he had in Marriage the King's Daughter, and was declar'd his Successor.

ΑΛΩΑ,

At *Athens*, in the Month *Posideon*, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, by whose Blessing the Husbandmen receiv'd the Recompence of their Toil, and Labour; and therefore (b) their Oblations consisted of nothing but the Fruits of the Earth. Others say, this Festival was instituted, as a Commemoration of the Primitive Greeks, who liv'd in *ἄλωπ*, i. e. in Vine-yards, and Corn-fields (c).

ΑΛΩΤΙΑ,

To *Minerva*, by the *Arcadians*; in memory of a Victory, wherein they took a great many of the *Lacedemonians* prisoners, which the Greeks call *ἀλωτούς* (d).

ΑΜΑΡΤΝΟΙΑ, or ΑΜΑΡΤΣΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated with Games, in Honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Amarynbia*, and *Amarysia*, from a Town in *Eubaea*. It was observ'd by the *Eubœans*, *Eretrians*, *Caryrians*, and *Athmonians*, who were Inhabitants of a Burrough in *Attica*.

ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΑ,

To *Bacchus* (e) the God of Wine; in the Month *Zenæon*, in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

ΑΜΜΑΛΩ,

A Festival, of which nothing more is recorded, than that it belong'd to *Jupiter* (f).

ΑΜΜΩΝ,

An Athenian Festival (g).

ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΙΑ,

At *Oropus*, in Honour of *Amphiaraus* (h); of whom I have given a sufficient Account in another Place.

(a) *Pindari Scholiastes Nem. V.* (b) *Demosthenes in Nearam.* (c) *Harpocrat.* *Eustath. Iliad. ω'*. (d) *Pausanias Arcadicus*. (e) *Hesiodi Scholiast. Oper. & Dier.* lib. II. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Idem*. (h) *Pindar. Schol. Olymp. VII.*

ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by Private Families in *Athens*, upon the fifth Day after the Birth of every Child. It was so call'd, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς, i. e. from Running round; because it was customary to run round the Fire, with the Infant in their Arms. Of this more hereafter.

ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (*a*) to *Venus*, at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, where she was honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. The Name of this Solemnyt was deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνάγεσθαι, i. e. from returning; because the Goddess was said to leave *Sicily*, and return to *Africk* at that Time.

ΑΝΑΚΒΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival, in Honour of the *Dioscuri*, who were call'd *Aavakes*, and honour'd with a Temple, call'd *Aavakion*. The Sacrifices offer'd at this Time, were nam'd Ξειροι, because those Deities were ξειροι, or Strangers (*b*); and consisted of three Offerings (*c*), which were call'd τερψίαι. *Athenaeus* (*d*) also makes mention of Plays, acted in Honour of these Deities.

ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemnities observ'd at the ἀνάκλησις, or Proclamation, of Kings, and Princes, when they became of Age, to take the Government into their own Hands (*e*).

ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ.

A Festival (*f*) at *Amphissa*, the Capital City of *Zocri*; in Honour either of the *Dioscuri*, or *Curetes*, or *Cabiri*; for Authors are not agreed in this Matter.

ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, OR Αγῶνες ἐπ' Εὐρυγίᾳ,

Annual Games (*g*) celebrated in the *Ceramicus* at *Athens*, by the command of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, in memory of his Son *Androgeos*, otherwise call'd *Eurygias*, who was barbarously murder'd by some of the *Athensians*, and *Megarensians* (*h*).

(*a*) *elianus* Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. (*b*) *Tindari Schol. Olymp.* III. (*c*) *Pausanias*. (*d*) *Diplos.* lib. II. (*e*) *Polybius* Hist. XVIII. & Legat. Eclog. LXXXVIII. (*f*) *Taufanius Phociensis*. (*g*) *Hesychius*. (*h*) *Plutarch. Theseo*.

ΑΝΘΕ-

ΑΝΘΡΟΠΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival, observ'd in Honour of *Bacchus*, upon the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Days of the Month *Antheleterion*. The first Day was nam'd Πίθονία, ἥπο τὸ πίθεος οἴεσθαι, i. e. because they then tapp'd their Barrels. The same Day was by the *Chœreans* call'd Αγαθὸς Δαιμόνος, i. e. The Day of Good Genius; because it was customary to make merry upon it.

The second Day was call'd Χόεις, from the Measure χόεις, because any Man drunk out of his own Vessel; in memory of an Accident that happened in the Reign of *Pandion*, or (as others say) of *Demophoon*, under whom *Orestes*, having slain his Mother, fled to *Athens*, before he had undergone the customary Purification for Murder. The *Athenians* were at that Time busy in Celebrating the Festival of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Lenœus*, because he had the Care of Wines, which are in Greek call'd λίνεα. However, he was kindly accid'd by *Demophoon*, who to prevent the Contamination, which might adhere to the Company, by Drinking with a polluted Person, and that *Orestes* might not take it unkindly to be forc'd to drink alone, order'd, that every Man should have a distinct Vessel of Wine, and drink out of his own Cup. On the fore-going Day, they only open'd their Vessels, and tasted the Wine; but now it was customary to drink lustily, and the longest Liver, in token of Victory, was reward'd with a Crown of Leaves, and a Vessel of Wine. It was also to ride in Chariots, out of which they jested upon all that pass'd by. The Professors of Sophistry feasted at home, with their Friends upon this Day, and had Presents sent them from all Hands; to which Custom *Eubulides* alludes, in these Verses,

Σοφιστὰς, νέκυε, καὶ Χωῶν δέη

Τῶν μαδοδέων, νέκη αἰείπινων ἐν τευφῇ.

Ah ! subtle Knave, you now the Sophist play,
And with that Bounteous *Xoai* may approach,
Whose Presents fill your Belly, and your Purse.

From this Day it was, that *Bacchus* had the Surname of *Xoontēus*.

The third Day was call'd Χύτη, from χύτη, i. e. a Pot, which was brought forth full of all sorts of Seeds, which they accounted sacred to *Mercury*, and therefore abstain'd from them. Upon this Day the Comedians us'd to act; and at *Sparta*, *Lycurgus* order'd, that such of them as obtain'd the Victory, should be enroll'd amongst the Free Denizens.

During these Days, the Slaves were allow'd to make merry, drink, and revel; and therefore, at the End of the Festival, it was usual to make proclamation in this manner; Οξεῖτε Καῆτε, οὐκ εἶτε Ανθελεῖα, i. e. Begone you Carian Slaves, the *Antheleteria* are ended.

ΑΝΘΕ-

ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΠΙΑ,

A Sicilian Festival (*a*), so nam'd ἄνθος τῆς φερεῖν ἀνδρεα, i. e. from carrying Flowers; because it was Instituted in honour of *Proserpina*, whom *Phao* is said to have stoln, as she was gathering Flowers.

Another Solemnity of this Name, seems to have been observ'd at *Argos*, in honour of *Juno*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in that place, under the Name of *Artecia* (*b*).

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus* (*c*).

ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ,

Annual Sacrifices, and Quinquennial Games, in Memory of *Antinous*, the *Bithynian*: They were Instituted at the Command of *Adrian* the *Roman Emperour*, at *Mantinea* in *Arcadia* (*d*), where *Antinous* was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship.

ΑΠΑΤΩΤΡΙΑ,

A Festival (*e*) first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence deriv'd to the rest of the *Ionians*, except those of *Ephesus*, and *Colophon*. It receiv'd its Name from ἀπάτη, which signifies Deceit; because it was first instituted in memory of a Stratagem, by which *Melanthis*, the *Athenian King*, overcame *Xanthus*, King of *Bœotia*. For a Controversy happening between the *Athenians*, and *Bœotians*, about a piece of Ground situated upon the Confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*; *Xanthus* made a Proposal, that himself, and the *Athenian King* should end the Quarrel by a single Combat. *Thymœtes* reign'd at that Time in *Athens*; but declining the Fight, was depos'd: his Successor was *Melanthis* a *Messenian*, Son of *Neleus* and *Periclymene*, who having accepted the Challenge, met his Eneiny at the appointed Place; where, as they were just going to begin the Fight, *Melanthis* thinking, or pretending that he saw at *Xanthus's Back*, a Person habited in a black Goat-skin, cry'd out, that the Articles were violated; upon this, *Xanthus* looking back, was treacherously slain by *Melanthis*. In Memory of this Succes, *Jupiter* was surnam'd Απατηωρ, i. e. Deceiver; and *Bacchus*, Μελαγχητης, i. e. cloath'd in a black Goat-skin, and was further honour'd with a new Temple, and the Institution of this Festival. Others are of opinion, that Απατεῖα are so call'd, q. ἀπατεῖα.

(*a*) *Tollius Onom.* lib. I. cap. I. (*b*) *Pausanias Corinthiacus.* (*c*) *Plutarchus Agid.* & *Cleomen.* (*d*) *Pausanias Arcadicus.* (*e*) *Aristophanus Scholiast.* *Acharnæ Hesychius*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Etymologici Author.* Idem *Auctores* ubique sunt in hoc toto capite citati.

i.e.

ἢ μοτίσια, because upon this Festival, Children accompany'd their Fathers, to have their Names enter'd into the Publick Register: for the same manner, ἀλοχός is equivalent to ὄμοιος, and ἀκοίης παῖδεσσος.. Others will have Απατεῖα to be so nam'd, because the Children were till that Time ἀπατητοί, i. e. without Fathers, in a Civil fence; for that it was not till then publickly recorded, whose they were. For a like reason, *Melchisedec* is by some thought to be call'd ἀπάτωρ, ἀμύνωρ (*a*), i. e. without Father, without Mother; viz. because his Parentage was omitted in the Publick Genealogies. To return: This Festival was celebrated in the Month *Pyanepson*, and last'd three Days.

The first Day was call'd Δορπία, from δόρπος, i. e. a Supper; because on that Day at Evening, each Tribe had a separate Meeting, whereat a sumptuous Entertainment was provided.

The second Day was nam'd Αὐαγένων, ἡντὸς τοῦ ἀνω ἐγένετο, because in this Day Victims were offer'd to *Jupiter* Φεύτερος, and Απατήωρ, ad *Minerva*; in whose Sacrifices (as in all that were offer'd to Celestial Gods) it was usual ἀνω ἐγένετο τὰς κεφαλὰς, i. e. to turn the Head of the Victims upwards, towards Heaven. At this Sacrifice, the Children enroll'd amongst the Citizens, were plac'd close to the Altar. It was usual also, for Persons richly apparell'd, to take lighted torches out of the Fire, and run about, singing Hymns in praise of *Vulcan*, who was the first that taught Men the use of that Element: Which Custom is by *Hesychius* referr'd to this Day, tho' *Harpocration*, to whom we are indebted for the Mention of it, has left us in the Dark as to it's Time.

The third Day was nam'd Κεριῶτις, from κεριός, i. e. a Youth; οὐρέα, i. e. Shaving; because the young Men, who till that Time remain'd unshaved, had their Hair cut off, before they were presented to be registred. Their Fathers at this Time were oblig'd to swear, that both Themselves, and the Mothers of the young Men, were Free-born *Athenians*. It was also usual to offer a Sheep in Sacrifice to *Diana*, which they call'd Θύεν φερετία: this Victim was to be of a certain Weight; and because it once happen'd, that the Standers-by cry'd out in jest, Μέιον, μεῖον, i. e. Too little, too little, it was ever after call'd Μέιον, and the Persons that offer'd it Μειαχωροί.

To these *Hesychius* adds a fourth Day, which he tells us was call'd Επιτολα, but that Name is not peculiar to this Festival, but generally apply'd to any Day, celebrated after the End of another Solemnity; being deriv'd ἡντὸς τῆς θελαύνειν, i. e. from following; because it was a sort of Appendage to the Great Festival.

(*a*) *Epistola ad Hebreos.*

ΑΠΑΤΑΙΑ,

The second Day in Marriages, of which I shall have Opportunity to speak in another place.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ,

To *Apollo*, at *Aegialea*; upon this Account: *Apollo*, having obtain'd the Victory over *Python*, went to *Aegialea*, accompanied with his Sister *Diana*; but being frighted from thence, fled into *Crete*. After this, the *Aegialeans* were infected with an Epidemical Distemper; and being advised by the Prophets, to appease the two offended Deities, sent seven Boys, and as many Virgins, to entreat them to return. *Apollo* and *Diana* accepted their Piety, and came with them to the Cittad of *Aegialea*; in Memory of which, a Temple was dedicated to *Phoebus*, the Goddess of Perswasion; and it became a Custom, to appoint chosen Boys and Virgins, to make a solemn Procession, in shew as if they design'd to bring back *Apollo* and *Diana*; which Solemnity was continued till *Pausanias's* Time (a).

ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙ,

Certain Days (b), in which Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods, call'd Πομπαῖοι. Who these were, I am not resolv'd: Certain it is, that πομπᾶς denotes any Person that conducts another in his way; and therefore was apply'd to *Mercury*, who was believ'd to be *Phoebus's* Gentleman-usher, and to conduct the Souls of deceas'd Persons to the Shades below: whence *Ajax*, in *Sophocles*, before he stabb'd himself, pray'd thus,

καλῶ δ' ἄμφι
Πομπῶν Ερμῆν χθύνιον οὐ με κομίσῃ.

Infernal Mercury I call
Safe to conduct me to the Shades below.

But I am rather inclin'd to think, these Days belong'd to the Gods call'd Αποπομπαῖοι, i. e. Διοπόποι, (for διοπομπή, is by *Phavorinus* expounded διοπόπη) otherwise nam'd Λύται, ἀλεξιγάκοι, and αυερνουι, because they were thought to avert Evils; such were *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and others: and therefore for τομπαῖοι in *Hesychius*, I would read διοπομπαῖοι, except they may be us'd as synonymous Terms.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiacus.* (b) *Hesychius.*

ΑΠΑΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sicyon* (a), upon the Birth-day of *Aratus*, whom they honour'd with a Priest; who, for Distinction's sake, wore a Ribband bespangl'd with white and purple spots. It was celebrated with Musick; and the Choristers of *Bacchus* assisted at the Solemnity with their Harps. There was also a Solemn Procession, in which the Publick School-master, accompany'd with his Scholars, went first, and the Senators adorn'd with Garlands, with as many of the other Citizens as had a mind, follow'd after.

ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Festivals at *Argos*, the Names of which are lost: One we find mention'd in *Parthenius* (b), upon which he tells us, there was a Publick Entertainment.

Another is taken notice of in *Plutarch* (c), upon which the Boys call'd one another in jest Βαλαχάδες, i. e. βαλλορτας ἀχαδες, which words are signify'd Persons that throw wild Figs. Which Custom perhaps was instituted in Memory of their ancient Diet in *Inachus's* time, when they liv'd upon wild Figs.

A third we read of in *Aeneas* (d), in which great numbers of the Citizens made a Solemn Procession out of the City in Armour.

ΑΠΙΑΔΝΕΙΑ,

Two Festivals (e) at *Naxos*, in Honour of two Women, who had the common Name of *Ariadne*. The former of them was thought to be of a Gay and Pleasant Temper, and therefore her Festival was observ'd with Musick, and a great many Expressions of Joy, and Mirth.

The latter, being the same that was expos'd big with Child upon that Coast by *Theseus*, was suppos'd to be of a Melancholy Disposition, and therefore the Solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of Sorrow, and Mourning; and in Memory of her being left by *Theseus* near the Time of Child-birth, it was usual for a Young Man to lie down, and counterfeit all the Agonies of Women in Labour. This Festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus*, as a recompence of his Ingratitude to her.

ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΙΑ,

At *Athens* (f), in the Month *Scirophorian*, in Honour of *Minerva*, and *Ersa*, one of *Cecrops's* Daughters, upon which account, it is

(a) *Plutarchus Arato.* (b) *Eropic. X.III.* (c) *Grac. Quest.* (d) *Poliorcet. cap. XVII.* (e) *Plutarchus Theseo.* (f) *Harpocrat. Suidas, Etymolog.*

sometimes call'd Ερωπόεια, or Ερημόεια. But the former Name is deriv'd ἵπτο τὰς ἀργέντα φέρειν, i. e. because there were some Mysterious Things carry'd by four select noble Virgins, not under seven, nor above eleven Years of Age; who were for that reason call'd Αργένθει. Their Apparel was white, and set off with Ornaments of Gold. And out of them were chosen two, to weave (as the Custom was) a Πέλεθρον, or Garment, for Minerva; which work they began upon the thirtieth of Pyanepson.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ,

A Festival, in Honour of *Artemis*, or *Diana*. It was celebrated in several places of *Greece*, particularly at *Delphi*; where they offer'd a Mullet to the Goddess, as being thought to bear some Sort of Relation to her; because (a) it is said to hunt, and kill the *Selchare*.

Another Solemnity of this Name was observ'd three Days together, with Banquets, and Sports, at *Syracuse* (b).

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival of *Aesculapius*, observ'd in several Parts of *Greece*; but no where with so much Solemnity, as by the *Epidaurians* (c), whom this God honour'd with his more immediate Presence, giving Answers to them in an Oracular way: wherefore it was call'd Μαζαλασκλήπεια, i. e. The great Festival of *Aesculapius* (d). One great part of the Solemnity consisted in a Musical Entertainment, wherein the Poets, and Musicians contended for Victory, and therefore was call'd Ιερὸς διαγώνιον, or the Sacred Contention.

ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Athenian Husbandmen*, in Honour of *Bacchus* (e), to whom they sacrific'd a He-goat; because that Animal destroys the Vines, and therefore was suppos'd to be hated by *Bacchus*. Out of the Victim's Skin, it was customary to make a Bottle, which being fill'd with Oyl and Wine, they endeavour'd to leap upon it with one Foot, and He that first fix'd himself upon it, was declar'd Victor, and receiv'd the Bottle as a Reward. The Doing this they call'd ασωλιάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ σπῆταν τὸν ασκὸν ἀλλάξειν, i. e. from Leaping upon a Bottle; whence this Festival hath it's Name.

(a) *Athenaeus lib. VII.* (b) *Livius lib. XXIII.* *Hesychius.* (c) *Plato* *fragm.*
(d) *Inscript. vet.* (e) *Thurnutus de Baccho, Aristophan. Scholia. Pluto, Hesychius.*

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ,

Festivals in Honour of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*; several of which were observ'd in divers Parts of *Greece*: The most remarkable of them was that at *Cyprus* (a), first instituted by *Cinyras*; out of whose Family certain Priests of *Venus* were Elect'd, and for that reason nam'd Κυραῖοι. At this Solemnity several Mysterious Rites were practis'd; all that were initiated into them, offer'd a Piece of Money, and receiv'd, as a token of the Goddess's Favour, a Measure of Salt, and a ταύτα: the former, because Salt is a Concretion of Sea-water, to which *Venus* was thought to owe her Birth: The latter, because she was the Goddess of Wantonness.

At *Amathus*, a City of *Cyprus*, Solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Venus*, and call'd Καρπώτεις (b); which word is deriv'd from καρπός, i. e. fruit; perhaps because this Goddess presid'd over Generation.

At both the *Paphi* *Venus's* Festival was observ'd, being celebrated not only by the Inhabitants of those Places, but multitudes that throng'd to it out of other Cities (c).

At *Corinth* it was celebrated by Harlots (d).

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Festival at *Sparta*, in honour of *Achilles* (e).

B

ΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

To *Bacchus* (f). See Διογύναια.

ΒΑΛΛΗΤΥΣ,

At *Eleusis* in *Attica*, to *Demophon*, the Son of *Celeus* (g).

ΒΑΡΑΤΠΟΝ,

Solemn Games in *Thestria*, wherein the strongest obtain'd the Victory (h).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lebadea*, in *Boeotia* (i).

ΒΕΝΔΙΔΕΙΑ,

A Thracian Festival (k), in honour of *Diana*, who was by the

(a) *Clemens Protrept. Arnobius lib. V.* *Hesychius, Pindari Scholia.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Strabo lib. XIV.* (d) *Athenaeus lib. XIII.* (e) *Taufanias Laconicus.* (f) *Hesychius.* (g) *Athenaeus lib. IX.* *Hesychius.* (h) *Hesychius.* (i) *Pindari Scholia Olymp. VII.* (k) *Strabo lib. IX.* *Proclus in Timaeum, Hesychius.*

Thracians call'd Βέρδις. From Thrace it was carry'd to Athens, where it was celebrated in the Piræus, upon the nineteenth, or twentieth of Thargelion.

ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival (a), so call'd ἀπὸ τῆς βοηδρομεῖν, i. e. from coming to help; because it was instituted in memory of Ion, the Son of Xuthus, who came to the Assistance of the Athenians, in the Reign of King Eretheus, when they were invaded by Enomolpus, the Son of Neptune. But Plutarch (b) reports, that it was observ'd in memory of a Victory obtain'd by Theseus against the Amazons, in the Month Εὐδρομίου.

ΒΟΡΕΑΣΜΟΙ,

Another Athenian Festival (c) in honour of Boreas; who had an Altar in Attica, and was thought to bear some relation to the Athenians, having marry'd Orithyia, the Daughter of Eretheus: for which reason, when in a Sea-fight a great many of their Enemies Ships were destroy'd by a North-wind, the Athenians imputed it to the kindred Boreas had for his Wife's native Countrey, as Pausanias reports (d).

We are inform'd by the same Author (e), that Solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to Boreas at Megalopolis in Arcadia, where he had a Temple, and Divine honours.

ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

The Bottiaeans were an Athenian Colony; wherefore in memory of their Original, they observ'd this Solemnity, in which the Virgins used to say, Ιωψύ εἰς Αθήνας, i. e. Let us go Athens (f).

ΒΡΑΤΙΔΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at Sparta, in memory of Brasidas, a Lacedemonian Captain, famous for his Achievements at Methone, Pylos, and Amphipolis. It was celebrated with Sacrifices, and Games, wherein none were permitted to contend, but Free-born Spartans (g).

ΒΡΑΤΡΩΝΙΑ,

To Diana, surnam'd Brauron, from the place in which this Festival was observ'd, viz. Brauron, an Athenian Burrough, in which the famous Statue of this Goddess, brought from Scythia Taurica by Iphigenia remain'd till the second Persian War, in which Xerxes took it away (h). It was celebrated once in five Years, being manag'd by ten Men,

(a) Harpocration, Suidas. (b) Theseo. (c) Plato in Phædro, Hesychius. (d) Alcius. (e) Arcadicis. (f) Plutarchus Theseo, &c Quest. Grac. (g) Pausanias Laconicus, Thucydid. lib. V. Suidas. (h) Pausanias Atticus, &c Arcadicus, Pollux lib. VIII. cap. IX. Harpocration, Suidas.

call'd,

all'd, from their Office, Ιεράται. The Victim offer'd in Sacrifice was a Goat; and it was customary for certain Men to sing one of Homer's Iliads. The most remarkable Persons at this Solemnity, were young Virgins habited in yellow Gowns, and consecrated to Diana. These were usually about ten Years of Age (it being unlawful for any of them to be above ten, or under five) and therefore to consecrate them was call'd Δεκατεύειν, from δέκα, i. e. ten: It was also call'd αρχιδέν, and the Virgins themselves were nam'd Αριτοι, i. e. Bears, upon this account: Amongst the Phœnicians, Inhabitants of a Burrough in Attica, there was a Bear, which was so far divested of its natural fierceness, as become so tame and tractable, that they usually admitted it to eat, and play with them, and receiv'd no harm thereby: But a young Maid was unluckily happening to be too familiar with it, the Beast tore her pieces, and was afterwards kill'd by the Virgin's Brethren: Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Pestilence, which prov'd very fatal to a great many of the Inhabitants of Attica; as a remedy of which, they were advised by an Oracle, to appease the anger of Diana for the Bear, by consecrating Virgins to her in memory of it: The Athenians punctually execut'd the Divine Command, and enacted a Law, that no Virgin should be marry'd, that had not undergone this Ceremony.

Γ

ΓΑΛΑΞΙΑ,

A Festival, in which they boyl'd τλιν γαλαξίαν, i. e. a mixture of Honey-pulse and Milk (a). Meursius is opinion that it belong'd to Apollo, who, from a place in Bœotia, was surnam'd Galaxius (b).

ΓΑΛΙΝΘΙΑΔΙΑ,

A Solemn Sacrifice at Thebes, offer'd to Galinthias, one of Praetus's Daughters, before the Festival of Hercules, by whose order it was first institut'd.

ΓΑΜΗΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ,

Three Private Solemnities, the first whereof was observ'd at Marriage; the second in memory of the Birth; the last, of the Death of any Person. But of all these, I shall give you a more full account in one of the following Books.

ΓΕΝΕΤΥΛΛΙΣ,

This Solemnity was celebrated by Women, in honour of Genetylles, Goddess of that Sex (c), to whom they offer'd Dogs.

(a) Hesychius. (b) Proclus Chremonath. (c) Hesychius.

ΓΕΡΑ-

ΤΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΑ.

In honour of Neptune, at *Geraestus*, a Village of *Eubaea*, where was honour'd with a Temple (a).

ΓΕΡΩΝΘΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

An Anniversary Festival in honour of Mars, at *Gerombra*, where there was a Temple dedicated to him. He had also a Grove in the same place, into which it was unlawful for any Woman to enter, during the time of this Solemnity (b).

ΓΕΦΥΡΙΣΜΟΙ,

A Solemnity mention'd by *Aelian* (c); and perhaps the same with γεφειοναι at the Festival of Ceres *Eleusinia*, of which afterwards.

ΓΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

At *Athens*, in honour of Mother Earth, to whom a Temple was dedicated in the Citadel of that place (d). Solemn Games also were celebrated to her, as we learn from *Pindar*,

Ἐν Ολυμπίσσῃ τε, καὶ βαθύκόλπῳ
Γᾶς ὀέθαισ.

At the Olympick Games, and sacred Sports
Of the capacious Earth.

ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ,

A Solemn Dance (f), perform'd by *Spartan* Boys.

Δ

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΙΣ,

A Solemnity, which lasted three Days, during all which Torches (call'd in Greek Σάτες) were burn'd, which gave occasion the Name (g).

Upon the first Day they commemorated *Latona's* Labour, and Birth.

The second was in memory of *Glycon's*, and the God's Nativity.
The third, of the Marriage of *Podalirius*, and the Mother of *Alexander*.

ΔΑΙΔΑΛΑ,

Two Festivals in *Baetia* (h), one of which was observ'd by the

(a) *Stephanus, Finlari Schol. Olymp. XIII.* (b) *Pausanias Laconicus.* (c) *H. An. lib. IV. cap. XLIII.* (d) *Thucydides lib. II.* (e) *Pythian. lib. IX.* (f) *Zarthus Apophthegm.* (g) *Lucianus Pseudomant.* (h) *Pausanias Baeticus.*

men at *Malcomenos*, where was the largest Grove of any in *Baetia*; this they assembl'd, and expos'ing to the open Air pieces of sodden flesh, carefully observ'd whither the Crows, that came to prey upon them, directed their Flight; and then hew'd down all those Trees, upon which any of them alighted, and form'd them into Statues, which were by the ancient Greeks call'd Δαιδαλα, from the ingenious Artificer *pedalus*.

The other Solemnity was by far the greatest, and most remarkable, being celebrated not only by *Plataea*, but all the Cities of *Baetia*, once in sixty Years; in memory, and, as it were, in Recompence for the Immersion of the lesser Festival the same number of Years, during which time the *Plataeans* liv'd in exile. In order to this Solemnity, there were always prepar'd fourteen Δαιδαλα at the other Festivals, to be distributed by Lots amongst the *Plataeans, Coroneans, Thessians, Tananeans, Cheroneans, Orchomenians, Lebadeans, and Thebans*; because they promoted a Reconciliation with the *Plataeans*, and were desirous to have them recall'd from Banishment, and contributed Offerings towards the Celebration of the Festival, about the time that *Thebes* was restored by *Cassander the Son of Antipater*. Nor did the afore-mentioned Cities only, but others also of lesser Note, joyn in this Solemnity; the manner of which was thus:

A Statue being adorn'd in Woman's Apparel upon the Banks of *Aopus*, a Woman in the Habit of a Bride-maid, was appointed to accompany it, being follow'd by a long Train of *Baetians*, who had assign'd them by Lots, to the top of Mount *Cithaeron*; upon which Altar of square pieces of Timber cemented together in the manner of Stones, was erected. Upon this large quantities of combustible material being lay'd, each of the Cities, and such Men as were possess'd of plentiful Estates, offer'd a Bull to *Jupiter*, and an Ox, or Heifer to *Juno*, in plenty of Wine, and Incense; the poorer sort, and such as were of Ability to purchase more costly Oblations, contributed small sheep; all which, together with the Δαιδαλα, being thrown into one common Heap, were set on fire, and not extinguish'd, till the whole Fabrick, of which the Altar it self made a part, was consum'd to Ashes. The first occasion of these Customs was this: On a time it happen'd that *Juno* had a Quarrel with *Jupiter*, whereby the Goddess was exasperated to such a degree, that she departed from him, and retir'd into *Eubaea*: The God was very much troubled at this Detention, and endeavour'd by all the Arts of Persuasion, to gain upon her to return; but finding her obstinate in her Resolution, went to *Cithaeron*, who reign'd at that time over the *Plataeans*, and had the greatest Reputation for Wisdom of any Man in that Age: The Expedient he advis'd to, was this; That *Jupiter* should dress a Statue in Woman's Apparel, and place it in a Chariot, giving out that it was *Platea*, the Daughter of *Aopus*, and that she was consigned to him in Marriage: The God approv'd his Counsel, and put

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put it in practice; and the Report had no sooner reach'd *Juno*, but she posted with all haste to meet the Chariot; where having discovered'd the Cheat, she was wonderfully taken with the Contrivance, and return'd into Favour with her Husband.

An entire Treatise was compos'd by *Plutarch* upon this Festival, some Fragments of which are still preserv'd in *Eusebius* (a), and confirm the Substance of the Relation now given out of *Pausanias*; from whom they differ only in this, that in them *Cithæron* is call'd *Alacomene*, and *Platea*, *Dædala*.

Δ A P O N,

A Festival, of which nothing remains, besides the Name, which is preserv'd by *Hesychius*. If the Conjecture of *Maurusius* deserve any Credit, it will not be improbable that it belong'd to one *Danaus*, who, as the same Grammarian informs us, was worshipp'd by the *Macedonians*, and thought to restore Health to sick Persons.

Δ A T Λ I Σ,

A Solemnity at *Argos*, in which was represented the Combat of *Prætus* and *Acrisus*.

Δ A Φ N H Φ O P I A,

A Novennial Festival (b), celebrated by the *Bœotians*, in honour of *Apollo*. The chief Solemnity was thus: They adorn'd an Olive-bough with Garlands of Lawrel, and various sorts of Flowers: Upon the top of it was plac'd a Globe of Brads, from which hung other Lesser Globes; About the middle were fix'd to it Purple Crowns, and a Globe of smaller size than that at the top: The bottom was cover'd with a Garment of Saffron-colour. The uppermost Globe was an Emblem of the Sun, by whom they meant *Apollo*; the plac'd diametrically under it, signify'd the Moon; the lesser Globes represented the Stars; and the Crowns, being sixty five in number, were Types of the Sun's Annual Revolution, which is compleat in about the same number of Days. The Bough thus adorn'd, was carry'd in Procession; the chief in which was a Boy of a beaming countenance, and good Parentage, whose Father and Mother were both living: He was apparell'd in a sumptuous Garment, reaching down to his Ancles; his Hair hung loose and dishevell'd; on his Head was a Crown of Gold; and upon his Feet Shoes, call'd *Iphicrates*, from *Iphicrates* an *Athenian*, the first Inventor of them: It was his Duty to execute at that time the Priest's Office, and he was honour'd with the Title of *Δερψυνθερος*, i. e. The Lawrel-bearer. Before him was one of his nearest Relations, bearing a Rod adorn'd with Garlands

(a) *De Prepar. Evangel.* lib. III. (b) *Pausanias Bœoticus, Proclus Chrestomathia*

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After the Boy follow'd a Choir of Virgins, with Branches in their Hands: And in this order they proceeded as far as the Temple of *Apollo*, *Sirnam'd Ismenius*, and *Galaxius*, where they sung Supplicatory Hymns to the God. These Ceremonies were first practis'd upon this account: The *Aeolians* that inhabited *Arne*, and the adjacent territory, being advis'd by an Oracle to relinquish their old Seats, and seek their Fortunes, made an Invasion upon the *Thebans*, who at the same Time were besieg'd by the *Pelasgians*: It happen'd to be near the Time of *Apollo's* Festival, which was religiously observ'd by both Nations; wherefore a Cessation of Arms being granted on both sides, one Party cut down Lawrel-boughs in *Helicon*; the other near the River *Melas*; and, as the Custom was, carry'd them in their Hands, in honour of *Apollo*. On the same Day there appear'd in a Dream to *Polemias*, General of the *Bœotian* Forces, a young Man, who presented him with a complete Suit of Armour, and commanded that every ninth Year the *Bœotians* should make Solemn Offerings to *Apollo*, with Lawrel in their Hands: About three Days after this Vision, he made a Sally upon the Besiegers with such Success, that they were forc'd to retire, and quit their Enterprise: whereupon he caus'd this Festival to be instituted.

Δ E Α Φ I N I A,

A Festival at *Aegina* (a), in honour of *Delphinian Apollo*.

Δ H Α I A,

A Quinquennial Festival in the Isle of *Delos* (b), instituted by *Julius*, at his return from *Crete*, in honour of *Venus*, whose Statue given to him by *Ariadne*, he erected in that place, having by her Assistance met with Success in his Expedition. The chief Ceremonies were these: They crown'd the Goddess's Statue with Garlands; mounted a Choir of Musick, and Horse-races; and perform'd a remarkable Dance, call'd *Γέραιος*, i. e. a Crane, wherein they imitated their Motions, the various Windings of the *Cretan Labyrinth*, out of which *Theseus*, who was the first Inventor of this Dance, made his Escape.

Another Solemnity was every Year celebrated in this Island, in honour of *Apollo*, by the *Athenians*; but of this I have already given an Account in one of the foregoing Chapters.

Δ H M H T P I A,

A Solemnity in honour of *Ceres*, call'd by the Greeks *Διηγήτηρ* (c), at which it was customary for the Worshippers to lash themselves with Whips, made of the Bark of Trees, and call'd *μέστιοι*.

(a) *Pindari Schol. Olymp.* VIII. (b) *Thucydides lib. III. Callimachus Hymn. in Delos. Plutarchus Theseo.* (c) *Pollux Onom. lib. I. cap. I. Hesychius.*

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Athenians* (a) in honour of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, being the same with that which was before call'd *Dionysia*, and celebrated upon the thirteenth of *Marchion*, whose Name was chang'd into *Demetria*, as also the Day of this Solemnity was nam'd *Demetrias*.

ΔΙΑΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΣΙΣ,

A Solemnity at *Sparta* (b), in honour of *Diana Orthia*, so nam'd οὐαστύχη, i. e. from whipping, because it was usual to whip Boys upon the Goddess's Altar. These Boys were, at the first, Free-born *Spartans*, but, in more delicate Ages, of meaner Birth, being frequently the Off-spring of Slaves; they were call'd βωμονεῖχοι, from the Exercise they underwent at the Altar, which was very severe and cruel, and left the Officer should out of Compassion remit any thing of the rigour of it, *Diana's Priestess* stood by all the Time, holding in her Hand the Goddess's Image, which of it's self was very light and easy to be born, but if the Boys were spar'd, became so ponderous, that the Priestess was scarce able to support it's weight. And lest the Boys should faint under Correction, or do any thing unworthy of *Laconian Education*, their Parents were usually present, to exhort them to bear whatever was inflicted upon them with Patience and Constancy. And so great was the Bravery and Resolution of the Boys, that, tho' they were lash'd till the Blood gush'd out, and sometimes to Death, yet a Cry, or Groan was seldom, or never heard to proceed from any of them. Those of them that dy'd by these Means, were bury'd with Garlands upon their Heads, in token of Joy, or Victory, and had the Honour of a Publick Funeral.

Whence this Custom had it's Original, is not agree'd by Ancient Writers. By some it is said to have been one of *Lycurgus's Inventions*, and design'd for no other End, than to accustom the Youth to endure Pain; thereby to render them fearless and insensible of Wounds. Others will have it to have been done, as a Mitigation of an Oracle, whereby it was commanded that Human Blood should be shed upon *Diana's Altar*. By some it is reported to have been as ancient as *Orestes*, who (they say) transplanted out of *Scythia into Laconia* the Image of *Diana Taurica*, to whom the *Scythians* used to offer Human Victims: this Barbarous piece of Cruelty the *Lacedæmonians* detested, but withall fearing the Anger of the Goddess, made an Order, that every Year a Boy should be whipp'd upon her Altar, till the Blood gush'd out; that so, if nothing could satisfy Her for Human Blood, She might not be altogether destitute of it. Lastly, to assign this Cause for it; *Pausanias*, the *Spartan General*, as he

(a) Plutarchus Demetrio, Diodorus Siculus lib. XVIII. Eustathius ll. s. (b) Pausanias Lacon. Instit. & Aristide, Pausanias Lasonicus, Themistius Orat. Cicero Tred. Quæst. II. Hæginus Fab. CCLXI.

offering Sacrifices and Prayers, before the Fight with *Mardonius*, was upon by a company of *Lydians*, who plunder'd and squander'd the Sacrifice; but were at length repell'd with Whips and Stones, which were the only Arms the *Lacedæmonians* were at that time furnish'd with: In memory of this Victory, the Whipping of Boys at the Altar in *Sparta*; and after that, the *Lydian Procession*, which tells us, was perform'd till his Days.

ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sparta*.

ΔΙΑΣΙΑ,

At *Athens* (a), in honour of *Jupiter* surnam'd Μετίχος, i. e. the Propitious. It was so call'd οὐαστής, οὐαστός, i. e. from *Jupiter*, and Misfortune; because by making Supplications to *Jupiter*, they gain'd Protection, and Deliverance from Dangers, and Evils. It is celebrated about the latter end of *Anthepterion*, without the City, where there was a great concourse of all the *Athenians*, feasting and offering Sacrifices: At the same Time there is said to have been a publick Mart, in which all sorts of Vendibles were expos'd to Sale; and before *Strepsiades* in *Aristophanes* (b) saith, he bought his Son *Philes* a little Chariot at this Festival,

Οὐ ωρῆτον οὐαστὸν ἔλασον Ηλιαστικὸν,
Τέττῳ πειάμβρῳ σοι Διασίοις ἀμαξίδε.

Plutarch (c) maketh mention of another Festival, that belong'd to *Jupiter*, wherein a solemn Procession was made by Men on Horseback.

ΔΙΙΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian Festival* (d), celebrated upon the fourteenth of *Scirruin*; so nam'd, because it was sacred τῷ Διὶ Πολεῖ, i. e. to *Jupiter* surnam'd *Polieus*, or Protectour of the City. Sometimes it was call'd θυσία, from killing an Ox: For it was customary upon this Day to place certain Cakes, of the same sort with those us'd at Sacrifices, upon a Table of Brals; round this they drove a select number of Oxen, of which he that eat any of the Cakes, was presently slaughter'd. The Person that kill'd the Ox, was call'd βέπης, or βεφόνος. Porphyry reports, that no less than three Families were employ'd in this Ceremony, and receiv'd different Names from their Offices therein: The Family, whose Duty it was to drive the Oxen, were

(a) Thucydides lib. I. Aristophanes Schizist. Nub. Suidas. (b) Nubibus. (c) Phormio. (d) Pausanias Atticis. Elianus Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. III. Porphyrius de Abstinent. ab Animal. Hæginus, Suidas.

offering

call'd Κυρτεάδαι, from κύρτος, i. e. a Spur: Those that knock'd him down, Βανόποι, being descended from *Thaalon*: Those that slaughter'd and cut him up, Δαΐζοι, i. e. Butchers, or Cooks. The Original of the Custom was thus: On one of Jupiter's Festivals, it happen'd that a hungry Ox eat one of the consecrated Cakes; whereupon the Priest (some call him *Thaalon*, others *Diomus*, or *Sopater*) mov'd with pious Zeal, kill'd the profane Beast. In those Days, it was look'd upon as a capital Crime to kill an Ox; wherefore the guilty Priest was forc'd to secure himself by a timely Flight, and the Athenians in his stead, took the bloody Ax, arraign'd it, and, according to *Pausanias*, brought it in not guilty: But *Aelian* is of another Opinion, and report, that the Priest, and People present at the Solemnity (for they also were accus'd, as being accessory to the Fact) were acquitted, but the Ax condemn'd; which seems to be most probable. In memory of these Actions, it became ever after customary, for the Priest to fly, and Judgment to be given about the Slaughter of the Ox.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ,

A Spartan Festival (a), in honour of Diana, surnam'd *Dictyna*, from a City of Crete; or from a Cretan Nymph, one of her Companions in Hunting, who was call'd *Dictynna*; being the first invented Hunting-nets, which are in Greek call'd Δίκλυα.

ΔΙΟΚΑΕΙΑ,

At Megara, in memory of the Hero *Diocles* (b).

ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ,

In honour of Jupiter *Diomus*; or of *Dionus* (c), an Athenian Hero the Son of *Colytus*, from whom the Inhabitants of one of the Attic Burroughs were nam'd Διομεῖς.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ,

Solemnities in honour of Διόνυσος, or *Bacchus*, sometimes call'd by the general Name of *Opoa*, which word, tho' sometimes apply'd to the Mysteries of other Gods, does more peculiarly belong to those of *Bacchus*. The Festivals of this God are said to have been instituted in *Egypt*, and afterwards taught the *Græcians* by one *Mallampus* (d); and by *Plutarch* (e) we are inform'd, that the *Egyptian Isis* was the same with *Ceres*, and *Ciris* with *Bacchus*; and that the *Græcian Dionysia* were the same with the *Egyptian Pamylia*.

They were observ'd at Athens with greater Splendor, and more Cer-

(a) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (b) *Pindari Schol. Pythion. Od. XIII.* (c) *Eustath. Il. &c.* (d) *Herodotus lib. II.* (e) *De Iside & Osiride.*

emonious Superstition, than in any other part of *Greece*; for the Years were number'd by them (a), as the chief *Archon* had a part in the management of them (b), and the Priests that officiated therein, were honour'd with the first Seats at Publick Shows (c). But at first they (d) were without Splendor, and Ornaments, being Days set apart for Publick Mirth, and observ'd only with these Ceremonies; first a Vessel of Wine, adorn'd with a Vine-branch, was brought forth, after that follow'd a Goat, then was carry'd a Basket of Figs, and after all, the *Phallus*.

At some of them it was usual for the Worshippers, in their Garments and Actions, to imitate the Poetical Fictions concerning *Bacchus*: They put on Fawn-skins, fine Linnen, and Mitres; carry'd Thyrsi, Drums, Pipes, Flutes, and Rattles; and crown'd themselves with Garlands of Trees sacred to *Bacchus*, such were the Ivy, Vine, Fir, &c. Some imitated *Silenus*, *Pan*, and the *Satyrs*, exposing themselves in Comical Dresses, and Antick Motions; some rode upon Asses, others drove Goats to the Slaughter. In this manner Persons of both Sexes ran about the Hills, Deserts, and other Places, wagging their Heads, dancing in ridiculous Postures, filling the Air with hideous Noises, and Yellings, personating Men distracted, and crying aloud Εὐοὶ οὐλοι, Εὐοὶ Βάκχε, or Ἀιακχε, or Ιακχη, or Ιωκχη.

Such were the Rites us'd in most of *Bacchus's* Festivals throughout *Greece*, and particularly at *Athens*, where this frantick Rout was, upon one of the Solemnities of this God, follow'd by Persons carrying certain Sacred Vessels; the first of which was fill'd with Water; after these went a select number of Honourable Virgins, call'd Λαυριφέραι, because they Carry'd little Baskets of Gold, fill'd with all sorts of Fruit: In these consisted the most Mysterious part of the Solemnity; and therefore to amuse the Common People, Serpents were put into them, which sometimes crawling out of their places, astonish'd the Beholders. Next was the Πλευραλλία, being a company of Men carrying τὰς φαλλοὺς, which were Poles, to the Ends of which were fix'd things in the form of a Man's Privities: these Persons were crown'd with Violets, and Ivy, and had their Faces cover'd with other Herbs; they were call'd Φαλλοφέραι, and the Songs repeated by them, Φαλλικὰ ψαλτα. After these follow'd the Ιεψαλλοι, in Women's Apparel, with Garments strip'd with white, and reaching to their Ankles, Garlands on their Heads, Gloves compos'd of Flowers on their Hands, and in their Gestures imitating drunken Men. There were also certain Persons call'd Λικνοφέραι, whose Office it was to carry the Λίκνοι,

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Pollux lib. VIII.* (c) *Aristophan. Schol. Ran.* (d) *Plutarchus lib. φιλοσοφ. or*

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or Mystical Van of *Bacchus*, a thing so essential to this, and other Solemnities, and Sacrifices of this God, that few of them could be duly celebrated without it; whence He is sometimes call'd *Δικυῖτης*. At this Time also Publick Shows, Plays, and Sports were frequented, and the whole City was fill'd with Revelling, and Licentiousnes.

The Festivals of *Bacchus* were almost innumerable; the Names of some of the most remarkable of them are, as follow.

Διονύσια ἀρχαιώτερα (a), celebrated upon the Twelfth of *Anthesterion*, at *Limnae* in *Attica*, where was a Temple of *Bacchus*. The chief Persons that officiated, were fourteen Women, appointed by the *Εὐπολέμους*, who was one of the *Archons*, and provided necessaries for the Solemnity: They were call'd *Γερεσαῖς*, i. e. Venerable, and could not enter upon their Office, till they had taken an Oath in presence of the *Βεστίαται*, or Wife of the *Bacchids*, that they were free from all manner of Pollution.

Διονύσια νιώτερα, are mention'd by *Thucydides* (b), but perhaps are not distinct from some of the following.

Διονύσια μεγάλα (c), or the Greater, sometimes call'd *Astygī*, or *τὰ καὶ ἄσυ*, as being celebrated within the City, in the Month *Anthesterion*: It is sometimes by way of Eminence call'd *Διονύσια*, without any distinguishing Epithet, because it was the most celebrated of all *Bacchus's* Festivals at *Athens*.

Διονύσια μυρά, or the Less, sometimes call'd *τὰ καὶ ἀγεγύς*, because it was observ'd in the Country. It was a sort of Preparation to the former and Greater Festival, and was celebrated in Autumn (d): Some place it in the Month *Posideon*, others in *Gamelion*, others will have it to be the same with *Διονύσια λινωταῖς*, so nam'd from *λινός*, i. e. a Wine-press; and agreeably to this Opinion *Hesychius* tellt us, it was celebrated in the Month *Lenaeon*.

Διονύσια Βραυρῶνα (e), observ'd at *Brauron*, a Burrough of *Attica*, where the Votaries gave themselves over to all manner of Excess, and Lewdness.

Διονύσια γυνήλια, (f), Mysteries unlawful to be reveal'd, and observ'd by the *Athenians*, in honour of *Bacchus Nyctelius*, to whom also they erected a Temple.

Θεοίνια, to *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Θεοίνος*, i. e. the God of Wine.

Ωμοράχια, to *Bacchus* surnam'd *Ωμοράχος*, and *Ωμοράχης*, because Human Sacrifices were offer'd to him at that Time (g); or from *Eating raw Flesh*, which Action the Priests us'd to imitate upon this

(a) *Thucydid.* lib. II. *Hesychius*, *Demosthen.* *Orat. in Nearam*, *Pollux lib. VIII.*
(b) *Loc. citat.* (c) *Demosthen.* *Orat. in Leptin.* (d) *Aristophanis Scholiast.* *Acharn.*
(e) *Idem in Pace.* (f) *Pausanias Atticis.* (g) *Plutarchus Themistocle.*

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Solemnity: It was also customary for them to put Serpents in their Hair, and in all their Behaviour to counterfeit Madness, and Distraction.

Several other Festivals were observ'd in honour of this God, as the Triennial Solemnity, call'd from the Time of it's Celebration *Διονύσια τετταρετηρίᾳ* (a), which is said to have been first instituted by *Bacchus* himself, in memory of his Expedition into *India*, in which he spent three Years. Another also is mention'd by the *Scholiast of Aristophanes* (b), and said to be observ'd every fifth Year. And beside these we find frequent mention of *Bacchus's* Festivals in most of the Ancient Authors, some of which are describ'd in their own places.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Διόσκορει*, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were reputed to be the Sons of *Jupiter*. It was observ'd by the *Cyreneans* (c); but more especially by the *Spartans* (d), whose Countrey was honour'd by the Birth of those Heroes. The Solemnity was full of Mirth, being a Time wherein they shar'd plentifully of the Gifts of *Bacchus*, and diverted themselves with Sports, of which Wrestling-matches always made a part.

ΔΙΟΣΒΟΤΣ,

A *Milestan* Festival, wherein an Ox was offer'd to *Jupiter* (e), as the Name imports.

ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Day, observ'd in memory of *Dryops*, one of *Apollo's* Sons, at *Arsine*, which was a Maritime Town of *Argos*, and inhabited by the *Dryopians* (f).

ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ,

A Festival so call'd, because it was celebrated upon the Twelfth Day of *Anthesterion* (g). See *Αρδεσθεα*.

Ε

ΕΒΔΟΜΗ,

On the *Seventh Day* (h) of every Lunar Month, in honour of *Apollo*, to whom all Seventh Days were sacred; because one of them was his Birth-day; whence he was sometimes call'd *Εσθοματίων* (i); the Story we have in *Hesiod* (k).

(a) *Virgil, Eneid. IV.* (b) *In Pace.* (c) *Tindari Schol.* *Pythion. Od. V.* (d) *Pausanias Messenicas, Sidonius Carm. IX.* (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Pausanias Messenicas.*

(g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Suidas, Proclus in Hesiod's Dies.* (i) *Plutarehus Sympos. lib. VIII. Quest. I.* (k) *Diebus.*

καὶ ἑλσίουν, τερπὸν ἡμέρα,
Τὴν δὲ Απόλλωνα χειροτόξεα γεννήσατο Λατό.

The seventh Day is sacred,
Cause Phœbus then was of Latona was born.

At this Solemnity the Athenians sung Hymns to Apollo, and carry'd in their Hands Branches of Lawrel, with which also they adorn'd their Dishes.

Another Festival there was of this Name, which Private Families observ'd upon the Seventh Day after the Birth of a Child; but of this I shall give account in it's own place.

E I Σ H T H P I A,

The Day in which the Magistrates at Athens entered upon their Offices (a); upon which it was customary for them to offer a Solemn Sacrifice, praying for the Preservation, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, in the Temple, or Hall of Jupiter Brævū, and Minerva Brævīa, i. e. the Counsellors (b).

E K A Λ H Σ I A,

To Jupiter, surnam'd *Hecalus*, or *Hecaleius*, from *Hecale*, one of the Burrough-towns of the Leonian Tribe in Attica (c); or from an old Woman call'd *Hecale*, by whom he had a Statue erected. This *Hecale*, (as Plutarch (d) reports), when *Theseus* was upon his Expedition against the Marathonian Bull, entertain'd him with all possible Expressions of Kindness, and Respect, making Prayers and Vows to the Gods for his safe Return. *Theseus* came off with Victory, and Honour; but at his Return, finding old *Hecale* dead, and being thereby prevented from expressing his Thankfulness to her, he order'd that her Memory should be held Sacred, and honour'd at this Solemnity, in which she was call'd, by a diminution of her Name, *Hecalene*; because she had costed *Theseus* after that manner, calling him θνοτίδον, which is very usual Mode of Speech, when Aged Persons design to express their Love and Tenderness to the Younger sort: So *Strophanes* in *Strophanes* (e) calls his Son *Phidippides*, by the diminutive Name of θνητίδον.

E K A T H Σ I A,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd in honour of *Hecate*, by the Saronians, who were wont to assemble at this Time in great numbers (f).

(a) *Suidas*, aliisque Lexicographi. (b) *Antiphon* Orat. pro Chorœct. (c) *Aristophanes*, ejusque Scholi. See in *Vespis*. (d) *Idem* in *Pluto*. (e) *Pindari Scholia*. *Olymp.* VII, VIII. (f) *Eustathius* Illad. C. (e) *Pausanias* Messenicas. (f) *Metamorph.* XVII.

The Athenians also had a great Veneration for this Goddess, believing that she was the Over-fee of their Families, and protected their Children; whence it was customary to erect Statues to her before the Doors of their Houses, which from the Goddess's Name were call'd *Ιγνάτα* (a). Every New-moon there was a Publick Entertainment provided at the Charge of the Richer sort, which was no sooner wrought to the accustomed place, but the poor People carry'd all off, giving out that *Hecate* had devour'd it (b); whence it was call'd *Εγκάθια δεῖπνον*, or *Hecate's Supper*. This was done in a place where three ways met, because this Goddess was suppos'd to have a threefold Nature, or three Offices, in allusion to which she was known by three Names, being call'd in the Infernal Regions, *Hecate*; in Heaven Σελήνη, or the Moon; and upon Earth, *Aptemus*, or *Diana*: whence it is, that we find a great many Names attributed to her, deriv'd from the number Three, or bearing some Relation to it; as *Tετράπυλος*, *Τετράλυγχος*, *Τετραδιών*, *Τετραδίτην*, *Trivia*, *Tergemina*, *Tritonia*, with several others.

E K A T O M E O I A,

A Festival (c) celebrated in honour of *Juno*, by the Argians, and Egnensians, who were a Colony from Argos. It was so call'd from *Ιαπούην*, which signifies a Sacrifice, consisting of an hundred Oxen; being usual upon the first Day of this Solemnity to offer so many to *Juno*, the Reliques of all which were distributed amongst the Citizens. There were also at this Time Publick Sports, first instituted by *Archinus*, one of the Kings of Argos; the Prize was a Brazen Shield, and a Crown of Myrtle. There was also an Anniversary Sacrifice call'd by this name in Lacedaemonia, and offer'd for the Preservation of the hundred Cities, which flourish'd once time in that Countrey (d).

E K A T O M Φ O N I A,

A Solemn Sacrifice to Jupiter, offer'd by the Messenians, when any of them kill'd an hundred Enemies (e).

E K Δ T Σ I A,

A Festival observ'd by the Phœstians, in honour of Latona, upon this account, as it is deliver'd by *Amotinus Liberalis* (f): *Glaucus*, the Daughter of *Eurytus*, was marry'd to *Lamprus*, the Son of *Pandion*, a Citizen of Phœstus in Crete; who being of an honourable Family, but wanting an Estate answerable to his Birth, and being us-

(a) *Aristophanes*, ejusque Scholi. See in *Vespis*. (b) *Idem* in *Pluto*. (c) *Pindari Scholia*. *Olymp.* VII, VIII. (d) *Eustathius* Illad. C. (e) *Pausanias* Messenicas. (f) *Metamorph.* XVII.

able to provide competent Fortunes for Daughters, gave order to his Wife, that if she was brought to bed of a Daughter, she should immediately put her to Death. This done, he went to look after his Flock, and before his Return *Galatea* was deliver'd of a Daughter, being overcome by Maternal Affection, resolv'd to disobey her Husband's cruel Command; wherefore to secure the Infant, she call'd it *Lencippus*, telling her Husband it was a Boy: At length, being no longer able to conceal the Artifice, she fled for succour to *Latona's* Temple, where with abundance of earnestness she entreated the Goddess, that, if it was possible, her Virgin might be transform'd into a Boy; *Latona* mov'd with Compassion, granted her Request; whence she was by the *Phestians* call'd Φυνία, ἀλλὰ τὸ φύειν μῆδεται τὴν κέρην, i. e. because the Maid chang'd her Sex; and *Endoxia*, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν μῆδα ἐκδιέν τὸ πέπλον, i. e. because she put off her Woman's Apparel.

ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana*, surnam'd Ελαφίσσων, i. e. the Huntress, for which reason a Cake made in the form of a Deer, and upon that account call'd έλαφός, was offer'd to her (a). This Festival was instituted upon this Occasion: The *Phocensians* being reduc'd to the last extremity by the *Thessalians*, and disdaining to submit to them, *Daiphantus* propos'd that a vast pile of combustible matter should be erected, upon which they should place their Wives, Children, and their whole Substance; and in case they were defeated, set all on fire together, that nothing might come into the hands of their Enemies. But it being judg'd by no means reasonable so to dispose of the Women without their consent, they summon'd them to the Publick Assembly; where being met in a full Body, the Propofal was sooner offer'd to them, than with unanimous consent they gave their Approbation of it, applauding *Daiphantus*, and decreeing him a Crown, in Reward of so generous and noble a Contrivance; the Boys also are said to have met, and consented to it: Things being in this posture, they went to meet their Enemies, whom they gag'd with such Fury, and Resolution, that those, by whom they had just before been reduc'd to extream Despair, were routed, and entirely defeated by them (b). In memory of which Victory, this Festival was instituted, and observ'd with more Solemnity, and frequenter by greater numbers of Worshippers, than any other in the Country. Here you may take notice of the Proverb Φωκέων στομα, i. e. *Phocenian Despair*, which is apply'd to Persons lost beyond all hopes of Recovery, and is said to havetaken it's original from this Story.

(a) *Athenens Antiquit. lib. XIV.* (b) *Plutarchus de Virtute Mulierum.*

ΕΛΕΝΙΑ

ΕΛΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival instituted by the *Laconians*, in memory of *Helena* (a), whom they gave the honour of a Temple, and Divine Worship. It was celebrated by Virgins riding upon Mules, or in certain Chariots compos'd of Reeds, or Bull-rushes, and call'd Κυάρησαι.

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ,

At *Plataeæ* (b), to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Assertor of Liberty, by Delegates from almost all the Cities of *Greece*. It was instituted upon his account: *Mardonius*, the Persian General, being defeated in the Territories of *Plataeæ*, by the *Grecians* under the conduct of *Pausanius* the *Spartan*; the *Plataeans* erected an Altar, and a Statue of white Marble to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, by whose Assistance they suppos'd the *Grecians* had asserted the Liberties of *Greece*, against the Forces of the *Barbarians*: and a general Assembly being summon'd from all parts of *Greece*, *Aristides* the *Athenian* propos'd, that Deputies might be sent every fifth Year from the Cities of *Greece*, to celebrate Ελευθερία, i.e. the Games of Liberty; which was agree'd upon, and great Prizes appointed to be contended for.

The *Plataeans* also kept an Anniversary Solemnity, in memory of those that had valiantly lost their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty; of which the manner was thus: On the sixteenth of Month *Menae*, which with the *Bœotians* is *Alalcomenius*, a Procession was made, beginning about Break of Day; it was led by a Trumpeter, sounding a Point of War; then follow'd certain Chariots loaden with Myrrh, Garlands, and a black Bull; after these came young Men Free-born, it not being permitted any Person of Servile Condition to assist at any part of this Solemnity, because the Men, in whose memory it was instituted, dy'd in Defence of the Liberty of *Greece*; these carry'd Libations of Wine, and Milk, in large two-hand'd Vessels, and Jars of Oyl, and precious Ointments: Last of all came the Chief Magistrate, for whom tho' it was unlawful at other times to touch any thing of Iron, or wear Garments of any Colour but White, yet he was then clad in a Purple Robe, and taking a Water-pot out of the City-Chamber, proceeded with a Sword in his Hand through the middle of the Town, to the Sepulcres: Then he drew Water out of a neighbouring Spring, and wash'd, and anointed the Monuments; then sacrific'd the Bull upon a pile of Wood, making Supplication to *Infernal Mercury*, and *Jupiter*, and invited the Souls of those Valiant Heroes, that lost their Lives in the Defence of their Country, to the Entertainment; then filling a Bowl with Wine, said, *I drink to those, that lost their Lives for the Liberty of Greece*. These Solemnities, *Plutarch* telleth us, were observ'd till his Days.

(a) *Hesychius.* (b) *Tausania Bœotia. Plutarchus Aristides.*

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the Samians, in honour of the God of Love (a).

It was also customary for Slaves to keep a Holy-day call'd by this Name, when they obtain'd Liberty. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Plautus* (b), who introduces a Slave nam'd *Toxitus*, rejoicing that his Master was gone from Home, and promising himself as much Pleasure, as if he had obtain'd Freedom; whence he makes him to say,

Basilice agio Eleutheria

EΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ.

This Solemnity was observ'd by the *Celeans*, and *Phliasians* every fourth Year; by the *Pheneate* also, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Parrhasian*, and *Cretans*; but more especially by the *Athenians* every fifth Year, at *Eleusis* a Burrough-Town of *Attica*, from whence it was translated to *Rome* by *Adrian* the Emperor, and never totally abolished till the Reign of the Elder *Theodosius*. It was the most celebrated, and Mysterious Solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often call'd, by way of Eminence, *Mysteia*, i. e. the Mysteries, without any other Note of Distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal the Sacred Rites, that if any Person divulg'd any part of them, he was thought to have call'd down some Divine Judgment upon his Head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same House with him; wherefore he was apprehended as a publick offender, and suffered Death. Every thing contain'd some hidden Mystery, One her self (to whom with her Daughter *Proserpina* this Solemnity was sacred) was not call'd by her own Name, but by the unusual Title *Aχθεια*, which seems to be deriv'd from *ἀχθος*, i. e. Grief, or Hardiness, because of her Sorrow for the loss of her Daughter, when she was stoln by *Pluto*. This Secrecy was strictly enjoyn'd not only in *Attica*, but all other places of *Greece*, where this Festival was observ'd, except *Crete*; insomuch that if any Person, that was not lawfully Initiated, did but out of Ignorance, or Mistake, chance to be present at the Mysterious Rites, he was put to Death. It is said by some to have been first instituted by *Ceres* her self, who she had supply'd the *Athenians* with Corn, in a Time of grievous Famine. Others attribute both those Facts to King *Eretheus*: Some will have it to have been instituted by *Museus*, the Father of *Emperors*; others by *Eumolpus* himself.

Persons of both Sexes, and all Ages were Initiated at this Solemnity; nor was it a thing indifferent whether they would be so or no; for the Neglect of it was look'd upon as a Crime of a very

(a) *Athenaeus* *Defensio* p. lib. III. (b) *Terf.* Act. I. Scen. I.

heinous Nature; insomuch that it was one part of the Accusation, for which *Socrates* was condemn'd to Death. All Persons Initiated were thought to live in a state of greater Happiness and Security than other Men, being under the more immediate Care, and Protection of the Goddesses: Nor did the Benefit of it extend only to this Life, but after Death too they enjoy'd (as was believ'd) far greater degrees of Felicity than others, and were honour'd with the first Places in the *Elysian* Shades; whereas others (poor Souls!) were forc'd to lye, and wallow in perpetual Dirt, Stink, and Nastiness.

But since the Benefits of Initiation were so vastly great, no wonder if they were very cautious what Persons they admitted to it: Therefore such, as were convicted of Witchcraft, or any other heinous Crime, or had committed Murder, tho' against their Wills, were debarr'd from these Mysteries; and tho' in later Ages all Persons, *Barbarians* excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the Primitive Times the *Athenians* excluded all Strangers, that is, all that were not Members of their own Common-wealth, some Eminent and Extraordinary Persons excepted; such were *Hercules*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Aesculapius*, and some others. Nor were these admitted to the *Musæia μεγάλα*, or Greater Mysteries, but only to the *μικρὰ*, or Less, which were sacred to *Proserpina*, and first instituted on this Account: On a Time, when the *Athenians* were celebrating the accustom'd Solemnity, *Hercules* happening to go that way, desir'd he might be Initiated; but it being unlawful for any Stranger to enjoy that Privilege, and yet *Hercules* being a Person that by reason of his great Power, and the extraordinary Services he had done for them, could not be deny'd; *Eumolpus* thought of an Expedient, whereby to satisfy the Heroe's Request, without violating the Laws; which he did, by instituting another Solemnity, which was call'd *Musæia μικρα*, or the Lesser Mysteries; which were afterwards solemnly observ'd in the Month *Anthepteron*, at *Agræ*, a Place near the River *Illissus*; whereas the Greater were celebrated in the Month *Boedromion* at *Eleusis*, an Attick Burrough, from which *Ceres* was call'd *Eleusinia*. In later Times the Lesser Festival was us'd as a Preparative to the Greater; for no Persons were Initiated in the Greater, unless they had been purify'd at the Lesser; the manner of which Purification was thus: Having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine Days, they came and offer'd Sacrifices, and Prayers, wearing Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, which were call'd *Ioures*, or *Iuves*; they had also under their Feet *Διὸς κάστοι*, i. e. Jupiter's Skin, which was the Skin of a Victim offer'd to that God. The Person that assisted them herein, was call'd *Tspards*, from *Tspw*, i.e. Water, which was us'd at most Purifications, but they were nam'd *Musæi*, i. e. Persons Initiated.

About a Year after, having sacrific'd a Sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the Greater Mysteries, the Secret Rites of which (some few excepted, to which none but Priests were conscious) were frankly reveal'd

reveal'd to them; whence they were call'd ἐρεγεῖ, and ἐμπέλαι, i. e. Inspectors. The manner of Initiation was thus: The Candidates being crown'd with Myrtle, had admittance by Night into a place call'd Μυστικὸς ἀντὸς, i. e. the Mystical Temple, which was an Edifice so vast and capacious, that the most ample Theater did scarce exceed it. At their entrance, they purify'd themselves by washing their Hands in Holy-water, and at the same time were admonished, to present themselves with Minds pure and undefil'd, without which the external Cleanness of the Body would by no means be accepted. After this the Holy Mysteries were read to them out of a Book, call'd Πέτραια, which word is deriv'd from πέτρα, i. e. a Stone, because the Book was nothing else but two Stones fitly cemented together. Then the Priest that Initiated them, call'd Ἱεροφάνης, propos'd certain Questions, as, Whether they were fasting, &c. to which they return'd Answers in a set Form, as may be seen in Meursius's Treatise on this Festival, to which I refer the Reader. This done, strange and amazing Objects presented themselves, sometimes the place they were in, seem'd to shake round them, sometimes appear'd bright and resplendent with Light, and radiant Fire, and then again cover'd with black Darkness, and Horror; sometimes Thunder, and Lightning, sometimes frightful Noises, and Bellowings, sometimes terrible Apparitions astonish'd the trembling Spectators: The being present at these Sights was call'd Λόγος, i. e. Intuition. After this, they were dismiss'd in these Words, Κούξ, Ομπαξ. The Garments in which they were Initiated, were accounted sacred, and of no less efficacy to avert Evils, than Charms, and Incantations: wherefore they never cast them off, till they were torn and tatter'd Rags; nor was it then usual to throw them away, but they made Swadling-cloths of them for their Children, or consecrated them to Ceres, and Proserpina.

The chief Person that attended at the Initiation, was call'd Ἱεροφάνης, i. e. a Revealer of holy Things: He was always a Citizen of Athens, and held his Office during Life (tho' amongst the Celans, and Phliasians it was customary for him to resign his Place every fourth Year, which was the Time of this Festival) he was farther oblig'd to devote himself wholly to Divine Service, and to live a chaste and single Life; to which end, it was usual for him to anoint himself with the Juice of Hemlock, which by it's extreme Coldness is said to extinguish, in a great measure, the Natural Heat. The Hierophantes had three Assistants, the first of which was call'd from his Office Δασδοῦχος, i. e. Torch-bearer, and to him it was permitted to marry. The second was call'd Κηρεξ, of whose Office I have already given an Account. The third minister'd at the Altar, and was for that reason nam'd Οὐδὶ βαρύν. Hierophantes is said to have been a Type of the Great Creatour of all Things; Δασδοῦχος of the Sun; Κηρεξ, of Mercury; and Οὐδὶ τῷ βαρύν, of the Moon.

There

There were also certain publick Officers, whose business it was to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom. First, Βαρδᾶς, i. e. The King, who was one of the Archons, and was oblig'd at this Solemnity to offer Prayers, and Sacrifices, to see that no Indecency, or Irregularity was committed, and the Day following the Mysteries, to assemble the Senate, and take cognizance of all Offenders in that kind. Beside the King, there were four Εμπελάται, i. e. Curators, elected by the People; one of them was appointed out of the Sacred Family of the Eumolpida, another out of the Cerxes, and the remaining two out of the other Citizens. There were also ten Persons, that assisted at this, and some other Solemnities, and were call'd Ιεροτοῖ, because it was their Business to offer Sacrifices.

This Festival was celebrated in Boedromion, and continu'd nine Days, beginning upon the fifteenth, and ending upon the twenty-third Day of that Month; during which Time, it was unlawful to arrest any Man, or present any Petition; and such as were found guilty of these Practises, were fin'd a thousand Drachms, or (as others report) put to Death. It was also unlawful for those that were Initiated, to sit upon the Covering of a Well, or to eat Beans, Mullets, or Weazles. And if any Woman rode in a Chariot to Eleusis, she was by an Edict of Zycurgus oblig'd to pay six thousand Drachms.

1. The first Day was call'd Αγυρμὸς, i. e. an Assembly; because, it may be, then the Worshippers first met together.

2. The second was nam'd Αλας δὲ Μύσα, i. e. to the Sea, you that are Initiated; because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the Sea.

3: Upon the third they offer'd Sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of an AΞonian Mullet, in Greek τείγην, and Barley out of Rharium, a Field of Eleusis, in which that sort of Corn was first sown. These Oblations were call'd Θύα, and accounted so Sacred, that the Priests themselves were not (as was usual in other Offerings) allow'd to partake of them.

4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn Procession, wherein the Καλάθιον, or Holy Basket of Ceres, was carry'd in a consecrated Cart; Crowds of People shouting as they went along, Χαῖες Δημήτερ, i. e. All Happiness to Ceres. After these follow'd certain Women call'd Κιστοφέραι, who (as the Name implies) carry'd certain Baskets: In these were contain'd Sesamin, carded Wooll, some grains of Salt, a Serpent, Pomegranates, Reeds, Ivy-boughs, a sort of Cakes call'd φεῖς, Poppys, &c.

5. The fifth was call'd Η τῶν λαμπάσων νύέρα, i.e. the Torch-day; because the Night following it, the Men, and Women ran about with Torches in their Hands. It was also customary to dedicate Torches

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to *Ceres*, and contend who should present the biggest ; which was done in memory of *Ceres's Journey*, wherein she sought *Proserpina*, being conducted by the light of a Torch, kindled in the Flaines of *Etna*.

6. The sixth Day was call'd *Iaxxos*, from *Jachus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, that accompany'd the Goddess in her Search after *Proserpina*, with a Torch in his Hand; whence it is, that his Statue held a Torch. This Statue was carry'd from the *Ceramicus* to *Eleusis* in a solemn Procession, call'd, after the Heroe's Name, *Iaxxos*. The Persons that accompany'd it, had their Heads crown'd with Myrtle, as also had the Statue, and were nain'd *Iaxxosjyoi*, and all the way danc'd, and sung, and beat brazen Kettles. The Way by which they issu'd out of the City, was call'd *Iegē obōs*, i. e. the Sacred Way. The Resting-place *Iegē ouxī*, from a *Fig-tree*, which grew there, and was (like all other things concern'd in this Solemnity) accounted Sacred. It was also customary to rest upon a Bridge built over the River *Cephissus*, and make themselves merry by jesting upon those that pass'd by; whence *peueiōw*, being deriv'd from *peueia*, i. e. a Bridge, is by *Suidas* expounded *χαδάλων*, i. e. mocking, or jeering; and *peueiā* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *οπώμαι*, i. e. Scorn. Having pass'd this Bridge, they went to *Eleusis*, the way into which was call'd *Mystikē eiōobōs*, i. e. the Mystical Entrance.

7. Upon the seventh Day were Sports, in which the Victors were rewarded with a Measure of Barley, that Grain being first sown in *Eleusis*.

8. The eighth was call'd *Epidaūow ιμέρα*, because it once happen'd that *Aesculapius*, coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens*, and desirous to be Initiated, had the Lesser Mysteries repeated: Whence it became customary to celebrate them a second time upon this Day, and admit to Initiation such Persons as had not before enjoy'd that privilege.

9. The ninth, and last Day of the Festival was call'd *Πλυμόρια*, i. e. Earthen Vessels : because it was usual to fill two such Vessels with Wine, one of which being plac'd towards the East, and the other towards the West; after the Repetition of certain Mystical Works, they were both thrown down, and the Wine being spilt upon the Ground, was offer'd as a Libation.

ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian Festival* (a), so call'd from *Elēnai*, i. e. Vessels made of Bull-rushes, with Ears of Willow, in which certain Mysterious things were carry'd upon this Day.

(a) *Tellus Onom.* lib. X cap. LIII. *Hesychius.*

ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ

ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ,

Two Festivals (a), one of which was celebrated in *Crete*, in honour of *Europa*, call'd *Ελλωτία*, which was either a *Phoenician Name*, or deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλέκτης αὐτῆς τῶν τάφων, i. e. from *Europa's* ravishment by *Jupiter* in the form of a Bull. At this time *Europa's* Bones were carry'd in Procession, with a Myrtle Garland call'd *Ελλωτίς*, or *Ειλώτης*, which was no less than twenty Cubits in Circumference.

The other Festival was celebrated by the *Corinthians* with solemn Games, and Races, wherein young Men contended, running with lighted Torches in their hands. It was instituted in honour of *Minerva*, Sirnam'd *Ελλωτίς*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μαραθώνι τάφου, i. e. from a certain Pond in *Marathon*, where one of her Statues was erected : Or ἀπὸ τῆς ἡρή τὸν θεόπον τὸν Πήγασον, i. e. because by her assistance *Bellerophon* caught *Pegasus*, the winged Horse, and brought him under command, which some take to be the first reason of the Celebration of this Festival; others are of opinion, that this Name was given to the Goddess from one *Hellotis*, a *Corinthian Woman*; the Story runs thus : The *Dorians*, being assisted by the posterity of *Hercules*, made an Invasion upon *Peloponnesus*, where they took, and burn'd *Corinth*; most of the Women took care to secure themselves by an early Flight, only some few, amongst whom were *Hellotis*, and *Eurytione*, betook themselves to *Minerva's* Temple, hoping, that the sanctity of the Place would be sufficient protection for them : No sooner had this reach'd the *Dorians* ears, but they set Fire to the Temple, and all the rest making a shift to escape, *Hellotis*, and *Eurytione* perish'd in the Flames. Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Plague, which prov'd very fatal to the *Dorians*; and the remedy prescrib'd by the Goddess, was, to appease the Ghosts of the two deceas'd Sisters; whereupon they instituted this Festival in memory of them, and erected a Temple to *Minerva*, sirnam'd, from one of them, *Hellotis*.

ΕΛΩΠΙΑ,

Games in *Sicily*, near the River *Helorus* (b).

ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ,

At *Athens* (c).

ΕΝΗΛΙΑΖΙΣ,

Or rather (according to *Meursius's* conjecture) *Evaniazis*, was a Fe-

(a) *Hesychius, Etymologici Auditor, Atheneus Διηπειροπ. lib. XV. Tindari Scholiastes Olympian. Od. XIII.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Idem.*

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stival in honour of *Eryalius* (a), whom some will have to be the same with *Mars*; Others, only one of his Ministers.

ΕΠΑΛΘΗΣ,

To *Ceres* nam'd *Axθεια* (b), from ἀχθός, i. e. grief, in memory of her sorrow, when she had lost her Daughter *Proserpina*.

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ,

Private Festivals, and Times of rejoicing, when a Friend, or Relation was return'd from a Journey (c).

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ,

A *Delphian* Festival, in memory of a Journey of *Apollo* (d).

ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ,

In honour of *Apollo* (e).

ΕΠΙΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in honour of *Ceres* (f).

ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΑΙ,

Another of *Ceres's* Festivals, observ'd by the *Laconians* (g).

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Day of rejoicing after Victory.

ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ,

A *Rhodian* Festival (h).

ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (i).

ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ,

At *Scira* in *Attica*, in honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* (k).

ΕΡΩΤΙΔΙΑ,

By the *Thebrians*, in honour of *Eros*, i. e. *Cupid*, the God of Love (l).

(a) Idem. (b) Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride. (c) Himerius in *Propempt. Flavia*.
(d) Procopius in Epistola ad Zachariam. (e) Hesychius. (f) Idem. (g) Idem.
(h) Idem. (i) Idem. (k) Strabo Geogr. lib. IX. Stephanus v. Σκιρό. (l) Eratosthenes sub fine *Iliad.* o'.

ΕΡΩΤΙΑ

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ΕΡΩΤΙΑ,

This Festival seems to be the same with the former, for it was observ'd by the *Thebrians* in honour of *Cupid* (a); being celebrated every fifth year with Sports, and Games, wherein Musicians, and others contended. If any Quarrels had happen'd amongst the People, it was usual at this time to offer Sacrifices, and Prayers to the God, that he would put an end to them.

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival, in honour of *Hercules* (b); being (I suppose) instituted in memory of his *Labours*, for Labour is by the Greeks call'd έργον.

ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ,

I would rather call it Εργάνωσις, for this Festival belong'd to *Ceres* (c), whom we find surnam'd *Hercynna* in *Lycophron* (d); which Title was given her from *Hercynia*, the Daughter of *Trophonius*, and Play-fellow of *Proserpina* (e).

ΕΡΜΑΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd in honour of *Ermis*, i. e. *Mercury*, by the *Pheacae* in *Arcadia* (f), and the *Cylenians* in *Elis* (g).

Another we find observ'd by the *Tangraeans* in *Bœotia* (h), where *Mercury* was call'd Κευρίρρος, i. e. the Ram-bearer, and represented with a Ram upon his Shoulder, because he is said in a time of Plague to have walk'd about the City in that Posture, and cur'd the Sick; in memory of which Action, it was customary for one of the most beautiful Youths in the City to walk round the City-walls with a Lamb, or Ram upon his Shoulders.

A Festival of the same Name was also observ'd in *Crete*, where it was usual for the servants to sit down at Table, whilst their Masters stood by, and waited (i); which custom was also practis'd at the *Roman Saturnalia*.

Another of *Mercury's* Festivals was observ'd by Boys in the Schools of Exercise at *Athens* (k); at which no adult Persons were allow'd to be present, beside the *Gymnastarch*; who, if convicted of having admitted any, underwent the same punishment with those that corrupted free-born Youth: The occasion of which Law seems to have been the foul and not to be nam'd Lust, and Wantonness, that were practis'd in former Times at this Solemnity.

(a) Plutarchus *Eropic.* Pausanias *Bœoticus.* (b) Hesychius. (c) Idem. (d) Cassandra v. 153. (e) Pausanias *Bœoticus.* (f) Idem *Arcadicus.* (g) Idem *Eliacus.*
(h) Idem *Bœoticus.* (i) Athenaeus *Dinner-top.* XIV. (k) Eschines in *Timarchum.*

ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices to *Vesta* (a), call'd in Greek Εσία, of which it was unlawful to carry away, or communicate any part to any beside the Worshippers: whence Εσία θύει, i. e. to sacrifice to *Vesta*, is Proverbially apply'd to such as do any thing in private without Spectators (b); or rather to covetous Misers, that will not part with any thing they are once possess'd of (c).

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΙΑ, or ΣΕΜΝΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

To the *Furies* (d), who were by the Athenians call'd Σεμναι θεαι, i. e. Venerable Goddesses; by the Sicyonians, and others, Εὐμενίδεις, i. e. Favourable, or Propitious; out of an Opinion that their true Names were unlucky Omens. This Festival was observ'd once every Year with Sacrifices, wherein pregnant Ews, Cakes made by the most Eminent of the Young Men, and a Libation of Honey and Wine were offer'd to the Goddesses, the Worshippers being deck'd with Flowers. At Athens none had Admission to these Solemnities but Free-born Denizens; and of them, those only that were of known Virtue and Integrity, for such alone could be acceptable to these Deities, whose peculiar Office it was to revenge and punish all sorts of Impiety.

ΕΤΡΥΩΝΙΟΝ,

To *Ceres* (e).

ΕΤΡΥΚΑΕΙΑ,

A Spartan Festival, mentioned in an old Inscription.

ΕΤΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the Phigaleans in Arcadia (f), who offer'd Sacrifices, both in Publick, and Private, to *Eurynome*, who had in this place a Temple, that was never open, but upon this Day. This *Eurynome* was (as some are of Opinion) the same with *Diana*; or (according to others) one of *Oceanus's* Daughters mention'd in *Homer*, where she is said to have assisted in entertaining *Vulcan*.

ΕΦΙΠΠΟΣ,

Horse-races in Laconia (g).

(a) Hesychius. (b) Diogenianus. (c) Tarrheus. (d) Thilo, Pausanias Boeoticus.
(e) Hesychius. (f) Pausanias Arcadicus. (g) Hesychius, &c Phavorinus.

ΗΛΑ

Η

ΗΛΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ,

A Laconian Festival, in honour of *Helacatus* (a), who was a Boy belov'd by *Hercules*.

ΗΠΑΙΑ,

A Festival at Argos, in honour of *Juno*, who was the Protectress of that City, and call'd in Greek Ηπη. There were two Processions to the Goddess's Temple without the City; One by the Men in Armour: Another, in which Juno's Priests, who was always a Matron of the first Quality, was drawn in a Chariot by white Oxen: From her Priesthood the Argians accounted their Years, as the Athenians did by the Government of their Archons: Being arriv'd at the Temple, they offer'd an *Hecatomb* of Oxen, whence this Festival is nam'd Εγκριμοια, that Sacrifice is also sometimes call'd Δεξερα, which Name may, perhaps, be deriv'd from λέχη, i. e. a Bed, because it was Juno's Care to preside over Marriages, Births, &c. There were also certain Games, wherein the Victory consisted in pulling down a Shield, that was strongly fix'd upon the Theater: The reward was a Crown of Myrtle, and a brazen Shield; whence the Game was sometimes call'd Χάλκειος αγών, i. e. the Brazen Contention. See Εγκριμοια.

Another Festival of this Name we find celebrated every fifth Year in Elis, where sixteen Matrons were appointed to weave a Garment for the Goddess. There were Games also, which are said to have been first instituted by Hippodamia, in honour of *Juno*, by whose Assistance she was marry'd to Pelops. The Presidents were sixteen Matrons, every one of which was attended by a Maid: The Contenders were Virgins, who being distinguish'd into several Classes, according to their Ages, ran Races in their Orders, beginning from the youngest. The habit of all was the same; their Hair was dishevell'd, their right Shoulders bare to their Breasts, and their Coats reach'd no lower than their Knees. They had a second Race in the Olympick Stadium, which was at that time shorten'd about a sixth part. Such as obtain'd Victory, were rewarded with Crowns of Olive, and a share of the Ox that was offer'd in Sacrifice, and were permitted to dedicate their own Pictures to the Goddess.

This Name was also given to a Solemn Day of Mourning at Corinth for *Medea's* Children, who were buried in the Temple of *Juno Acraea* in that place, and, as some say, slain by the Corinthians, who to remove the Scandal of so barbarous a Murder from themselves, are said to have given *Empedocles* a large Sum to invent the Fable, wherein

(a) Hesychius.

it

it is attributed to *Medea*, which before that time no Man ever dream'd of (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated by the *Pelleneans* with Games, wherein the Victor was rewarded with a rich Garment, call'd from the place's Name Πελλαῖον χλαῖνα.

H P A K Λ E I A,

An Athenian Festival, celebrated every fifth Year in honour of *Hercules* (b).

The *Thisbians* also, and *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, observ'd a Solemn Festival in honour of *Hercules*, surnam'd *Mήλων*, because τὸ μῆλα, i. e. Apples, were offer'd to him (c): The Original of which Custom was thus: It being usual in former Times to offer a Sheep at this Solemnity, it happen'd once that the River *Aṣopus* had so far overflow'd its Banks, that it could not be forded, whereby the coming of the Victim was hindred: The word μῆλον is ambiguous in Greek, signifying sometimes a Sheep, sometimes an Apple; which some of the Boys being aware of, for want of other Employment, perform'd the holy Rites in Sport, offering, instead of the Ram, an Apple, which they supported with four Sticks, in imitation of Feet, placing two more upon the Top of it, to branch out like Horns: *Hercules* was mightily taken with the Jest, and the Custom was continu'd from that Time to my Author's Age, who flourish'd under *Commodus*, the *Roman Emperour*.

At *Sicyon* *Hercules* was honour'd with a Festival, which lasted two Days, the former of which was call'd *Oropūtēs*; the latter *Hēkateia*.

At *Lindus* there was a Solemnity in honour of *Hercules*, at which nothing was heard, but Execrations, and Ill-boding Words; insomuch that if any Person happen'd to let fall a Lucky Speech, he was thought to have profan'd the holy Rites; the Original of which Custom is accounted for by *Gastanius*.

H P O Σ A N Θ E I A,

A Peloponnesian Festival, wherein the Women met together, and gather'd Flowers (d), as the Name imports, being deriv'd from ὥρα, i. e. the Spring, and ἄνθος, i. e. a Flower.

H P O X I A,

A Festival mentioned by *Hesychius*.

(a) *Lycophronis Scholia*. (b) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. IX.* (c) *Idem lib. I. cap. 1*
(d) *Hesychius*.

H P Ω I Σ,

A Festival celebrated every ninth Year, by the *Delphians*, in honour of some *Heroine*, as may be learn'd from the Name. We are told by *Plutarch* (a), that there were in it a great many Mysterious Rites, wherein was a Representation of something like *Semele's* Resurrection.

H Φ A I Σ T E I A,

An Athenian Festival in honour of *Hephaestos*, i. e. *Vulcan*. At this time there was a Race with Torches, call'd Αγὼν λαμπταδούχος, in the *Academy*; the manner of which was thus (b): The Antagonists were three Young Men, one of which being appointed by Lots to take his turn first, took a lighted Torch in his Hand, and began his Course; if the Torch happen'd to be extinguish'd before he arriv'd to his Journey's end, he deliver'd it to the second, and he in like manner to the third: The Victory was his, that carry'd the Torch lighted to the Race's end, who was call'd Λαμπταδηφόρος; but if none could perform that, the Victory was left undetermin'd, and not adjudg'd to any of them. If any of the Contenders, for fear of extinguishing the Torch by too violent a Motion, slacken'd their Course, the Spectators us'd to strike them with the Palms of their Hands; for which reason those Blows were call'd πλυξαὶ πλατεῖαι, or broad Stripes; as also Κρηπείαι, because they were inflicted in the *Ceramicus* (c), of which the *Academy* was a part. To the successive Delivering of the Torches from one to another, there are frequent Allusions in Authors, who usually compare to it the Turns and Vicissitudes of Human Affairs, and the various Changes and Successions, that happen in the World; of which I will only give you one Instance out of *Lucretius* (d);

Inque brevi spatio mutantur secula animantium,
Et quasi Cursores vitæ Lampada tradunt.

So things by turns increase, by turns decay,
Like Racers, bear the Lamp of Life, and live,
And their Race done, their Lamps to others give.

Mr. Creath.

©

Θ A Λ T Σ I A,

A Sacrifice offer'd by the Husbandmen after Harvest Τιμὴ τῆς Δύναμις τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. in Gratitude to the Gods, by whose Blessing

(a) Quaest. Grac. (b) *Tausanias, Persii veteris Scholasticus, Hesychius.* (c) Aristophanes, eiusque Scholia in Rani. (d) Lib. II. they

they enjoy'd the Fruits of the Ground. The whole Festival was call'd Αλάα, of which in another place; as also Συγκομισίεα, οὗ τῆς συγκομιδῆς τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. from the Gathering of Fruits. Some will have it to be observ'd in honour of *Ceres*, and *Bacchus* (a), those being the two Deities, who had a peculiar Care of the Fruits of the Earth. But *Eustathius* (b) telleth us, that there was also a Solemn Procession at this Time in honour of *Neptune*; and addeth farther, that all the Gods had a share in the Offerings at this Festival; as appears also from Homer's own Words, who tells us, that *Diana's* Anger against *Oeneus* was caus'd by his neglect of Sacrificing to her at this Festival, wherein all the rest of the Gods had been feasted by him;

Kαὶ γὰρ ποῖος κακὸν ἔχουσθεντος Αρτεμίσιος ἄρρεν,
Χωσαρέμην ὅτ' οὐ καὶ τὴν θαλάττα γεννᾷ ἀλεῖν
Οἰωνὸς ἔργον, ἀλλοι δὲ θεοὶ μάνιαν ἐκπομπας,
Οἷς δὲ ἐξεργάζεται Δίος κούρη μεγάλοισι.

Diana, much incens'd, that *Oeneus* had
To all the other Gods Oblations made,
And not to Her his grateful First-fruits pay'd,
Sent down this Evil to revenge his Crime.

Mr. Hutchin.

Hence comes Θαλύτης ἄρτος, sometimes call'd Θάργυλος (c), which was the first Bread made of the New Corn. Some there are, that will have Θαλύτης to be a general Name for all the Festivals, wherein they carry'd τὰς θαλύτας, i. e. green Boughs.

ΘΑΡΓΥΛΑΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival, in honour of the Sun, and his Attendants the Hours; or, as others think, of *Delian Apollo*, and *Diana*. It was celebrated upon the sixth, and seventh Days of *Thargelion*; and receiv'd it's Name from Θαργύλια, which is a General Word for all the Fruits of the Earth; because one of the chief Ceremonies was the carrying about their First-fruits in Pots call'd Θαργύλοι, which Name was also apply'd to the Εἰσεστῶναι, which were carry'd about the City at this Time, and shall be describ'd in the Festival, call'd Πλαυτέψια. The chief Solemnity was upon the latter Day, the former being wholly taken up in making Preparations for it; at whid time it was customary to lustrate the City, which was done by two Persons, call'd by the general Name of Φαρμακοί, which is apply'd to all that purify'd Cities; or the more peculiar one of Σύριππα.

(a) Menander Rhetor cap. viii. 1. 2. 3. (b) Iliad. i. (c) Athenaeus lib. III. Th.

They were both Men; or, according to others, a Man and Woman; one of which represented the Male, the other the Female Sex, and offer'd a Sacrifice for each of them: It was usual for the Man to bear about his Neck Figs, call'd ιγάδες, of a blackish Colour; and the Woman, white. The ordinary Rites in purifying Cities are thus describ'd by John Tzetzes (a);

Ο φαρμακὸς, τὸ καθάριμα, τοιοῦτον λῦ τὸ πόλει.
Αν συμφρεδὲ καθέλασε πάλιν θεομηνία,
Εἴτεν λοιμός, εἴτε τε λιμός, εἴτε καὶ βλάβης ἄλλο,
Τῶν πάντων ἀμωρφότερον, πήγον ὡς τερψίς θυσίαν,
Εἰς καθαριμὸν καὶ φαρμακὸν πόλεως τὸ νοσούσιον,
Εἰς τόπον δὲ τὸ τερψόφρενον σύσαρτες τὸ θυσίαν,
Τυρέν τε σόντες τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μάζαν, καὶ ιγάδας,
Επιλάσις καὶ ἁστισμένες ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ Τότε
Σκίλλας, συκῆς ἀγέλαιος τε, καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ ἀγγίων,
Τέλος πνεὶ κατέκυνον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀσέοισι,
Καὶ τὸν αποθνήσκειν τοῖς θάλασσαν ἔσσεινον εἰς ἀνέρυς,
Εἰς καθαριμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔφιν, τῆς νοσούσιον.

Thus was in Ancient Times Lustration made;
When any City groan'd beneath the weight
Of Famine, Plague, or worse Calamity,
Forthwith a grateful Victim is prepar'd,
Which at the holy Altar when they've plac'd,
They cast upon the Pile Cheese, Cakes, and Figs;
Then striking seven times it's Privities
With Sea-leeks, and wild Figs, and other Fruits,
Rude Nature's product without help of Art,
Burn it with Wood cut from unplanted Trees,
Then tow'rds the Wind the sportive Ashes cast
Upon the Sea: Thus they the dreadful Ills,
With which the City labour'd, drive away.

Mr. Hutchin.

Poetical Fictions tell us, that the Φαρμακὸς was so call'd from one *Pharmacus*, that stole some of the consecrated Vessels of *Apollo*, and being apprehended in the Fact by some of *Achilles's* Soldiers, suffer'd Death; of which Crime, and Punishment the Athenians had always a Representation at this Festival. The Φαρμακὸς was call'd Κραδυνότης, from a sort of Figs, call'd κράδες, and us'd in Lustra-

(a) Chiliad. Histor. V. cap. XXIII.
A 22 tions;

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tions ; whence also κράδης ύόμος was a Tune upon the Flute ; which was play'd as he went to perform his Office. It was farther customary for a Choir of Singing-Men to contend for Victory, and the Conquerour to dedicate a *Tripus* in the *Pytheum*, a Temple of *Apollo*, built by *Pisistratus*. At this Festival the *Athenians* enroll'd their Adopted Sons in the Publick Register, as also they did their Natural at the *Apaturia*. During the Solemnity, it was unlawful to give, or receive Pledges, and the Offenders in this kind were arraign'd at an *Assembly*, held in *Bacchus's Theater*.

The *Milesians* had a Festival of the same Name, which they celebrated with a great many Expressions of Mirth and Jollity, feasting and entertaining one another.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ,

I. e. The Marriage of the Gods. It was a *Sicilian* Festival, in honour of *Proserpina* (a) ; and seems to have been instituted in memory of her Marriage with *Pluto* ; the chief part of the Solemnity being nothing else, but an imitation of the Nuptial Rites.

ΘΕΟΙΝΙΑ,

See Διονύσια.

ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival common to all the Gods (b), and celebrated in a great many Cities of *Greece*, but especially at *Athens*.

The *Pelleneans* instituted Solemn Games, call'd by this Name, in honour of *Apollo Θεοξένος*, i. e. the God of Hospitality, according to *Pausanias* (c), or, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports (d), of *Apollo* and *Mercury* : The Victors, according to *Pausanias*, were rewarded with a piece of Plate ; according to the foremention'd *Scholiast*, with a Garment call'd *Χλαῖα*.

The same *Scholiast* (e) reports, that the *Dioscuri* instituted a Festival of this Name, in memory of an honour the Gods did them, by coming to one of their Entertainments.

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ, or ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ,

I. e. The Appearance of God. It was a Festival observ'd by the *Delphians* (f), upon the Day, whereon *Apollo* first manifested himself to them.

ΘΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ,

A Laconian Festival (g).

ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝΕΟΠΤΗ,

A Publick Festival, Mart, and Assembly of the *Ætolians*, held at a Town in that Countrey, call'd *Thermi* (h).

(a) *Pollux lib. I. cap. I.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Acharicus.* (d) *Olympian. XI.* (e) *Olymp. III.* (f) *Herodotus lib. I. Suidas.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Polybius lib. V.*

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ΘΕΡΗΠΙΑ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd Θεμοφόρες, i. e. *Legifera* (a), or the Law-giver ; because she was the first that taught Mankind the use of Laws. The first Institution of it is by some attributed to *Triptolemus*, by others to *Orpheus*, and by others to the Daughters of *Daedalus*. It was celebrated in a great many of the Grecian Cities ; By the *Spartans*, and *Milesians*, amongst whom the Solemnity lasted three Days : By the *Drymeans* in *Phocis*, the *Thebans* in *Bœotia*, the *Megarians* : By the *Syracusians*, where towards the end of the Solemnity, they carry'd in Procession the Secrets of a Woman, compos'd of Saffron and Honey, and call'd in *Sicily* μύλοι : By the *Eretrians* in *Eubœa*, where it was customary to roast their Meat by the Heat of the Sun : By the *Delians*, who us'd to bake Loaves of a large size, call'd Αχαιαίαι, which they usher'd in with great Solemnity, the Bearers of them crying,

Αχαιίων, στάθη εμπλεον τελεῖον,

Hence the Festival is sometimes call'd Μεγαλάρπια.

But the *Athenians* observ'd this Festival with greatest Show of Devotion : The Worshippers were Free-born Women, (it being unlawful for any of Servile Condition to be present.) whose Husbands were wont to defray the Charges of the Solemnity ; and were oblig'd to do so, if their Wives Portion amounted to three Talents. These Women were assisted by a Priest, call'd Στεφανοφόρες, because his Head was adorn'd with a Crown, whilst he executed his Office : also by certain Virgins, who were straitly confin'd, and kept under severe Discipline, being maintain'd at the Publick Charge, in a place call'd Θεμοφορεῖον. The Women were clad in white Apparel, to intimate their spotless Innocence ; and were oblig'd to the strictest Chastity for five, or three Days before, and during the whole Time of the Solemnity, which lasted four Days : for which end, they us'd to strow upon their Beds such Herbs, as were thought to destroy all Appetite to Venereal Pleasures : such were *Agnus castus*, *Flea-bane*, and (which were made use of by the *Milesian* Women) *Vine-branches*, &c. It was held unlawful to eat the Kernels of Pomegranates, or adorn themselves with Garlands ; for every thing was carry'd on with the greatest appearance of Seriousness, and Gravity ; and nothing tolerated, that bore the least shew of Wantonness, or Immodesty ; or even of Mirth,

(a) *Virgilii Aeneid. IV.*

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or Jollity, the custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done, in memory of *Jambe*, that by a taunting Jest extorted a Smile from *Ceres*, when she was in a pensive and melancholy Humour. Three Days, at least, were spent in making Preparations for the Festival: Upon the eleventh of *Pyanepson*, the Women carrying Books upon their Heads, wherein the Laws were contain'd, in memory of *Ceres's* Invention, went to *Eleusis*, where the solemnity was kept; whence this Day was call'd *Arodes*, i. e. the Ascent. Upon the fourteenth the Festival began, and lasted till the seventeenth: Upon the sixteenth they kept a Fast, sitting upon the Ground, in token of Humiliation; whence the Day was call'd *Nuscia*, i. e. a Fast. It was usual at this Solemnity to pray to *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, and *Calligenia*: this *Calligenia* some will have to have been *Ceres's* Nurse, others her Priestess, others her Waiting-maid; and some there are, who make her the same with *Ceres*; but these seem to be sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of *Aristophanes*, who mentions her as distinct from that Goddess (a);

Εὐχαρεῖ τὰς Θεομοφέσιν,
Τῇ Δίητραι, καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ,
Τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγυνείᾳ.

To the two Legislators make your Prayers,
To *Ceres*, and to Goddess *Proserpine*;
To *Plutus* too, and *Calligenia*.

And this Custom was omitted by the *Eretrians* alone of all the *Grecians*. There was likewise a Mysterious Sacrifice, call'd *Diarypa*, or *Anodosimia*, ἡ τὸ διώκεας ἐνεῖθεν τὸς ἀερόπας, i. e. because all Men were excluded, and banish'd from it; or, ἡ τὸ διωχθῆναι τὸς αἰερίους, i. e. because in a dangerous War, the Women's Prayers were so prevalent with the Gods, that their Enemies were defeated, and put to Flight as far as *Chalcis*; whence it is sometimes call'd *Xanthidion*, διωσία. There was another Sacrifice, call'd *Zneia*, i. e. a Mult, which was offer'd as an Expiation of any Irregularities that happen'd to be committed during the Solemnity. At this Festival, all Prisoners committed to Gaol for smaller Faults, were releas'd; and upon the third Day all Courts of Justice were shut up.

ΘΗΣΜΟΦΩΡΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in memory of *Theseus*: It was celebrated upon the eighth Day of every Month, because he was the Reputed Son of *Ne-*

(a) *Thesemophr.*

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pane, to whom those Days were held Sacred; or because in his first Journey from *Træzen*, he arriv'd at *Athens* upon the eighth of *Heatombeon*; or in memory of his safe Return from *Crete* (a), which happen'd upon the eighth of *Pyanepson*, for which reason the Festival was observ'd with greater Solemnity upon that Day, than at other times. Some also there are, that will have it to have been first instituted in memory of *Theseus's* uniting the *Athenians* into one Body, that before lay dispers'd in little Hamlets up and down in *Attica*. It was celebrated with Sports and Games, with Mirth and Banquets, and such as were poor, and unable to contribute to them, were entertain'd upon free cost at the Publick Tables, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b). The Sacrifices were call'd *Oσδδοια*, from οσδδος, i. e. the Eighth, because they were offer'd upon the eighth Day of the Month (c).

ΘΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Apollo* (d). The Name seems to be deriv'd from *Apollo's* three Nurses, who were call'd *Thriæ*.

ΘΥΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Bacchus* (e), observ'd by the *Eleans*, in a place distant about eight *Stadia* from *Elis*, where it was confidently reported, that the God himself was present in Person; the Ground of which Story was this: There was a certain Chappel, into which the Priests convey'd three empty Vessels, in presence of the whole Assembly, which consisted as well of Foreigners, as Natives; this done, they retir'd, and the Doors being shut, themselves, and as many others as pleas'd, seal'd them with their own Signets: On the Morrow the Company return'd, and after every Man had look'd upon his own Seal, and seen that it was unbroken, the Doors being open'd, the Vessels were found full of Wine.

ΘΥΛΛΑ,

In honour of *Venus* (f).

ΘΥΝΝΑΙΑ,

A Sacrifice so call'd from θύννος, i. e. a Tunny, which Fishermen offer'd to *Neptune*, after a plentiful Draught (g).

I

ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ,

I. e. the Sacred Marriage. It was a Festival in honour of *Jupiter*.

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo, Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto.* (b) *Pluto.* (c) *Hesychius.*

(d) *Idem.* (e) *Pausanias Eliac. 6.* (f) *Hesychius.* (g) *Athenaeus lib. VII.*

and

and *Juno* (*a*), being (I suppose) a Commemoration of the Marriage of those two Deities.

Ι Θ Ω Μ Α Ι Α,

A Festival, wherein Musicians contended: It was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* (*b*), surnam'd *Iθωμίτης*, from *Ithome*, a City in *Thessaly*, or *Messene*, where that God is said to have been nurs'd by the two Nymphs *Ithome*, and *Neda*; who gave Names, the former to a Town, the latter to a River.

Ι Ν Α Χ Ι Α,

One of *Leucothea's* Festivals in *Crete*, being deriv'd from *Inachus*, according to *Hesychius*; or rather from *Ino*, who is the same with *Leucothea*, and $\alpha\chi\sigma$, i. e. Grief; being, perhaps, a Commemoration of *Ino's* Misfortunes.

Ι Ν Τ Ν Ι Α,

A Festival in *Lemnos* (*g*).

Ι Ν Ω Α,

Festivals in memory of *Ino*, one of which was celebrated every Year with Sports, and Sacrifices at *Corinth*, being instituted by King *Syphnus* (*c*).

An Anniversary Sacrifice was offer'd to *Ino* by the *Megarians*, where she was first call'd *Leucothea*, being cast upon that Coast by the Wave, and interr'd by *Cleso*, and *Taropolis* (*d*).

Ino had another Festival in *Laconia*, where there was a Pond consecrated to her: Into this it was usual, at this Solemnity, to cast Cakes of Flower, which, if they sunk, were Presages of Prosperity; but if they stay'd upon the surface of the Water, were Ill-boding Omens (*e*).

Ι Ο Β Α Κ Χ Ε Ι Α,

In honour of *Bacchus* surnam'd *Iobacchus*, from the Exclamations us'd in some of his Festivals, where they cry'd *Iώ Βάκχε*, &c. See *Διογύρια*.

Ι Ο Λ Α Ι Α,

A *Theban* Festival, the very same with *Ηέρακλεια*, (*f*); whence it appears, that it was instituted in honour of *Hercules*, and his Companion *Iolaüs*, who assisted him against *Hydra*.

(*a*) *Hesychius*. (*b*) *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Pausanias Messenicus*. (*c*) *Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem*. (*d*) *Pausanias Atticus*. (*e*) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (*f*) *Findar Scholastes Olymp. VII*. (*g*) *Hesychius*.

Ι Σ Ε Ι Α

Ι Σ Ε Ι Α,

A Solemnity observ'd by several Cities, in honour of *Iris* (*a*), who said by some to have been the first, that taught Men the use of Corn; in memory of which Benefit, it was customary, at some places, for the Worshippers at this Festival, to carry Vessels full of Wheat, and Barley.

Ι Σ Χ Ε Ν Ι Α,

Anniversary Sports, celebrated at *Olympia*, in memory of *Ischemus*, the Grand-son of *Mercury*, and *Hierea*; who, in a Time of Famine, devoted himself to be a Sacrifice for his Countrey, and was honour'd with a Monument near the *Olympian Stadium* (*b*).

Κ

Κ Α Β Ε Ι Π Ι Α,

Mysterious Observances at *Thebes*, and *Lemnos*; but more especially *Imbris*, and *Samothrace*, which Islands were consecrated to the *Ca-*
bi, whom some will have to be *Phoenician* Deities; others, the Sons
of *Vulcan*; Others are of a different Opinion from both; for nothing
can be certainly determin'd concerning the Original, Names, or Num-
ber of them: Such as desire farther Satisfaction, may consult *Calius*
Indigenus, *Lilius Gyraldus*, and other *Mythologists*. All that were In-
itiated into these Mysteries, were thought effectually secur'd from all
Storms at Sea, and other Dangers (*c*): The chief Ceremony was thus:
The Person that offer'd himself, being crown'd with Olive-branches,
and girded about his Loins with a Purple Ribband, was plac'd upon
a Throne, around which the Priests, and Persons before Initiated
wore, and sported: This was call'd *Σεβρωσίς*, or *Σεβριόνις*, i. e. en-
thronization (*d*).

Κ Α Λ Α Ο Ι Δ Ι Α,

Solemn Sports, celebrated by the *Laconians*, in honour of *Diana* (*e*).

Κ Α Λ Α Ι Σ Τ Ε Ι Α,

I.e. Beauty's Rewards. It was a *Lesbian* Festival, wherein the Wo-
men presented themselves in *Juno's* Temple, and the Prize was assign'd
to the fairest (*f*).

Another of these Contentions there was at the Festival of *Ceres*

(*a*) *Diodorus Siculus lib. I.* (*b*) *Isaeus Tzetzes in Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 42.*

(*c*) *Diodorus Siculus Bibl. lib. V.* (*d*) *Plato Euthydemus*, *Hesychius*. (*e*) *Hesychius*.

(*f*) *Homeri Scholia ad Iliad. i.*

Of the Religion of Greece.

Eleusinia amongst the *Parrhasians*, first instituted by *Cypselus*, whose Wife *Herodice* was honour'd with the first Prize (a).

Another of the same Nature we find amongst the *Eleans* (b), where the most Beautiful Man was presented with a complete Suit of Armour, which he consecrated to *Minerva*, to whose Temple he walk'd in Procession, being accompany'd with his Friends, who adorn'd him with Ribbands, and crown'd him with a Garland of Myrtle.

ΚΑΛΑΤΗΠΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival (c).

ΚΑΠΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd in almost all the Cities of *Greece*; but especially at *Sparta*, where it was first instituted about the Time of the XXVIth *Olympiad*, in honour, not of *Jupiter*, as some are of Opinion, but of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Carneus*, either from one *Carneus*, a Trojan (d); or from a Beautiful Youth, call'd *Carnus*, who was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa* (e), and belov'd by *Apollo* (f): Or from *Carnus* an *Aetolian*, who was instructed by this God in the Art of Divination, but afterwards murder'd by the *Dorians*; This Fact *Apollo* reveng'd upon them by a dreadful Plague; to avert which, they instituted this Festival, as *Pausanias* reports: Or ἀπὸ τῆς καρνείας, i. e. from the Cornel-tree, transposing the Letter π, as the same Author intimates; For 'tis reported by some, that this Festival was first instituted by the *Grecians*, who had incur'd *Apollo's* Displeasure, by cutting down a number of Cornel-trees in a Grove consecrated to him upon Mount *Ida*, which they us'd in building the *Wooden-horse*: Or ἀπὸ τῆς καρνείας, i. e. from accomplishing the Request of *Menelaus* (g), who, when he undertook his Expedition against *Troy*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, wherein he promis'd to pay him some signal Honour, if his Undertaking met with Success. This Festival lasted nine Days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the Month *Carneus*, which answer'd to the Athenian *Metagamenion* (h): It was an Imitation of the Method of living, and Discipline us'd in Camps; for nine Σκιδάσεις, i. e. Tents, were erected, in every one of which nine Men of three different Tribes, three being chosen out of a Tribe, liv'd for the space of nine Days, during which Time they were obedient to a publick Cryer, and did nothing without express Order from him (i). *Hesychius* tells us, that the Priest, whose Office it was to attend at this Solemnity, was nam'd *Ayntis*, and adds in another place, that out of every Tribe five

Of the Religion of *Greece*.

other Ministers were elected, and call'd *Kapreῖται*, and oblig'd to continue in their Function four Years, during which Time they remain'd Batchelours. At this Festival the Musical Numbers, call'd *Kapreῖοι* νόμοι, were sung by Musicians, who contended for Victory; the first Prize was won by *Terpander*.

ΚΑΡΤΑ, or ΚΑΡΤΑΤΙΣ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a), surnam'd *Caryatis*, from *Caryon* in *Laconia*, where this Solemnity was kept. It was usual for Virgins to meet at the Celebration, and joyn in a certain Dance, said to be invented by *Castor* and *Pollux*, which they call'd καρυατίς (b). In the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the *Laconians* durst not shew their Heads for Fear of the Enemy, lest the Goddess's Anger should incur'd by the Intermission of this Solemnity, the neighbouring Swains assembl'd in the accustom'd place, and sung Pastorals, which were call'd βεκολιούσαι, from βέκολος, i. e. a Neat-herd. Thus, as some are of Opinion, *Bucolicks* came first to be in use.

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ,

A Festival in honour of *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth (c).

ΚΑΔΕΤΤΗΠΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ,

This Festival is mention'd by *Hesychius*, and seems to have been so-namiz'd at the time, when Vines were prun'd; for καδευθίειν, and βισση, signify Pruning-hooks.

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacalos*, by the *ophyiae*, in honour of *Diana*, who had from that place the Surname of *Cnacalesia* (d).

ΚΟΝΝΙΔΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Theseus's* Festival, in which a Ram was sacrific'd to *Connidas*, *Theseus's* Tutor (e).

ΚΟΠΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Proserpina*, nam'd *Kōpen* (f), which in the *Molossian* Dialect, signifies a Beautiful Woman.

ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΣ,

A Nocturnal Festival in honour of *Cotys*, or *Cotytto*, the Goddess of

(a) *Athenaeus Διπλοσοφ.* lib. XIII. (b) Idem ibid. (c) *Etymolog.* Aucto-
(d) *Aleman.* (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Theocriti Scholiaſter.* (g) *Demetrius.* (h) *Plu-*
xarchus Nicia. (i) *Athenaeus lib. IV. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. Tindarus Py-*
other

(a) *Pausanias Laconicus.* (b) *Lucianus* Πρεξιπάτων. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacus.*
(d) *Idem Areadicus.* (e) *Plutarchus Theseus.* (f) *Hesychius.*

Of the Religion of Greece.

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K A Λ Α Τ Ν Τ H P I A,

An *Athenian Festival* (c).

K A P N E I A,

A Festival observ'd in almost all the Cities of *Greece*; but especially at *Sparta*, where it was first instituted about the Time of the XXVIth Olympiad, in honour, not of *Jupiter*, as some are of Opinion, but of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Carneus*, either from one *Carneus*, a *Trojan* (d); or from a Beautiful Youth, call'd *Carnus*, who was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa* (e), and belov'd by *Apollo* (f): Or from *Carnus* an *Aetolian*, who was instructed by this God in the Art of Divination, but afterwards murder'd by the *Dorians*; This Fact *Apollo* reveng'd upon them by a dreadful Plague; to avert which, they instituted this Festival, as *Pausanias* reports: Or Στὸ τῆς καρνείας, i. e. from the Cornel-tree, transposing the Letter σ, as the same Author intimates; For 'tis reported by some, that this Festival was first instituted by the *Grecians*, who had incur'd *Apollo's* Displeasure, by cutting down a number of Cornel-trees in a Grove consecrated to him upon Mount *Ida*, which they us'd in building the *Wooden-horse*: Or Στὸ τῆς καρνείαν, i. e. from accomplishing the Request of *Menelaus* (g), who, when he undertook his Expedition against *Troy*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, wherein he promis'd to pay him some signal Honour, if his Undertaking met with Success. This Festival lasted nine Days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the Month *Carneus*, which answer'd to the *Athenian Metagathnion* (h): It was an Imitation of the Method of living, and Discipline us'd in Camps; for nine Σκάδεσ, i. e. Tents, were erected, in every one of which nine Men of three different Tribes, three being chosen out of a Tribe, liv'd for the space of nine Days, during which Time they were obedient to a publick Cryer, and did nothing without express Order from him (i). *Hesychius* tells us, that the Priest, whose Office it was to attend at this Solemnity, was nam'd *Aynthia*, and adds in another place, that out of every Tribe five

Of the Religion of Greece.

other Ministers were elected, and call'd *Kapreῖται*, and oblig'd to continue in their Function four Years, during which Time they remain'd Batchelours. At this Festival the Musical Numbers, call'd *Kepvēos vīμοι*, were sung by Musicians, who contended for Victory; the first Prize was won by *Terpander*.

K A P T A, or K A P T A T I Σ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a), surnam'd *Caryatis*, from *Caryum* in *Laconia*, where this Solemnity was kept. It was usual for Virgins to meet at the Celebration, and joyn in a certain Dance, said to be invented by *Castor* and *Pollux*, which they call'd καρυατίζειν (b). In the Time of *Xerxes's Invasion*, when the *Laconians* durst not shew their Heads for Fear of the Enemy, lest the Goddess's Anger should be incur'd by the Intermission of this Solemnity, the neighbouring Swains assembl'd in the accustom'd place, and sung Pastorals, which were call'd βεκοληροι, from βέκοληρος, i. e. a Neat-herd. Thus, as some are of Opinion, *Bucolicks* came first to be in use.

K I Σ Σ O T O M O I,

A Festival in honour of *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth (c).

K Λ A Δ E T T H P I A, or B I Σ B A I A,

This Festival is mention'd by *Hesychius*, and seems to have been solemniz'd at the time, when Vines were prun'd; for κλαδευθεῖον, and βισθη, signify Pruning-hooks.

K N A K A Λ H Σ I A,

An Anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacalos*, by the *Caphyæ*, in honour of *Diana*, who had from that place the Surname of *Cnacalesia* (d).

K O N N I Δ E I A,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Theseus's Festival*, in which a Ram was sacrific'd to *Connidas*, *Theseus's* Tutor (e).

K O P E I A,

In honour of *Proserpina*, nam'd *Kōen* (f), which in the *Moesian Dialect*, signifies a Beautiful Woman.

K O T T T I A, or K O T T T I Σ,

A Nocturnal Festival in honour of *Cotys*, or *Cotytto*, the Goddess of

(a) *Athenaeus Διπτεροπ.* lib. XIII. (b) *Idem ibid.* (c) *Etymolog. Aucto-*
(d) Aleman. (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Theocriti Scholiastes.* (g) *Demetrius.* (h) *Pla-*
zarchus Nicia. (i) *Athenaeus lib. IV. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. Tindarus Py-*
thios.

other

(a) *Pausanias Laonicus.* (b) *Lucianus Περὶ Ἀρχήσιων.* (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacus.*
(d) Idem Areadicis. (e) *Plutarchus Theseo.* (f) *Hezychius.*

B b b

War-

Of the Religion of Greece.

Wantonness (*a*) : It was observ'd by the *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Chians*, *Thracians*, with others ; and celebrated with such Rites as were most acceptable to the Goddess, who was thought to be delighted with nothing so much, as Lewdness, and Debauchery. Her Priests were call'd *Bātēs*, which Name we find in *Juvenal* ; It seems to have been deriv'd *ἀπὸ τῆς βατήσεως*, i. e. from Dying, or Painting themselves ; for they were wont to practise all sorts of effeminate, and Meretricious Arts ; whence *Kōtrūs Στρωτός*, i. e. a Votary of *Cotys*, is Proverbially apply'd to *Beaux*, and all Men that spend their Time in Dressing, and Perfuming themselves.

Another Festival of this Name (*b*) was celebrated in *Sicily*, where the Worshippers carry'd Bougs hung about with Cakes, and Fruit, which it was lawful for any Person to pluck off, in memory (as *Gyraldus* was of Opinion) of *Proserpina's* Ravishment, who is by some thought to have been the same with *Cotytto*.

K P O N I A,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Saturn*, who is call'd in *Grec* *Κέρυς* (*c*). It was celebrated in the Month *Hecatombæon*, which was formerly call'd *Cronius*.

Another of *Saturn's* Festivals was celebrated (*d*) upon the sixteenth of *Metagition* at *Rhodos* ; where they offer'd in Sacrifice a condemned Criminal.

K T B E P N H Σ I A,

A Festival instituted by *Theseus*, in memory of *Nausithœus*, and *Pheax*, who were his *κωμηταί*, i. e. Pilots, in his Voyage to *Crete* (*e*).

K T N O Φ O N T I Σ,

A Festival observ'd in Dog-days at *Argos* (*f*), and so call'd *ἀπὸ κύνων θρεψίου*, i. e. from killing Dogs, because it was usual upon this Day to kill all the Dogs they met with.

Λ

Λ Α K E Δ A I M O N I Ω N E O P T A I,

Some Festivals there were at *Lacedæmon*, the Names whereof are forgotten : One of these is mention'd by *Plutarch* in his *Love-Stories*, at which the Marry'd Women, Maidens, Children, and Servants feasted all together promiscuously ; only the Ladies, whose Husbands were Magistrates, watch'd all Night in a large Room by themselves.

(*a*) *Synesius* in *Encomio calvitii*, *Sur. i. i.*, *Juvenalis Satir.* II. (*b*) *Plutarch* *Proverb.* (*c*) *Aristophanic Scholia* *fest. Nubibus*, *Hesychius*. (*d*) *Torphyrius apud Thædoreum lib. VII. Grac. affect.* (*e*) *Plutarchus Theseo*, (*f*) *Athenaeus lib. III.*

Another

Another we find in *Athenaeus* (*a*), at which the Women took all the Old Batchelours, and dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists ; to the end that if no other Motives would induce them to Marry, the Shame and Ignominy they were expos'd to at these Times, might compel them to it.

Λ Α M Π T H P I A,

A Festival at *Pellene* (*b*) in *Achaia*, in honour of *Bacchus* surnam'd *Λευκήπηρ*, from *λάμπειν*, i. e. to shine ; for this Solemnity being in the Night, the Worshippers went to *Bacchus's* Temple with lighted Torches in their Hands. It was customary at this time to place Vessels full of Wine here and there in every Street of the City.

Λ A P I Σ Σ A I Ω N E O P T H,

Games at *Larissa* (*c*), wherein the Combatants perform'd their Exercises singly, before the *Πένταθλος*, or Combat consisting of five Exercises, was invented.

Λ A P T Σ I A,

A Festival of *Bacchus*, celebrated at *Larysum*, a Mountain in *Lacus*, about the beginning of Spring (*d*).

Λ A Φ P I A,

An anniversary Festival at *Patrae* in *Achaia*, in honour of *Diana* (*e*) surnam'd *Laphria*, either *ἀπὸ τῶν λαφίων*, i. e. from Spoils, which she took from wild Beasts, because she was the Goddess of Hunting, and her Statue, which was compos'd of Gold and Ivory, represented her in a Hunting posture : Or, because she desisted from her Anger, and became every year *ἐλαφερτεῖα*, i. e. more favourable and propitious, to *Oeneus*, King of the Calydonians : Or, from one *Laphrius* a *Phocensian*, by whom her Statue was erected in *Calydonia* ; for this Title was first given to *Diana* in *Calydonia*, and thence, together with her Statue, translated to *Patrae*. The customs at this Festival are thus describ'd by *Pausanias* : At the approach of the Festival, they made an ascent to the Altar, heaping up soft Earth in the manner of Stairs ; round the Altar they plac'd in order pieces of green Wood, every one of which was in length sixteen Cubits ; upon it was laid the dryest Wood they could get. The Solemnity lasted two Days, on the former of which there was a solemn Procession, follow'd by *Diana's* Priests, who was a Virgin, and rode in a Chariot drawn by Bucks. On the Day

(*a*) *Διηγεστοφ. lib. XIII.* (*b*) *Pausanias Achæicus.* (*c*) *Apollonii Scholia fest. lib. IV.* (*d*) *Pausanias Laconicus.* (*e*) *Pausanias Achæicus.*

Bbb 2

following,

following, they assibled to offer Sacrifices, which consisted of Birds, Bears, Bucks, Lyons, Wolves, with all sorts of Animals, and Garden-Fruits, which were cast upon the Altar, in part by private Persons, and partly at the publick Charge; then the fire being kindled, it sometimes happen'd, that the wild Beasts having their Fetters loo'd by the Flames, leap'd off the Altar, which happen'd when my Author was present; yet neither then, nor at any time before did any Person receive the least harm thereby.

ΑΕΩΝΙΔΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Day at *Sparta* (a), in memory of *Leonidas* King of that City, who with a small Number of Men put a stop to the whole Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylae*, and maintain'd the passage of those Straights two whole Days together. Upon this Day there was an Oration pronounc'd on the Heroe, and Sports, in which none were allow'd to contend, but Free-born *Spartans*.

ΑΕΟΝΤΙΚΑ,

Who was the Author, what the Occasion of this Festival, is not known; thus much however we find of it in *Porphyry* (b); That all that were admitted to it, wash'd their Hands with Honey, which was pour'd upon them instead of Water; in token that they were pure from all things hurtful, malicious, and detestable.

ΑΕΡΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lerna*, instituted by *Philammon* (c) in honour of *Bacchus*, *Proserpine*, and *Ceres*. In the primitive Times the Argives us'd to carry Fire to this Solemnity from a Temple upon Mount *Crathis*, dedicated to *Diana*, surnam'd (perhaps from πῦρ, i. e. fire) Πυρεια.

ΑΗΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d) surnam'd *Leneus* from λενὸς, i. e. a Wine-press. It was celebrated in the Month *Leneon* with several Ceremonies usual at other Festivals of this God; but what more especially recommended it, were the Poetical contention, wherein Poets strove for Victory, and the Tragedies acted at this Time.

ΑΙΘΟΒΟΛΙΑ,

I. e. Lapidation. This Festival was celebrated by the *Traxenians* in

(a) Idem *Laconicus*. (b) *De Antro Nymphaeum*. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacus*.
Arcad. Inscriptio Vetus. (d) *Aristophanis Scholia Equisibus*, *Diogenes Laertius*
Platone.

memory

emory of *Lamia* and *Auxesia*, who were two Virgins, that coming from *Crete* to *Træzen* in a Time of Tumult and Sedition, became a sacrifice to the Fury of the People, by whom they were ston'd to death (a).

ΑΙΜΝΑΤΙΔΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (b), surnam'd *Limnatis* from *Li-*
nus, a School of Exercise at *Træzen*, in which she was worship'd;
according to *Artemidorus*, from λίμναι, i. e. Ponds, because she
had the care of Fisher-men.

ΑΤΚΑΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (c) Festival something resembling the *Roman Lupercalia*: was celebrated with Games, in which the Conquerour was rewarded with a Suit of brazen Armour; and an Human Sacrifice was offer'd in honour of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Lycaeus*, either from *Lycaon*'s own Name, or the *Arcadian* Mountain *Lycaeus*, which the *Arcadians* pretend is the true *Olympus*, whence they call it Ἱερὸν λοφόν, i. e. the sacred Hill, because *Jupiter* was feign'd to have had his Education there; in memory of which there was an Altar, where certain Mysterious Worship was paid to that God, and a Plot of Ground consecrated to him, upon which it was unlawful for any Person so much as to set his Foot.

ΑΤΚΟΤΡΙΓΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Spartans* in memory of *Lycurgus* their Law-giver (d), whom they honour'd with a Temple, and an anniversary Sacrifice.

ΑΤΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ,

A *Samian* Festival celebrated (e) with Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Lysander*, the *Zacedæmonian* Admiral. It was anciently call'd *σάρα*, which name was abolish'd by a Decree of the *Samians*.

Μ

ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΠΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices offer'd by the *Athenians* in *Maimakterion*, which is a Winter-month, to *Jupiter Maimakterus*, to induce him to send mild and temperate Weather, because He was usually taken for the

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiacus*. (b) Idem *Achaicis*. (c) *Plutarchus Cesare*, *Pausanias Arcadicus*, *Porphyrius* Ηλέκτρα πορφύρη ἐποχὴ εἰμένη. *Hyginus Fab.* CLXXXIII. (d) *Plutarchus* Λύσσα, *Strabo lib.* VIII. (e) *Plutarchus Lysandro*, *Hesychius*.

Air,

Air, or Heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the Seasons. There are various reasons assign'd for this Surname, for μαράχτης is by Harpocration expounded ἐνθεωδής, καὶ παράπος, i. e. outrageous, and furious; being deriv'd from μαράσσειν, that is, according to Suidas, κλονέῖσαι, καματεῖσαι, i. e. to trouble, or raise commotions. But Hesychius affixeth a quite different signification to it, for according to him, μαράχτης is the same with μελίχος, i. e. favourable and propitious; and herein Plutarch agree's with him, who tells us (a), "That 'twas his Opinion, that by the Name of Μαράχτης, which was given by the Athenians to the King of the Gods, was meant μελίχος." Neither of these significations are at all disagreeable to the design of this Festival; for since it was to procure good Weather, it might either be instituted as a means to appease the Deity, that was the cause of Storms, and intemperate Seasons; or to entreat the same Person, as being of a mild and gentle Disposition, and willing to grant the requests of his Votaries.

ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ,

See Θεοφόρεα.

ΜΒΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of Menelaus (b), at Therapne in Laconia, where a Temple was consecrated to him, in which he was worship'd, together with Helena, not as an Heroe, or petty Deity, but as one of the supreme Gods.

ΜΒΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ,

Certain Days upon which the Lesbians offer'd publick Sacrifices (c).

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in the Month Metagittion (d), in honour of Apollo Μεταγίτινος, being celebrated by the Inhabitants of Melite, that left their habitations, and settled among the Diomeans in Attica; whence these Names seem to have been deriv'd, for they import a removal from one Neighbourhood to another.

ΜΙΛΑΤΙΑΔΒΙΑ,

Sacrifices, with Horse-races, and other Games celebrated by the Chersonesians in memory of Miltiades, the Athenian General (e).

(a) Libro Περὶ σοργαρίας. (b) Isocrates in Helena Encomio, Pausanias Lacoica. (c) Hesychius. (d) Plutarchus de Exilio, Harpocration, Suidas. (e) Herodotus lib. VI.

ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ

ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Orchomenians (a), who were call'd Minye, and the River, upon which the City was founded, Minya, from Minyas, King of that Place, in memory of whom, it may be, this solemnity was instituted.

ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival celebrated by all the Inhabitants of Mitylene, in a place without the City, in honour of Apollo Μαλλέας (b), which surname we find mention'd also in Hesychius.

ΜΟΤΝΥΧΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at Athens (c) upon the sixteenth of Munychion, in honour of Diana surnam'd Munychia from King Munychus, the Son of Pentheus; or from a part of the Piraeus, call'd Munychia, where this Goddess had a Temple, to which the Athenians allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary to such as fled to it for refuge. At this Solemnity they offer'd certain Cakes call'd ἀυριζώντες, which name is deriv'd ἀνταπὸς ἀυριζόντειν, i. e. from shining on every side, either because lighted Torches hung round them, when they were carry'd into the Temple; or because they were offer'd at Full Moon; that being the Time of this Festival, for it was instituted in honour of Diana, who was reputed to be the same with the Moon, because it was Full Moon, when Themistocles overthrew the Persian Fleet at Salamis.

ΜΟΤΣΕΙΑ,

Festivals (d) in honour of the Muses at several places of Greece, especially amongst the Thessians, where Solemn Games were celebrated every Fifth year.

The Macedonians had also a Festival in honour of Jupiter and the Muses, which was first instituted by King Archelaus, was celebrated with Stage-Plays, and Games, and lasted nine Days, according to the Number of the Muses.

ΜΤΣΙΑ,

A Festival (e) in honour of Ceres, surnam'd Myśia, from Myśis an Arian, who dedicated a Temple to her in a place about X. Sradia distant from Pellene in Achaia; or, according to Pharnacius, from μύσαι,

(a) Pindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. I. (b) Thucydides initio lib. III. (c) Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens. Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor, Suidas, Eustathius lib. c'. (d) Pollux lib. I. cap. I. Aeschines in Timarchum, Pausanias Baeticius, Diodorus Sic. lib. XVII. Plutarchus Erotico. (e) Pausanias fine Achaicorum.

i. e.

i. e. to cloy, to satisfy, or to be well fed, because *Ceres* was the first that taught Men how to use Corn. This Festival continu'd seven Days, upon the third of which all the Men and Dogs being shut out of the Temple, the Women, together with the Bitches, remain'd within, and having that Night perform'd the accustom'd Rites, on the Day following return'd to the Men, with whom they past away the Time in jesting, and laughing at one another.

ΜΩΛΕΙΑ,

An Arcadian (a) Festival, so nam'd from μωλός, i. e. a fight; for it was instituted in memory of a Battle, wherein *Lyciurgus* slew *Erethion*.

Ν

ΝΕΚΤΣΙΑ,

In memory of deceas'd Persons. Of this, and the following Solemnities I shall give a more full account, when I come to treat of the Honours paid to the Dead.

ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙΑ, OR ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ,

A Solemnity in memory of deceas'd Persons (b).

ΝΕΟΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated to *Bacchus* (c), when the new Wine was first tasted, as the Name signifies.

ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Delphians (d) with a great deal of Pomp and Splendour, in memory of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who was slain in an Attempt to sack *Apollo's* Temple, which he undertook in revenge of his Father's Death, to which that God was accessary.

ΝΗΛΗΙΔΙΑ,

A Milesian Festival (e) in honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Nelis*, from *Nelis*, an inhabitant of *Miletus* (f).

ΝΙΚΗΗΝΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the Athenians upon the sixth

(a) Apollonii Rhodis Scholiastes lib. I. v. 164. (b) Suidas. (c) Hesychius. (d) Herodotus Ethiopic. initio lib. III. (e) Plutarchus de Virtut. Mulierum. (f) Lycophren Cassandra.

of Boedromion, in memory of that famous Victory, which *Miltiades* obtain'd against the Persians at Marathon (a).

ΝΙΚΗΤΗΠΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ,

An Athenian Solemnity in memory of *Minerva's* Victory over *Neptune*, when they contended which of them should have the honour of giving a Name to the City afterwards call'd *Athens* (b).

ΝΟΤΜΗΝΙΑ, OR ΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd at the beginning of every *Lunar Month* (c), which was (as the Name imports) upon the New Moon, in honour of all the Gods, but especially *Apollo*, who was call'd Νεομήνιος, because the Sun is the first Author of all Light, and whatever distinction of Times and Seasons may be taken from other Planets, yet they are all owing to him, as the Original and Fountain of all those borrow'd Rays, which the rest have only by participation from him. To observe this Festival was call'd νεομηνία, certain Cakes offer'd therein μηνιάς, and the Worshippers νεομηνιαῖ. It was observ'd with Games, and Publick Entertainments, which were made by the richer Sort, to whose Tables the Poor flock'd in great Numbers. The Athenians at these times offer'd solemn Prayers, and Sacrifices for the prosperity of their Common-wealth the ensuing Month, in *Eretheus's* Temple in the Citadel, which was kept by a Dragon, to which they gave (as was usual in *Trophonius's* Cave) a Honey-cake call'd μελιτέρα. These Sacrifices, because they were offer'd every Month, were call'd μηνιαῖς, or διμηνιαῖ, and those that perform'd them δημηνίαι, and ἀγρεύοντες.

Ξ

ΞΑΝΘΙΚΑ,

A Macedonian Festival (d), so call'd because it was observ'd in the Month *Xanthus*, which, as *Suidas* tells us, was the same with *April*. At this Time the Army was purify'd by solemn Lustration, the manner of which was thus: They divid'd a Bitch into two halves, one of which, together with the Entrails, was plac'd upon the Right hand, the other upon the Left; between these the Army march'd in this Order: After the Arms of all the Macedonian Kings, came the first part of the Army, consisting (I suppose) of Horse; these were follow'd by the

(a) Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniensium. (b) Proclus in Timaeum Comment. I. (c) Homer. Scholiastes Od. v'. Eustathius Od. v' & φ'. Demosthenes in Aristogit. Theo-kratius Ethic. Charact. Etymologici Auctor. Hesychius. Herodotus lib. VIII. & Vit. Homeri. (d) Hesychius. Livius lib. XL. Curtius lib. X.

King, and his Children, after whom went the Life-Guards; then follow'd the rest of the Army: This done, the Army was divided into two parts, one of which being set in array against the other, there follow'd a short Encounter in imitation of a Fight.

ΣΤΝΟΙΚΙΑ, OR ΜΕΤΟΙΚΙΑ,

An anniversary Day observ'd by the *Athenians* (a) to *Minerva*, upon the sixteenth of *Hecatombaeon*, in memory that by the perswasion of *Theseus* they left their Country-seats, in which they lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and united together in one Body.

O

ΟΓΧΗΣΤΙΑ,

A *Bœotian* Festival (b) in honour of *Neptune*, surnam'd *Onchestius* from *Onchestus*, a Town in *Bœotia*.

ΟΛΤΜΠΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated in honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, by the *Athenians*, *Smyrnaeans*, *Macedonians*, but especially by the *Eleans*, of whose Solemnity I shall give an account afterwards.

ΟΜΟΛΩΙΑ,

A *Theban* Festival in honour of *Jupiter Homoloëus*, or *Ceres Homo-*
lia (c), who were so call'd from *Homole* in *Bœotia*, or the Prophet's
Homoloëa, or from ὅμολος, which in the *Æolian* dialect signifies
peaceable.

ΟΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ, OR ΩΣΧΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival so call'd ἀπὸ τῶν φέγειν τὰς ὄξας, i. e. from carrying Boughs hung with Grapes, &c. which were call'd ὄξας (d). The Institution, and Manner of it are describ'd at large by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*; his words run thus: "Theseus at his return from Crete forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Ageus*, who knowing nothing of their Success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arriv'd at the Port *Phalerus*, paid there the Sacrifices, which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry the news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most

(a) *Thucydides lib. II. Plutarchus Theseo.* (b) *Pausanias Bœoticus.* (c) *Theoret Scholiastes Idyll. VII.* (d) *Harpocratian, Hesychius.*

part

part full of grief for the loss of their King; others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable News; these he indeed accepted of, but hung them upon his Herald's Staff, and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, stay'd without for fear of disturbing the Holy Rites; but as soon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entred and related the whole Story of the King's Death; upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confus'd tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the City: Whence, they say, it comes that at this Day in the Feast *Oschorophoria*, not the Herald, but his Staff is crown'd; and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this Shout, ἐλέσθ, ἐλέ, ἐλέ, of which confus'd sounds the first was wont to be us'd by Men in haste, or at a Triumph; the other is proper to those that are in great trouble, or consternation.

A little after my Author proceeds thus: "The Festival call'd *Oschorophoria*, which to this Day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*; for he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which were chosen by Lots to be carry'd away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and Womanish Faces, but of Manly and Courageous Spirits, and having by frequent Bathings, and avoiding the heat and scorching of the Sun, with a constant use of all the Ointments, Washes, and Dresses, that serve to adorn the Head, smooth the Skin, or improve the Complexion, chang'd them, in a manner, from what they were before; and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, Gesture, and Gate of Virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceiv'd; he, undiscover'd by any, put them into the number of the *Athenian* Maids design'd for *Crete*. At his return He and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession with Boughs and Vine-branches in their hands, in the same habit that is now worn at the celebration of the *Oschorophoria*: These Branches they carry'd in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, in memory of the Fable related of them; or rather, because they happen'd to return in *Autumn*, the time of gathering Grapes. The Women call'd Δειπνόπορται, i. e. Supper-carriers, were taken into these Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins, upon whom the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children; and because the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the Danger they were going upon, it has therefore still continu'd a Custom, that at this Festival old Tales and Fables should be the chief Discourse. For all these particularities we are beholding to the history of *Demon*". Besides the Rites already describ'd out of *Plutarch*, there was always a Race at this Festival (a); the contenders were

(a) *Pausanias Atticus, Athenaeus lib. XI. Hesychius, Nicandri Schol. Alexiphirmaeus.* certain

certain Young Men elected out of every Tribe, whose Parents were both living; they ran from Bacchus's Temple, to that of Minerva Sciras in the Phalerian Haven; the place where the Race ended, was call'd Ωροφειον, from the ὄχη, or Boughs, which the Runners carry'd in their Hands, and deposited there. The Conqueror's Reward was a Cup call'd Πενταπλόα, or Πεντάπλιον, i. e. Five-fold, because it contain'd a mixture of five things, viz. Wine, Honey, Cheese, Meal, and a little Oyl.

II

ΠΑΓΚΑΔΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd Σπὸ πάντων κλάδων, i. e. from all sorts of Boughs: It was celebrated by the Rhodians, when they prun'd their Vines (a).

ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by all the Boeotians (b), who assembl'd near Coronea, at the Temple of Minerva, surnam'd Itona, from Itonius, the Son of Amphictyon.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival in honour of Minerva, the Protectress of Athens. It was first instituted by Erichthonius, or Orpheus, and call'd Αἰθύαια, but afterwards renew'd and amplify'd by Theseus, when he had united into one City the whole Athenian Nation, and call'd Παναθηναία. Some are of Opinion, that it was much what the same with the Roman Quinquenia, whence it is usual to call it by that Name in Latin. At the first it continu'd only one Day, but afterwards was prolong'd several Days, and celebrated with greater Preparations, and Magnificence than was usual in the Primitive Times.

There were two Solemnities of this Name, one of which was call'd Μεγάλη Παναθηναία, i. e. the Great Panathenea, which was celebrated once in five Years, beginning upon the XXII^d of Hecatombaion. The other was call'd Μικρὰ Παναθηναία, i. e. the Lesser Panathenea, and was kept every third Year; or rather, as some think, every Year, beginning upon the XXIst, or XXth of Thargelion. In the latter of these, there were three Games, manag'd by ten Presidents, elected out of all the ten Tribes of Athens, who continu'd in Office four Years. On the first Day at Even, there was a Race with Torches, wherein first Footmen, and afterwards Horse-men contended: The same Custom was likewise observ'd in the Greater Festival. The second Contention was Διαρδελας ἀγών, i. e. a Gymnical exercise, so call'd because the Combatants therein gave a proof of their Strength, or Manhood: the place of these Games

(a) Hesiodius. (b) Strabo lib. IX. Pausanias Boeotia.

was near the River, and call'd from this Festival Πλαυσθιαῖκον, the Stadium being decay'd by Time, was rebuilt of white Pentelick Marble by Herodes, a Native of Athens, with such Splendour, and Magnificence, that the most stately Theaters could not compare with it. The last was a Musical Contention, first instituted by Pericles; in the Songs us'd at this Time, they rehears'd the generous Undertakings of Harmodius, and Aristogiton, who oppos'd the Tyranny of Pisistratus's Sons; as of Thrasybulus also, who deliver'd the Athenians from the Thirty Tyrants, impos'd on them by the Lacedemonians. The first that obtain'd the Victory by playing upon the Harp, was Phrynis a Mitylenean: Other Musical Instruments were also made use of, especially Flutes, on which they play'd in Consort: There was also a Dance perform'd by a Circular Chorus, of which hereafter: And the Poets contended in four Plays, the last whereof was Satyr, and all together were nam'd from their number τετραλογία: Beside these, there was a Contention at Sunium, in imitation of a Sea-fight: The Conquerour in any of these Games was rewarded with a Vessel of Oyl, which he was permitted to dispose of, how, and whether he pleas'd, whereas it was unlawful for any other to transport that Commodity: Farther he receiv'd a Crown of those Olives, which grew in the Academy, and were sacred to Minerva, and call'd μοεῖα, from μοές, i. e. Death, in remembrance of the Misfortune of Halirrothius, the Son of Neptune, who, in a rage at his Father's Defeat by Minerva, in their Contention about the Name of Athens, offering to cut down the Olive-tree, by the Production of which Minerva obtain'd the Victory, missing his Aim, gave himself a fatal Blow: Others derive the Name from μεῖς, i. e. a part, because, according to some, these Olives were given by Contribution, all Persons that possess'd Olive-trees being oblig'd to contribute their proportions towards the Celebration of this Festival. Beside these, there was a certain Dance call'd Pyrrhichia, perform'd by young Boys in Armour, in imitation of Minerva, who, in Triumph over the Vanquish'd Sons of Titan, danc'd in that manner. It was usual also after that Athens was brought under the Dominion of the Romans, for Gladiators to contend after the Roman fashion. No Man was permitted to be present at any of these Games in dy'd Gannents, and the Punishment of such Offenders was left to the Discretion of the Αγωνότης, or President of the Games. Lastly, they offer'd a Sumptuous Sacrifice, towards which every one of the Athenian Burroughs contributed an Ox; and of the Flesh that remain'd, a publick Entertainment was made for the whole Assembly.

In the Greater Festival most of the same Rites, and Ceremonies were practis'd, but were (I suppose) perform'd with greater Splendour, and Magnificence, and the Addition of some others, not observ'd in the Lesser, as particularly the Procession, in which Minerva's Sacred μέντη, or Garment, was carry'd: This μέντη was woven by a select number of Virgins, call'd Εργαστρα, from ἐγγονή, i. e. Work; these

these were superintended by two of the Αγγηρέως, (of whom I have spoken before) and enter'd upon their Employ at the Festival call'd Χελκεῖα, which was upon the thirtieth Day of Pyanepson: It was of a white colour, without Sleeves, and embroider'd with Gold: Upon it were describ'd the Achievements of Minerva, especially those against the Giants; Jupiter also, and the Heroes, with all such as were famous for Valiant and Noble Exploits, had their Effigies in it; whence Men of true Courage and Bravery are said to be ἄξιοι πέμπται, i.e. worthy to be pourtray'd in Minerva's Sacred Garment, as in Aristophanes (a),

Εὐλογῆστε βολβεύεται τὸς πατέρας ἡμῶν, ὅτι
Αυτοὶ διατάσσουσιν τοὺς ἄξιοι, καὶ τὰ πέμπτα.

We will our Fathers treat with high Esteem,
Whose brave Exploits are worthy *Athena*,
Fit to be pourtray'd in *Minerva's* Vest.

With this πέμπτη they made a solemn Procession, the Ceremonies of which were thus: In the Ceramicus without the City there was an Engine built in the form of a Ship, on purpose for this Solemnity; upon this the πέμπτη was hung in the manner of a Sail, and the whole was convey'd, not by Beasts, as some have imagin'd, but by Subterraneous Machines, to the Temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and from thence to the Citadel, where the πέμπτη was put upon Minerva's Statue, which seems to have been laid upon a Bed straw'd with, or rather compos'd of Flowers, and call'd πλανήσις. This Procession was made by Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities; It was led up by Old Men, together (as some say) with Old Women, carrying Olive-branches in their Hands; whence they are call'd Θαλασπέργαι, i.e. Bearers of Green Boughs: After these came the Men of full Age with Shields and Spears, being attended by the Μέτρικοι, or Sojourners, who carry'd Spades, and were upon that account call'd Σκαρφίρρεως, i.e. Spade-bearers: Then follow'd the Women, attended by the Sojourners Wives, who were nam'd Τσπιαφέρει, from bearing Water-pots: These were follow'd by young Men singing Hymns to the Goddess; they were crown'd with Millet, and habited in Mourning-cloaks, in memory of one of the Κέφευτες, who was slain as he attempted to force the Posterity of Hercules from the Altar: Next to these came select Virgins of the first Quality, call'd Καυνθέρει, i.e. Basket-bearers, because they carry'd certain Baskets, which contain'd some necessaries for the Celebration of the holy Rites, which (as also other Utensils requir'd at the Solemnity) were in the custody of one, who, because he was Chief manager of the publick Pomps, Processions, or Embassies

(a) Equitibus.

to the Gods, was call'd Αρχαρτερεῖς, and were distributed by him as occasion requir'd; these Virgins were attended by the Sojourners Daughters, who carry'd Umbrella's, and little Seats, whence they were call'd Διρρηφέρει, i.e. Seat-carryers: Lastly, it is probable that the Boys bore up the Rear, walking in a peculiar sort of Coats worn at Processions, and call'd Ηλαρμακοί. The Necessaries for this, as for all other Processions, were prepar'd in a publick Hall erected for that use between the Piraeæn Gate, and Ceres's Temple; and the management and care of the whole Busines belong'd to the Νομοφύλακες, which name denotes Officers appointed to see that the Laws, ancient Rites, and Customs be observ'd. It was farther usual at this Solemnity to make a Gaol-delivery, to present golden Crowns to such as had done any remarkable Service for the Common-wealth, and appoint Men to sing some of Homer's Poems, which Custom was first introduc'd by Hipparchus, the Son of Pisistratus. Lastly, in the Sacrifices at this, and other Quinquennial Solemnities, it was customary to pray for the prosperity of the Platæans, on the account of the signal Service they had done the Athenians at the Battle of Marathon, wherein they behav'd themselves with extraordinary Courage and Resolution.

Π Α Ν Α Κ Ε Ι Α,
In Honour of Panace (a).

Π Α Ν Δ Η Μ Ο Ν,

The same with Αγλώπεια, and Χελκεῖα (b), and so call'd from the great concourse of People, that us'd to meet at the Solemnity.

Π Α Ν Δ Ι Α,

An Athenian Festival (c), so call'd from Pandion, by whom it was first instituted; or because it was celebrat'd in honour of Jupiter, who does τὰ πάντα στρέψειν, i.e. move and turn all things which way he pleaseth. Others are of Opinion, that it belong'd to the Moon, and receiv'd it's Name, because she does πάντατε λέγειν, i.e. move incessantly, for that the Moon appears both in the Night, and Day; whereas the Sun shows himself by Day only, and was suppos'd to rest all Night. It was celebrat'd after the Διονυσία, or Festival of Bacchus, because that God is sometimes put for the Sun, or Apollo, and was by some reputed to be the Brother, by others the Son of the Moon.

Π Α Ν Δ Π Ο Σ Ο Σ,

An Athenian (d) Festival in memory of Pandrosus, the Daughter of King Cœrœpus.

(a) Theodoretus VII. Therap. (b) Suidas. (c) Etymologici Auctio*n*. Snidas. (d) Alēnagoras in Apologia, Hesychius.

Of the Religion of Greece.

ΠΑΝΔΥΣΙΑ,

Publick rejoycings (*a*) when the Season through it's coldness, & intemperance forc'd the Mariners to stay at Home.

ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ,

A publick Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by an Assembly of People from all the parts of *Greece* (*b*).

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name signifies) by a concourse of People from all the Cities of *Ionia* (*c*). The Place, or Temple, in which it was kept, was call'd Πλανώνιον. It was instituted in honour of *Neptune*, surnam'd *Heliconius* from *Helice*, a City of *Achaea*, which afterwards perish'd by an Earth-quake. One thing there was remarkable in this Festival, viz. That, if the Bull offer'd in Sacrifice happen'd to bellow, it was accounted an Omen of Divine Favour, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*: To this *Homer* is thought to allude in these Verses (*d*),

Ἄντρες ὁ θυμὸν ἀΐδε, καὶ πύργες, ως ὅτε τοῦρος
Ηρύχεν ἐλκόμηνος Ελικάντιον ἀμφὶ τίγαντα.

Dying he roar'd, as when a Bull is drawn
About the King of sacred *Helice*.

ΠΑΝΟΣ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

An anniversary Solemnity (*e*) in honour of *Pan* at *Athens*, where he had a Temple near the *Acropolis*, the Dedication of which, and the Institution of this Festival were upon this account: When *Darius* the *Persian* invaded *Attica*, *Phidippides* was forthwith dispatch'd on an Embassie to the *Spartans*, to desire their Assistance; and as he was in his Journey about Mount *Parthenius* near *Tegea*, *Pan* met him, and calling him by his Name, bid him to ask the *Athenians*, What was the reason, why they had no regard of him, who was their Friend, and had often been serviceable to them, and should go on so to be? *Phidippides* at his return to *Athens*, related this Vision, which obtain'd so great credit with the *Athenians*, that they made a Decree that Divine Honours should be paid to that God also.

(*a*) *Eneas Tacticus Poliorcet.* cap. XVII. *Proclus* in *Hesiod. Epy. G.* (*b*) *Eustathius Iliad. B.* (*c*) *Herodotus lib. I. Strabo lib. V. Eustathius Iliad. v.* (*d*) *Il. XX.* (*e*) *Herodotus lib. VI. cap. CVI.*

Pan

Of the Religion of Greece.

Pan had likewise a Festival in *Arcadia* (*a*), the Countrey he was believ'd most to frequent, and delight in, at which they us'd to beat his Statue with Σκίλλαι, i. e. Sea-onions; as was usual also, when they miss'd of their Prey in Hunting, in anger (as should seem) against the God, whom they reputed to be President of that Sport; to which custoin *Theocritus* seems to allude in these Verses,

Κ' οὐ μὴ ταῦτ' ἔρθεις, ὁ Πᾶν φίλε, μὴ τὸ τι μῆδες
Αργεδικοὶ σκίλλαιον νέσσον πλευράς τε, καὶ ὄμης
Ταῖς πασίσδαις ὅτε κρέα πυτὰ παρεῖν.

Kind *Pan*, if you propitious to my Prayer
Grant these my wishes, you no more shall fear
The rig'rous usage of *Arcadian Boys*,
When disappointed of their lovely prize.

Mr. Hutchin.

Farther, it was customary to offer a scanty Sacrifice, the Reliques of which were not sufficient to entertain those that were present; because, perhaps, they thought the God had frustrated their hopes of Prey in Hunting; on the contrary, when they had good Succes, they were more liberal in paying Honours to him.

ΠΑΝΟΨΙΑ,

See Πναρέψια.

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ,

A Commemoration-day in honour of an ancient Heroe, whose Name was *Paralus* (*b*).

ΠΑΤΣΑΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival, in which were solemn Games, wherein free-born *Spartans* only contended, with an Oration in praise of *Pausanias*, the *Spartan General*, under whose Conduct the *Grecians* overcame *Mardonius* in the famous Battle at *Plataea* (*c*).

ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

A *Thessalian Festival*, not unlike the *Roman Saturnalia*: It is thus describ'd by *Athenaeus* (*d*): " *Batōn*, the *Sinopensis Rhetorician*, in his description of *Thessaly* and *Haemonia*, declares that the *Saturnalia* are a *Grecian Festival*, and call'd by the *Thessalians Peloria*; his words are these: " On a time when the *Peloponnesians* were offering publick Sacrifices, one *Pelorus* came in, and told one of them, That the Mountains of

(*a*) *Theocritus Scholiaettes Idyll. VII.* (*b*) *Eustathius Odysf. 8^v.* (*c*) *Pausanias Laconicu.* (*d*) *Lib. XIV.*

D d d

" Tempe

"Tempe in *Hæmonia* were torn asunder by an Earth-quake, and the Lake, which had before cover'd the adjacent Valley, inaking it's way thro' the Breach, and falling into the Stream of *Peneus*, had left behind a vast, but most pleasant and delightful Plain: The *Pelasgian* hugg'd *Pelorus* for his News, and invited him to an Entertainment, where he was treated with all sorts of Dainties; The rest of the *Pelasgians* also brought the best Provisions they had, and presented them to him; and his Landlord, with others of the best Quality, waited on him by turns: In memory of this, when the *Pelasgians* had seated themselves in the new discover'd Country, they instituted a Festival, wherein they offer'd Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Pelor*, and made sumptuous Entertainments, whereto they invited not only all the Forreigners amongst them, but Prisoners also, whom they releas'd from Bonds and Confinement, and Slaves, all whom they permitted to sit down, & waited upon them: This Festival is to this Day observ'd with great Solemnity by the *Thessalians*, and call'd *Πελωεία*.

ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑ,

A Macedonian Solemnity (a).

ΠΕΡΙΦΑΛΛΙΑ,

The same with *Φαλλαγήσια*, being deriv'd from *φαλλός*, of which see more in *Διογύστα*.

ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Gymnical Exercises at *Pitana* (b).

ΠΛΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Aglauros*, King *Cecrops*'s Daughter; or rather of *Minerva*, who had, from that Lady, the name of *Aglauros* (c); At this Time they undress'd *Minerva*'s Statue, and wash'd it, whence the Solemnity was call'd *Πλυντήρια*, from *πλύνειν*, which signifies to wash. It was accounted an unfortunate, or inauspicious Day, and therefore the Temples (as upon all such Days) were surrounded with Ropes, so that no Man could have admission; The reason of which custom, with a farther account of this Solemnity we have in *Plutarch's Alcibiades*; "The Festival (saith he) of the Goddess *Minerva*, call'd *Πλυντήρια*, was celebrated on the 26th of *Thargelion*, with certain Mysterious observances unlawfull to be reveal'd, which were perform'd

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Hesychius, Plutarchus Alcibiade, Athenaeus lib. III. Pollux lib. VIII. cap. XII.*

"by

by Persons call'd *Προξερπίδαι*, who divested the Goddess's Image of all it's Ornaments, and kept it close cover'd: Whence it is, that the *Athenians* esteem this Day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: And therefore it falling out that *Alcibiades*'s return from Exile happen'd upon this Day, many were much concern'd at it, looking upon the time of his arrival to be a dangerous Omen, and imagining that the Goddess did not graciously receive him, but, in token of displeasure, hid her Face from him; But for all this, Things went on prosperously and succeeded according to his wish". Farther, it was customary at this Festival, to bear in procession a Cluster of Figgs, which was call'd *Ηυπνεία*, or *Ηυπνία*, from *ὑπέριπται*, which signifies to lead the Way, because Figgs were *ἱμέροις τὰ καθαρά βία*, i. e. leaders to Humanity, and a civiliz'd course of Life, for when Men left off their ancient and barbarous Diet of Acorns, the next thing they us'd for Food, was Figgs.

ΠΟΛΙΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity at *Thebes* (a) in honour of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Πολιός*, i.e. Grey, because he was represent'd in this City (contrary to the constant custom of all other places) with grey Hairs. The Victim was a Bull, but it once happening that no Bulls could be procur'd, an Ox was taken from the Cart and Sacrific'd; whence the custom of killing labouring Oxen, which till that time was look'd on as a Capital Crime, first commenc'd.

ΠΟΜΠΕΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*. There was an Image at this Solemnity, call'd by a peculiar Name *Στεμματῖον*.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΑ, or ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΑ,

In honour of *Poseidon*, i. e. *Neptune*, to whom also they offer'd a solemn Sacrifice call'd *Ovēlou* (b).

ΠΡΙΑΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Priapus*.

ΠΡΟΗΡΟΣΙΑ, or ΠΡΗΡΟΣΙΑ,

Sacrifices (c) offer'd *μερὶς τὸ ἀρότρου*, i. e. before Seed-time, to *Ceres*,

(a) *Pausanias Boeoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Hesychius, Suidas, Aristophanic Schol. Equitibus*.

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who was hence surnam'd Περγεοῖα. They were call'd by the Common People Περγαλίαι, from ἀχλή, which sometimes signifies the same with σῖτος, i. e. Bread-corn; whence comes Δημητέρης ἀχλή, i. e. Ceres's Corn, in Homer (a). The first Institution of these Sacrifices was by the Command of one *Authias* a Prophet, who gave out that this was the only Method to appease the incens'd Goddess, who had at that Time afflicted not *Athens* only, where this Solemnity was observ'd, but all the other parts of *Greece*, with a grievous Famine.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Laconia*, before they gather'd their Fruits (b).

ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ,

A Festival, in which the *Lacedemonians* crown'd themselves with Reeds (c).

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity celebrated in honour of *Prometheus* (d) with Torch-races, in remembrance that he was the first that taught Men the use of Fire.

ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Day of Rejoycing, when a New-marry'd Wife went to cohabit with her Husband (e).

ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity before Marriage, of which afterwards.

ΠΡΟΤΡΥΓΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Neptune*, and of *Bacchus* (f), surnam'd Περγύνης, or Περγευταῖς, ἥπο τῆς περγύδος, i. e. from new Wine.

ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd ἥπο τῆς αρεφθάκειν, from preventing, or coming before. It was observ'd by the *Clazomenians*, in remembrance that they made themselves Masters of *Leuca*, by coming to the Celebration of a Sacrifice before the *Caneans* (g).

(a) Vide Annotationes nostras in Plutarchum De Audiendis Poetis. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Athenaeus* lib. XV. (d) *Aristophanus Scholia Rani*. (e) *Harpocrateion Sudas*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XV.

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ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΑΣΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chersonesians*, and *Thessalians* (a), in memory of *Protesilaus*, who was the first *Grecian* slain by *Hector*.

ΠΥΑΝΕΨΙΑ,

An *Athenian* (b) Festival, sometimes call'd Ποιαροψία, or Πλαυσία, ἐν πόντες εἰδού καρπὸς τῷ ὄψῃ, i. e. because *Theseus* and his Companions were entertain'd with all manner of Fruits; the former, and more usual Name is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς ἐψεύδης πύρα, i. e. from boyling Pulse, as was usual upon that Day; the reason of which Custom, with a further Account of this Solemnity, I will give you in the Words of *Plutarch*: " *Theseus*, after the Funeral of his Father, pay'd his Vows to *Apollo* upon the seventh of *Pyanepsion*; for on that Day the Youths that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their Entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boyling Pulse was deriv'd from hence, because the Young Men that escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boyling it in one common Pot, feasted themselves with it, and with great Rejoycing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wooll (such as they then made use of in their Supplications) which was call'd Εἰρεσιώνη, (from εἴρεσις, i. e. Wooll) and crown'd with all sorts of First-fruits, to signify that Scarcity and Barrenness were ceas'd, singing in their Procession this Song,

Εἰρεσιώνη, σῦκα φέρειν, καὶ πύρας ἄρτου,
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιου ἀναψήσαται,
Καὶ κύλικ' διζεσσον, ως ἀν μεδύσαται καθίδημος.

Eiresione, Figs produce,
And wholsom Bread, and chearful Oyl,
And Honey, labouring Bees sweet Toil,
But above all Wine's noble Juice;
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt steep,
And full of Joy receive soft Sleep.

Mr. Duke.
Tho' some are of Opinion, that this Custom is retain'd in memory of the *Heracleide*, who were thus entertain'd, and brought up by the *Athenians*; but the former Account is more generally receiv'd. It may be added farther, that the *Eiresione*, when it was carry'd about in honour of *Apollo*, was of *Lawrel*; when of *Minerva*, of *Olive*; because those Trees were believ'd to be most acceptable to these Deities:

(a) *Tindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. I. Lucianus Deor. Concil.* (b) *Harpocrateion Sudas Theiso, Hesychius*.

ties: When the Solemnity was ended, it was customary for them to erect it before their House-doors, thinking it an Amulet, whereby Scarcity and Want were prevented.

Π Τ Λ Α Ι Α,

A Festival at *Pylæ* (a), otherwise call'd *Thermopylæ*, in honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd from that place *Pylæa*.

Π ΤΡΣΩΝΕΟΠΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Torches: It was observ'd at *Argos*, and instituted in memory of the Torches lighted by *Lynceus*, and *Hypermeatra*, to signify to each other, that they had both escap'd out of Danger (b).

Ρ

Π ΑΒΔΟΥΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ,

I. e. The Reception, or Elevation of the Rod. It was an Anniversary Day at the Island of *Cos*, at which the Priests carry'd a Cypress-tree (c).

Π ΑΨΩΔΩΝΕΟΠΤΗ,

A part of the *Διονύσια*, or Festival of *Bacchus*, at which they repeated Scraps of Songs, or Poems, as they walk'd by the God's Statue (d).

Σ

Σ Α Β Α Ζ Ι Α,

Nocturnal Mysteries in honour of *Jupiter Sabazius* (e), into which all that were Initiated, had a golden Serpent put in at their Breasts, and taken out at the lower part of their Garments; in memory of *Jupiter's* ravishing *Proserpina*, in the form of a Serpent. Others (f) are of Opinion that this Solemnity was in honour of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Sabazius*, from the *Sabæ*, who were a People of *Thrace*; and 'tis probable this Festival was not first instituted by the *Grecians*, but deriv'd to them from the *Barbarians* (such were the *Thracians* reputed) amongst whom *Suidas* tells us σάλαζειν was the same with δάλειν, i. e. to shout δάοι, as was usual in the Festival of *Bacchus*: Add to this, that *Bacchus's* Priests were by the *Thracians* call'd Σάλοι.

(a) Strabo lib. IX. (b) Pausanias Corinthiacis. (c) Hippocratis Epistola ad S. P. Q. Abderitan. (d) Athenaeus init. lib. VII. (e) Clemens Protrept. Arrianus lib. V. (f) Diodorus Siculus lib. IV. Aristophanic Scholia festi Vespu, Harpoeratian.

Σ Α Ρ Ω

Σ ΑΡΝΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a) surnam'd *Saronia*, from *Sarō* the third King of *Træzen*, by whom a Temple was erected, and this Festival instituted to Her.

Σ ΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ,

I. e. A shaking off the Burden. It was a Pnblck Sacrifice at *Athens*, in memory of *Solon's* Ordinance, whereby the Debts of poor People were either entirely remitt'd; or, at least, the Interest due upon them less'd, and the Creditors hinder'd from seizing upon the Persons of their Debtors, as had been customary before that Time (b).

Σ ΜΕΛΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*; and observ'd, it may be, in memory of *Semele*, *Bacchus's* Mother.

Σ ΕΠΤΗΡΙΟΝ,

A *Delphian* Festival, celebrated every ninth Year, in memory of *Apollo's* Victory over *Python*. The chief part of the Solemnity was a Representation of *Python* pursu'd by *Apollo* (c).

Σ ΘΕΝΙΑ,

At *Argos* (d). It might perhaps be celebrated in honour of *Minerva*, surnam'd Σθενίας, from οὐεῖσθαι, i. e. Strength.

Σ ΚΕΙΠΑ, or Σ ΚΙΠΑ, or Σ ΚΙΡΟΦΟΠΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (e), upon the twelfth Day of *Sitrophorion*, in honour of *Minerva*, or, as some say, of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The Name is deriv'd from *Sciras*, a Burrough between *Athens* and *Eleusis*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, surnam'd *Sciras*, from that place: Or from one *Scirus*, an Inhabitant of *Eleusis*; or from *Sciron* of *Salamis*; or from οχίρεος, i. e. Chalk, or white Plaister, of which the Statue dedicated to *Minerva* by *Theseus* when he return'd from *Crete*, was compos'd; Or from οχίρη, i. e. an Umbrella, which was at this Time carry'd in Procession by *Erechtheus's* Priest, or some of the Sacred Family of *Butas*, who, to distinguish them from others that made false Pretensions to that Kindred, were call'd Ετερογέλαδαι, i. e. the genuine Off-spring of *Butas*: Those that order'd this Procession, were wont to make use of Διός κωλή, i. e. the Skins of Beasts sacrific'd to *Jupiter*, surnam'd Μενίχρη, and

(a) Pausanias Corinthiaci. (b) Plutarchus Solone. (c) Plutarchus Grac. Quaest. (c) Hesychius. (e) Aristophanic Scholast. Concionat. Harpoeratian. Suidas. KTHIΩΣ.

Kλησις, of which Titles I have spoken before. Farther, there was at this Festival a Race call'd *Οχεφέρεια*, because the young Men that contended therein, did φέρειν τὰς ὄγκας, i. e. carry in their Hands Vine-branches full of Grapes.

ΣΚΙΕΠΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΠΑ,

At *Alea* in *Arcadia* (a), in honour of *Bacchus*, whose Image was expos'd ἔποντὸν οὐδίστη, i. e. under an Umbrella, whence it is probable the Name of this Festival was deriv'd. At this Time the Women were beaten with Scourges, in the same manner with the *Spartan* Boys at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, which they underwent in obedience to a Command of the *Delphian Oracle*.

ΣΚΙΛΛΩΝ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Sea-onions. It was observ'd in *Sicily*; the chief part of it was a Combat, wherein Youths beat one another with Sea-onions: He that obtain'd the Victory was rewarded by the *Gymnastarch* with a Bull (b).

ΣΠΟΡΤΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΣΤΗΝΙΑ,

An *Athenian Solemnity* (c), wherein the Women made Jests, and Lampoons upon one another; whence συνιώσω signifies to abuse, ridicule, or speak evil of another.

ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ,

At *Eretria*, in honour of *Diana Stophaea* (d).

ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΑ,

At *Stymphalus* in *Arcadia*, in honour of *Diana*, nam'd from that place *Stymphalia* (e).

ΣΤΡΓΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΠΙΑ,

See *Θαλύσια*.

ΣΤΝΟΙΚΙΑ,

See *Ξωνίκια*.

(a) *Pausanias Arcadicus*, *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. XXXIII.* (b) *Theocriti Scholia*.
Idyl. VII. (c) *Hesychius, Suidas.* (d) *Athenaeus lib. VI.* (e) *Pausanias Arcadicus.*

ΣΤΡΑ

ΣΤΡΑΚΟΤΣΙΩΝΕΟΠΤΑΙ,

Syracusan Festivals, one of which *Plato* (a) mentions; it continu'd ten Days, during which Time the Women were employ'd in offering Sacrifices.

Another we read of in *Tully* (b), which was celebrated every Year by vast numbers of Men and Women, at a Lake near *Syracuse*, thro' which *Pluto* was said to have descended with *Proserpina*.

ΣΤΡΜΑΙΑ,

Games at *Sparta* (c), the Prize in which was συρμαῖα, i. e. a mixture of Fat and Honey.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ,

Sacrifices, and Thanksgivings for Deliverances out of Dangers.

Τ

ΤΑΙΝΑΠΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune* surnam'd *Tenarius* from *Tenarus*, a Promontory in *Laconia*, where was a Temple dedicated to him. The Worshippers were call'd *Tauvæitai* (d).

ΤΑΛΑΙΔΙΤΗΣ,

Gymnical Exercises, in honour of *Jupiter Talatus*, as *Maurusius* conjectures from the Words of *Hesychius*.

ΤΑΤΡΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune*, as *Hesychius* reports: Perhaps it was the same with that mention'd by *Athenaeus* (e), and celebrated at *Ephesus*, wherein the Cup-bearers were young Men, and call'd *Tælesti*.

ΤΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana Touegpōλη*, (f), of which Sirname there are various accounts; the most probable is that, which derives it from *Synthia Taurica*, where this Goddess was worshipp'd.

ΤΑΤΡΟΧΟΛΙΑ,

At *Cyzicum* (g).

(a) *Epistola ad Dionis propinquos.* (b) *Orat. in Verrem IV.* (c) *Hesychius.*
(d) *Idem.* (e) *Lib. X.* (f) *Hesychius.* (g) *Idem.*

Εε

ΤΕΣ-

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΝ,

The fourtieth Day after Child-birth, upon which the Women went to the Temples, and pay'd some grateful Acknowledgments for their safe Delivery; of which Custom I shall give a farther account in one of the following Books.

ΤΙΘΗΝΙΔΙΑ,

A Spartan Festival (*a*), in which the *πηλίναι*, or Nurses, convey'd the Male Infants committed to their Charge to the Temple of *Diana Corythallia*, which was at some distance from the City, being seated not far from that part of the River *Tiasa*, which was near *Cleia*; here they offer'd young Pigs in Sacrifice, during the Time of which some of them danc'd, and were call'd *κορυθαίσαι*, others expos'd themselves in antick and ridiculous Postures, and were nam'd *Kυενθοί*. They had likewise a Publick Entertainment at this, and some other Times, which was call'd *κοτής*, and to partake of it *κοτιζεῖν*: The manner of it was thus: Tents being erected near the Temple, and Beds furnish'd therein, and cover'd with Tapestry, all the Guests, as well Foreigners, as Natives of *Laconia*, were invited to Supper, where every Man had his portion allotted, which was distributed to him together with a small Loaf of Bread call'd *φωσίκιλας*; farther also each of them receiv'd a piece of new Cheese, part of the Belly and Trips; and (instead of Sweet-meats) Figs, Beans, and green Vetches.

ΤΙΤΑΝΙΑ,

In memory of the *Titans* (*b*).

ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

Games celebrated (*c*) at *Rhodes*, in memory of *Thopolemus*, upon the twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Gorpicus*, wherein not Men only, but Boys were permitted to contend, and the Victors were crown'd with Poplar.

ΤΟΝΕΑ,

The Institution, and Manner of this Solemnity are describ'd in *Athenaeus* (*d*); who tells us it was kept at *Samos*: The chief Ceremony consisted in carrying Juno's Image to the Sea-shore, and offering Cakes to it, and then restoring it to its former place; which was done in memory of its being stolen by the *Tyrrenians*, and (when their Ships were stay'd in the Haven by an invisible Force, which hinder'd

(*a*) *Athenaeus lib. IV. Hesychius.* (*b*) *Moschopulus Collect. Dict. Attic.* (*c*) *Pindari Scholiales Olymp. Od. VII.* (*d*) *Lib. XV.*

them

them from making away) expos'd upon the Shore. The name of this Festival is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς σωτῆρος μεμενόθεντος τὸ βρέτας, i. e. from the Image's being fast bound by those that first found it, because they imagin'd it was going to leave them.

ΤΟΞΑΠΙΔΙΑ,

At *Athens* (*a*), in memory of *Toxaris*, a Scythian Heroe, who died there, and went under the name of ξένος λαργός, i. e. the foreign Physician.

ΤΡΙΚΛΑΠΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival (*b*) celebrated by the *Ioniens* that inhabited *Aroe*, *Anthea*, and *Mesatis*, in honour of *Diana Tricloria*, to appease whose anger for the Adultery committed in her Temple by *Menalippus* and *Comætho* the Priestess, they were commanded by the *Delphian Oracle* to Sacrifice a Boy and a Virgin, which inhuman Custom continu'd till after the *Trojan War*.

ΤΡΙΠΑΤΟΠΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity, in which (*c*) it was usual to pray for Children to the Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι, or Gods of Generation, who were sometimes call'd *Tetrapatopes*: But of these I shall have occasion to speak afterwards.

ΤΡΙΠΟΝΗΤΑΙ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ,

Solemn Games celebrated every year at *Lebadea*, in honour of *Trophonius* (*d*).

ΤΤΠΑΙ,

Mention'd in *Hesychius*.

ΤΤΡΒΗ,

Celebrated by the *Achæans*, in honour of *Bacchus* (*e*).

Τ

ΤΑΚΙΝΩΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity (*f*) at *Amyclæ* in *Laconia*, in the Month

(*a*) *Lucianus Scyth.* (*b*) *Pausanias Achæic.* (*c*) *Etymologici Auctor.* (*d*) *Pindari Scholiales Olymp. Od. VII.* (*e*) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* (*f*) *Idem Iaconic.* *Hesychius.*

Hecatombæon, in memory of the beautiful Youth *Hyacinthus*, with Games in honour of *Apollo*. It is thus describ'd by *Athenæus* (a) : " *Polycrates* reports in his *Laconicks*, That the *Laconians* celebrate a Festival call'd *Hyacinthia*, three Days together; during which time their Grief for the death of *Hyacinthus* is so excessive, that they neither adorn themselves with Crowns at their Entertainments, nor eat Bread, but Sweet-meats only, and such like Things; nor sing *Paeans* in honour of the God, nor practise any of the Customs, that are usual at other Sacrifices; but having supp'd with Gravity, and an orderly Composedness, depart. Upon the second Day there is variety of Spectacles, frequented by a vast concourse of People; The Boys, having their Coats girt about them, play sometimes upon the Harp, sometimes upon the Flute, sometimes strike at once upon all their Strings, and sing Hymns in honour of the God (*Apollo*) in *Anapæstick* Numbers, and shrill, acute sounds. Others pass over the Theater upon Horses richly accoutred; at the same time enter Choirs of young Men, singing some of their own Country-songs, and, amongst them, Persons appointed to dance according to the ancient Form, to the Flute, and Vocal Musick. Of the Virgins, some are usher'd in riding in Chariots made of Wood, cover'd at the Top, and magnificently adorn'd; Others in Race-Chariots. The whole City is fill'd with Joy at this Time, they offer multitudes of Victims, and entertain all their Acquaintance, and Slaves; and so eager are they to be present at the Games, that no Man stays at Home, but the City is left empty and desolate".

ΤΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ,

At *Argos* (b) upon the sixteenth, or rather upon the New Moon of the Month call'd by the *Argives* *Hermeas*. The chief Ceremony was, that, the Men and Women exchang'd habits, in memory of the generous achievement of *Telestilla*, who, when *Argos* was besieg'd by *Cleomenes*, having listed a sufficient number of Women, made a brave and vigorous defence against the whole *Spartan* Army.

ΤΔΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Solemnity so call'd Ἀπὸ τῆς φέρεται υδρεως, i. e. from bearing Water; and kept at *Athens* in memory of those that perish'd in the Deluge (c).

Another Festival was celebrated at *Aegina*, to *Apollo*, in the Month *Delphinius* (d).

ΤΜΝΙΑ,

At *Orchomenos*, and *Mantinea*, in honour of *Diana Hymnia*.

(a) Lib. IV. (b) Plutarchus de Virt. Mulier. Polyanus lib. VIII. (c) Etymologici Auctor, Suidas. (d) Pindari Scholiastes Nemeon. Od. V.

ΤΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

ΤΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in honour of *Venus* (a). The Name is deriv'd from θύσις, i. e. a Sow, because Sows were sacrific'd to this Goddess.

Φ

ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ,

Φαγησία, or Φαγίτια, or Φαγητοποίεια, or Φαγητοπότια, was a Festival so call'd from φάγειν, and πίνειν, i. e. to eat, and drink, because it was a Time of good Living (b).

ΦΑΓΩΝ,

A Festival mention'd by *Eustathius* (c), and (as the Name imports) of the same Nature with the former.

ΦΑΜΜΑΣΤΡΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΦΕΛΛΟΣΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d), being a preparative to the Διονυσία (e).

ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ,

A Festival at *Cyzicum*, wherein a black Heifer was sacrific'd to *Phenphatta*, or *Proserpina* (f).

ΦΩΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Phosphorus*, or *Lucifer* (g).

Χ

ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ,

So call'd from Χαλκός, i. e. Brass, because it was celebrated in memory of the first Invention of working that Metal, which is owing to *Athens* (h). It was call'd Ηλεύθερια, because ὁ πάτερ δημόσιος, i. e. the whole *Athenian* Nation, assembled to celebrate it. Sometimes also this Festival was call'd Αγλώσια, because it was kept in honour of

(a) Athenæus lib. III. (b) Idem lib. VII. (c) Odyss. φ'. (d) Suidas. (e) Antiphonis Scholiastes Nubibus. (f) Plutarchus Lucullo. (g) Plutarchus in colorem, Hesychius. (h) Eustathius Iliad. C. Suidas, Harpocration, Etymologici Auctor. Αγλώσια,

Athena, or Minerva, who was the Goddess of all sorts of Arts, and Inventions, and upon that account nam'd Εργάνη, from ἔργον, i. e. work. Afterwards it was only kept by Mechanicks, and Handy-craftsmen, especially those concern'd in Brads-work, and that in honour of Vulcan, who was the God of Smiths, and the first that taught the Athenians the use of Brads.

X A O N I A,

A Festival celebrated by the Chaonians in Epirus (a).

X A P I Λ A,

A Festival observ'd once in nine years by the Delphians, whereof we have this account in Plutarch (b): "A great Drought having brought a Famine upon the Delphians, they went with their Wives and Children as supplicants to the King's Gate, who distributed Meal and Pulse to the more noted of them, not having enough to supply the necessities of all: But a little Orphan Girl coming and importuning him, he beat her with his Shoe, and threw it in her Face; she indeed was a poor, vagrant Beggar, but of a Disposition no ways mean, or ignoble, wherefore unable to bear the Affront, she withdrew, and untying her Girdle, hang'd her self therewith. The Famine hereupon encreasing, and many Diseases accompanying it, the Pythia was consulted by the King, and answer'd, that the Death of the Virgin Charila, who slew her self, must be expiated: The Delphians after a long search discover'd at length, that the Maid, who had been beaten with the Shoe, was call'd by that Name, and instituted certain Sacrifices mix'd with expiatory Rites, which are religiously observ'd every ninth year to this Day: The King presides at them, and distributes Meal and Pulse to all persons, as well Strangers, as Citizens; and Charila's Effigies, being brought in, when all have receiv'd their Dole, the King smites it with his Shoe; then the Governells of the Thyades conveys it to some lonesom and desolate place, where a Halter being put about it's Neck, they bury it in the same spot of Ground, where Charila was interr'd."

X A P I Σ I A,

A Festival celebrated (c) in honour of the Charites, or Graces, with Dances, which continu'd all Night; he that was awake the longest, was rewarded with a Cake call'd Πυγαῖες.

X A P I Σ Τ H P I A ΕΛΕΤΘΕΡΙΑΣ,

A Thanksgiving-Day at Athens (d) upon the twelth of Boedromion, which was the Day, whereon Thrasybulus expell'd the Thirty Tyrants, and restor'd to the Athenians their Liberty.

(a) Parthenius Erot. XXXII. (b) Grac. Quest. (c) Eustathius Odys. σ'. (d) Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniens.

X A P M O Σ Υ Ν Α,

At Athens (a).

X E I P O Η Ο Ν Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated by the Χειροτόνοι, or Handy-crafts-men (b).

X E Λ Ι Δ Ο Ν Ι Α,

A Festival at Rhodus (c) in the month Boedromion, wherein the Boys went from door to door begging, and singing a certain Song, the doing which they call'd Χειλόδριζεν, and the Song it self was nam'd Ξελίνοια, because it was begun with an invocation of the Ξελίνων, Swallow; it is set down at large in Athenaeus, and begins thus,

Ηλή, οὐρά, Χειλίνων, καλέσε
Ωρος ωραία &c.

It's said to have been compos'd by Cleobulus the Lindian, as an artifice to get Money in a Time of publick Calamity. In like manner, to sing the Song, wherein a Raven, in Greek Κορώνη, was invok'd, they call'd Κορώνεια. And it seems to have been customary for poor Beggars, to go about, and sing for Wages; so Homer is said to have done, earning his Living by singing a Song, call'd Ειπειών.

X Θ Ο Ν Ι Α,

An anniversary Day kept by the Hermionians in honour of Ceres, surnam'd Chthonia, either because she was Goddess of the Earth, which is call'd in Greek Χθών, or from a Damsel of that Name, whom Ceres carry'd from Argolis to Hermione, where she dedicated a Temple to the Goddess. The manner of this Festival is thus describ'd by Pausanias (d): Ceres her self is nam'd Chthonia, and under that Title is honour'd with a Festival, celebrated every Summer in this Method; A Procescion is led up by the Priests of the Gods, and the Magistrates that year in Office, who are follow'd by a crowd of Men and Women: The Boys also make a solemn Procescion in honour of the Goddess, being in white Apparel, and having upon their Heads Crowns compos'd of a Flower, which is by them call'd Κομοτίνδας, but seems to be the same with Hyacinth, as appears as well by the bigness and colour, as from the Letters inscrib'd upon it in memory of the untimely Death of Hyacinthus. This Procescion is follow'd by Persons that drag an Heifer untam'd, and newly taken from the Herd, fast bound to the Temple, where they let her loose; which being done, the Door-

(a) Hesychius. (b) Idem. (c) Athenaeus lib. VIII. (d) Corinthiacus.

"keepers,"

"keepers, who till then had kept the Temple-gates open, make all fast, "and four old Women being left within, and arm'd with Sithes, they "pursue the Heifer, and dispatch her, as soon as they are able, by cutting "her Throat. Then the Doors being open'd, certain appointed Per- "sons put a second Heifer into the Temple, afterwards a third, and "then a fourth, all which the old Women kill in the fore-mention'd "manner; and 'tis observable, that all fall on the same side.

X I T Ω N I A,

In honour of *Diana* surnam'd *Chitonia* from *Chitone*, a Burrough in *Attica*, where this Festival was celebrated (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated at *Syracuse* with Songs and Dances proper to the Day (b).

X Λ O E I A,

A Festival celebrated at *Athens* upon the sixth of *Thargelion* (c) with Sports, and Mirth, and Sacrificing a Ram to *Ceres*, worship'd in a Temple, in, or near the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, under the Title of *Xλάνη* which Name tho' *Pausanias* thought to bear a hidden, and mystical Sence, understood by none but the Priests themselves, yet perhaps it may be deriv'd from *Xλάνη*, i. e. Gras, because *Ceres* was Goddess of the Earth, and all the Fruits thereof; and is the same with the Epithet of *εὐχλός*, or fertile, which is apply'd to her by *Sophocles* (d),

Tῷ δὲ Εὐχλός Δίημεντος ἐστι τὸν
Πάγου μολεσσα.

Where this Conjecture seems to be approv'd by the *Scholiast*, who tells us, that *Ceres*, surnam'd *Eὐχλός*, was worship'd in a Temple near the *Acropolis*, which can be no other than that already mention'd. Add to this, that *Gyraldus* is of Opinion that *Ceres* is call'd *Xλάνη* amongst the *Greeks*, for the same reason that amongst the *Latins* she is nam'd *Flava*, the cause of which Title is too well known, to be accounted for in this place.

X O E Σ,

See *Arbestheia*.

X O Λ Α Σ,

In honour of *Bacchus* (e).

(a) *Callimachini Scholiastes Hymn. in Dian.* *Athenaeus lib. XIV.* (b) *Stephanus Byzantinus v. Χιτώνη.* (c) *Hesychius, Eustathius ll. i.* *Pausanias Atticis.* (d) *Oedip. Colon.* (e) *Hesychius.*

X T T P O I

X T T P O I,

See *Arbestheia*.

Ω

Ω Μ Ο Φ Α Γ Ι Α,

A Festival (a) in honour of *Bacchus* Ωμοράχη, i. e. Eater of raw Flesh, of which Name I have spoken in the former part of this Chapter. This Solemnity was celebrated in the same manner with the other Festivals of *Bacchus*, wherein they counterfeited phrenzy, and madness; what was peculiar to it, was that the Worshippers us'd to eat the Entrails of Goats raw, and bloody, which was done in imitation of the God, to whom the Surname by which he was ador'd at this Solemnity, was given for the like Actions.

Ω Ρ Α Ι Α,

Solemn Sacrifices (b), consisting of Fruits, and offer'd in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, that Heaven might grant mild and temperate Weather. These, according to *Maurius*, were offer'd to the Goddesses, call'd Ωραι, i. e. Hours, who were three in number, attended upon the Sun, presided over the four Seasons of the Year, and were honour'd with Divine Worship at *Athens* (c).

C H A P T E R XXI.

Of the Publick Games in Greece, and the Principal Exercises us'd in them.

I COME in the next place to the four Publick, and Solemn Games, which were peculiarly term'd ἱεροὶ, i. e. Sacred; partly from the Esteem they had all over *Greece*, from every part of which vast multitudes of Spectators flock'd to them; and partly because they were instituted in honour of the Gods, or Deify'd Heroes, and always begun with Sacrificing to them, and concluded in the same religious manner.

Their Names, together with the Persons to whom they were dedicated, and the Prizes in each of them, are elegantly compriz'd by *Archias* in the two following Distichs,

(a) *Clemens Protrept. Arnobius lib. V.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Athenaeus lib. XIV.*
F ff Τέατρος

Τέαρας εἰον ἀγάνεις ἐν Ἑλλάδε, τέαρας ιερή,
Οἱ δέ πῦ Θυντῶν, οἱ δέ δὲ ἀθανάτων.
Ζηνὸς Λιμοῖσσος, Παλαιόνος, Αρχεμόρεος,
Αθλα δὲ κόπου, μῆλα, σέλινα, πήνες.

Such as obtain'd Victories in any of these Games, especially the *Olympicks* (a), were universally honour'd, nay almost ador'd: At their Return home, they rode in a Triumphant Chariot into the City, the Walls being broken down to give them Entrance; which was done (as *Plutarch* is of opinion) to signify, that walls are of small use to a City, that is inhabited by Men of Courage, and Ability to defend it. At *Sparta* they had an honourable Post in the Army, being plac'd near the King's Person. At some places, they had Presents made to them by their Native City, were honour'd with first places at all Shows and Games, and ever after maintain'd at the Publick Charge (b). *Cicero* (c) reports, that a Victory in the *Olympick* Games was not much less honourable than a Triumph at *Rome*. Happy was that Man thought, that could but obtain a single Victory: If any Person merited repeated Rewards, he was thought to have attain'd to the utmost Felicity that Human Nature is capable of: But if He came off Conquerour in all the Exercises, He was elevated above the Condition of Men, and His Actions stil'd *Wonderful Victories* (d). Nor did their Honours terminate in themselves, but were extended to all about them; the City that gave them Birth and Education, was esteem'd more Honourable and August; Happy were their Relations, and thrice happy their Parents. It is a remarkable Story, which *Plutarch* (e) relates of a *Spartan*, who meeting *Diagoras*, that had himself been crown'd in the *Olympian* Games, and seen his Sons, and Grand-children Victors, embrac'd him, and said, *Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a God.*

There were certain Persons appointed to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom, to decide Controversies that happen'd amongst the Antagonists, and adjudge the Prizes to those that merited them: These were call'd *αιγυρίται*, *βελτύται*, *ἀγωράρχαι*, *ἀγωνίκαι*, *ἀγωνότεται*, *ἀθλότεται*, tho' betwixt these two *Phavorinus* makes a Distinction, for *ἀθλότεται*, he tells us, was peculiar to *Gymnical Exercises*; whereas the former was sometimes apply'd to Musical Contentions: They were likewise call'd *ξαλδεύχαι*, and *ξαλδοφόραι* from *ξαλδος*, i. e. a Rod, or Scepter, which these Judges, and, in general, all Kings, and great Magistrates carry'd in their Hands.

After the Judges had pass'd Sentence, a publick Herald proclaim'd

(a) *Plutarchus Sympos. lib. II. Quæst. VI. Vitruvius Praefat. in Architect. lib. IX.*
(b) *Xenophanes Colophonius in Epigram. (c) Orat. pro Flacco. (d) Plutarchus Lu-*
cillo. (e) Pelopida.

the Name of the Victor, whence *κηρύσσειν* in Greek, and *praedicare* in Latin, signifie to command, or proclaim any man's praises. The token of Victory was, in most places, a Palm-branch, which was presented to the Conquerours, and carry'd by them in their Hands; which custom was first introduc'd by *Theseus*, at the Institution of the *Delian* Games (a), tho' others will have it to be much ancienter: Hence *palmum dare*, to yield the Victory; and *plurimum palmarium homo in Tilly*, Man that has won a great many Prizes.

Before I proceed to give a particular Description of the *Grecian Games*, it will be necessary to present you with a brief account of the principal Exercises us'd in them, which were as follow;

Πένταθλον, or *Quinquerium*, which consisted of the five Exercises contain'd in this Verse,

Ἄλμα, ποδωκεῖν, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλη.

i.e. Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, and Wrestling; but instead of Darting, others mention Boxing. In all of them there were some customs that deserve our observation.

Δέρνειν, or the Exercise of Running, was in great Esteem amongst the ancient *Grecians*, insomuch that such as prepar'd themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use means to burn, or parch their Spleen, because it was believ'd to be an hindrance to them, and retard them in their course. *Homer* tells us, that swiftness is one of the most excellent Endowments a Man can be bleſſ'd withall (b),

Οὐ πῦ μεῖζον κλέος ἀνέρες ὅρρος κεν τοιν,
Η δέ, τι ποσὶν τε γέξει, καὶ χερσὶν ἐῆπιν.

No greater honour has e're been attain'd,
Than what strong Hands, or nimble Feet have gain'd.

Indeed all those Exercises, that conduc'd to fit Men for War, were more specially valued; now swiftness was look'd upon as an excellent qualification in a Warriour, both because it serves for a sudden Assault and Onset, and likewise for a nimble Retreat; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd that the constant Character, which *Homer* gives of *Achilles*, is, that he was *πόδας ἀνύσ*, or swift of Foot: And in the holy Scriptures, *David*, in his Poetical Lamentation over those two great Captains, *Saul* and *Jonathan*, takes particular notice of this warlike quality of theirs; *They were (says he) swifter than Eagles, stronger than Lyons.* To return; The Course was call'd *στίχον*, being of the same extent with the measure of that name, which contains CXXV. paces,

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo. (b) Odysf. 6. v. 147.*

Of the Religion of Greece.

whence the Runners were term'd *σταδιοδρόμοι*. Sometimes the length of it was enlarrg'd more or less, and then it was nam'd *στάδιχ*, and the Contenders *στάδιχοδρόμοι*, whence comes the Proverb Μή ζῆτε εἰς στάδιον στάδιχον, i. e. Search not for a greater thing in a less. Sometimes they ran back again to the place whence they had first set out, and then the Course was call'd *δίσιλος*, and the Runners *δίσιλοδρόμοι*. Sometimes they ran in Armour, and were term'd *σπλισθέμοι*.

Αλυτα, or the Exercise of Leaping, they sometimes perform'd with weights upon their Heads, or Shoulders, sometimes carrying them in their Hands; these were call'd *ἄλτης*, which, tho' now and then of different Figures, yet, as *Pausanias* reports, were usually of an Oval Form, and made with holes, or else cover'd with Thongs, thro' which the Contenders put their Fingers. *Ἄλτης* were also sometimes us'd in throwing. The place from which they leap'd, was call'd *βατίς* (a); that to which they leap'd, *τὰ ἐσκαμψώντα*, because it was mark'd by digging up the Earth; whence παῦσιν τὰ ἐσκαμψέντα is apply'd to Persons that overleap, or exceed their Bounds.

Πέτις, or the Exercise of Throwing, or Darting, was perform'd several ways; sometimes with a Javelin, Rod, or other Instrument of a large size, which they threw out of their naked Hands, or by the help of a Thong ty'd about the middle of it; the doing this was term'd *ἀκόντια*: sometimes with an Arrow, or little Javeling, which was either shot out of a Bow, or cast out of a Sling, and the Art of doing this was call'd *τοξεύειν*.

Δίσκος, was a Quoit of Stone, Brass, or Iron, which they threw by the help of a Thong put thro' a hole in the middle of it (b), but in a manner quite different from that of throwing Darts; for there the Hands were lifted up, and extended, whereas the *Discus* was hurl'd in the manner of a Bowl. It was of different Figures, and Sizes, being sometimes four-square, but usually broad and like a Lentil, whence that Herb is by *Dioscorides* call'd *δίσκος*. The same Exercise was sometimes perform'd with an Instrument call'd *Σέλας*, which some will have to be distinguish'd from *Δίσκος*, because that was of Iron, this of Stone: But others with more reason report that the difference consisted in this, viz. That *σέλας* was of a Spherical Figure, whereas *δίσκος* was broad.

Πλυμυκή, or the Exercise of Boxing, was sometimes perform'd by Combatants having in their Hands Balls of Stone, or Lead, call'd *σφαῖραι*,

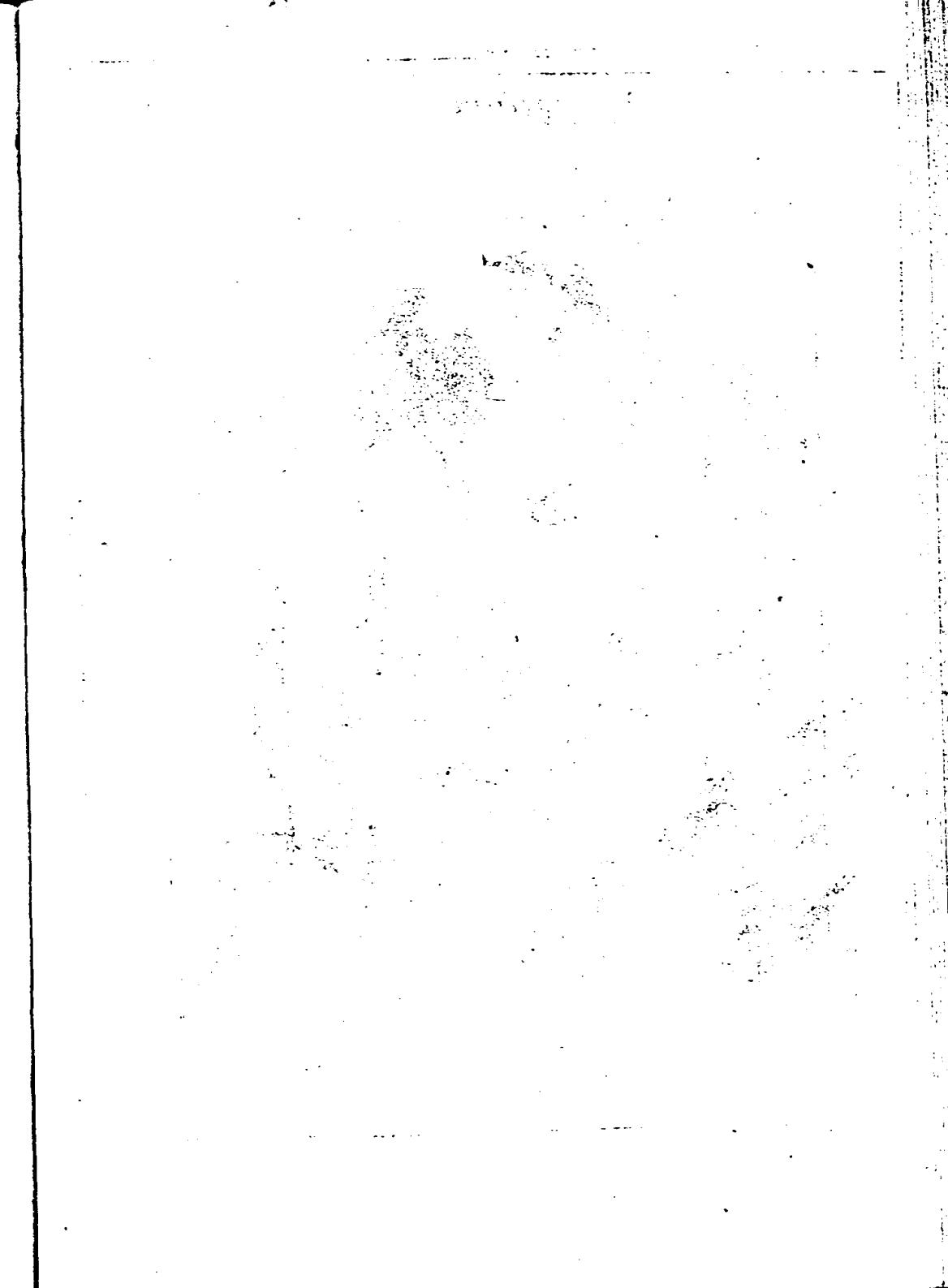
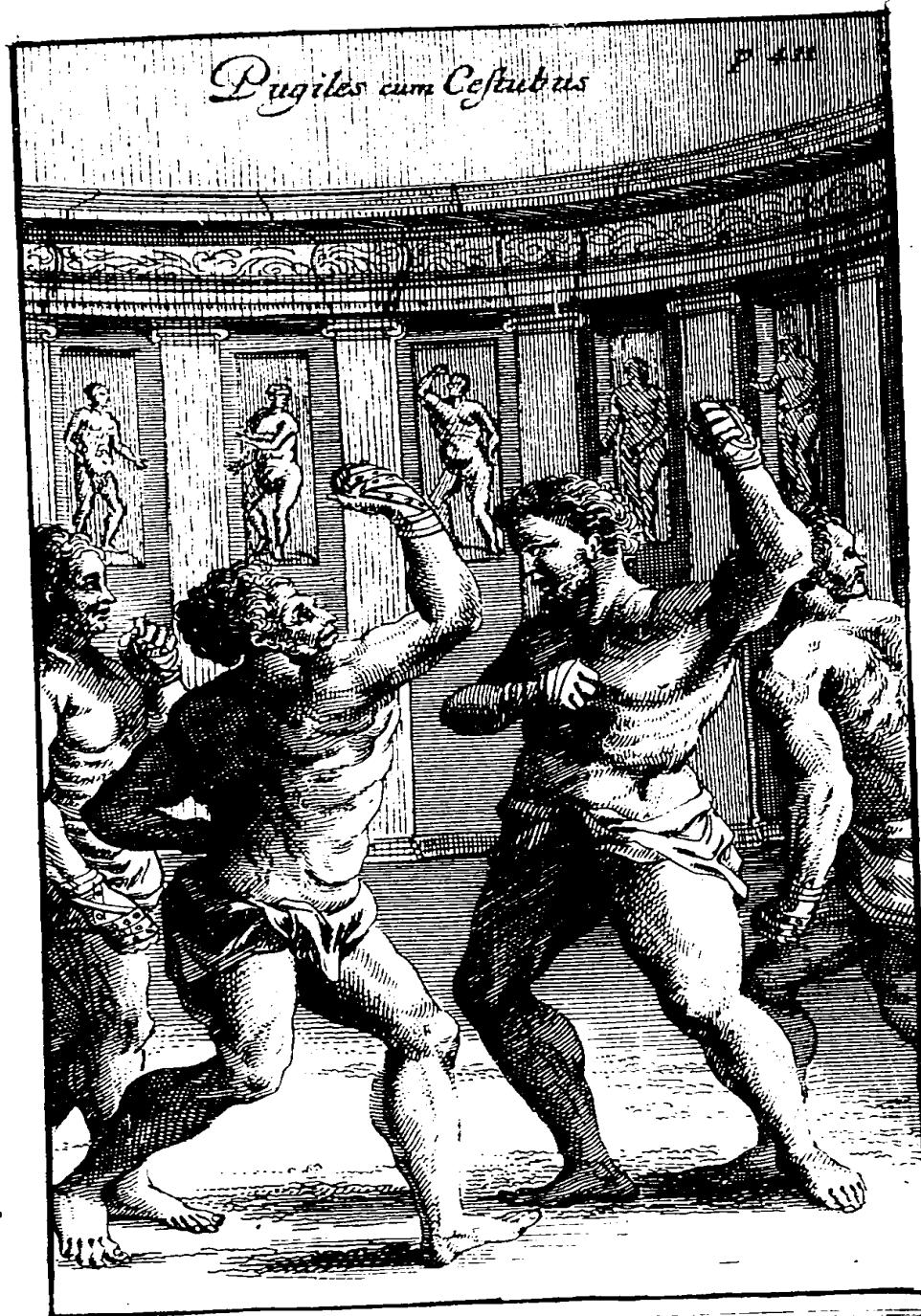
(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Eustathius Odyss. 9.*

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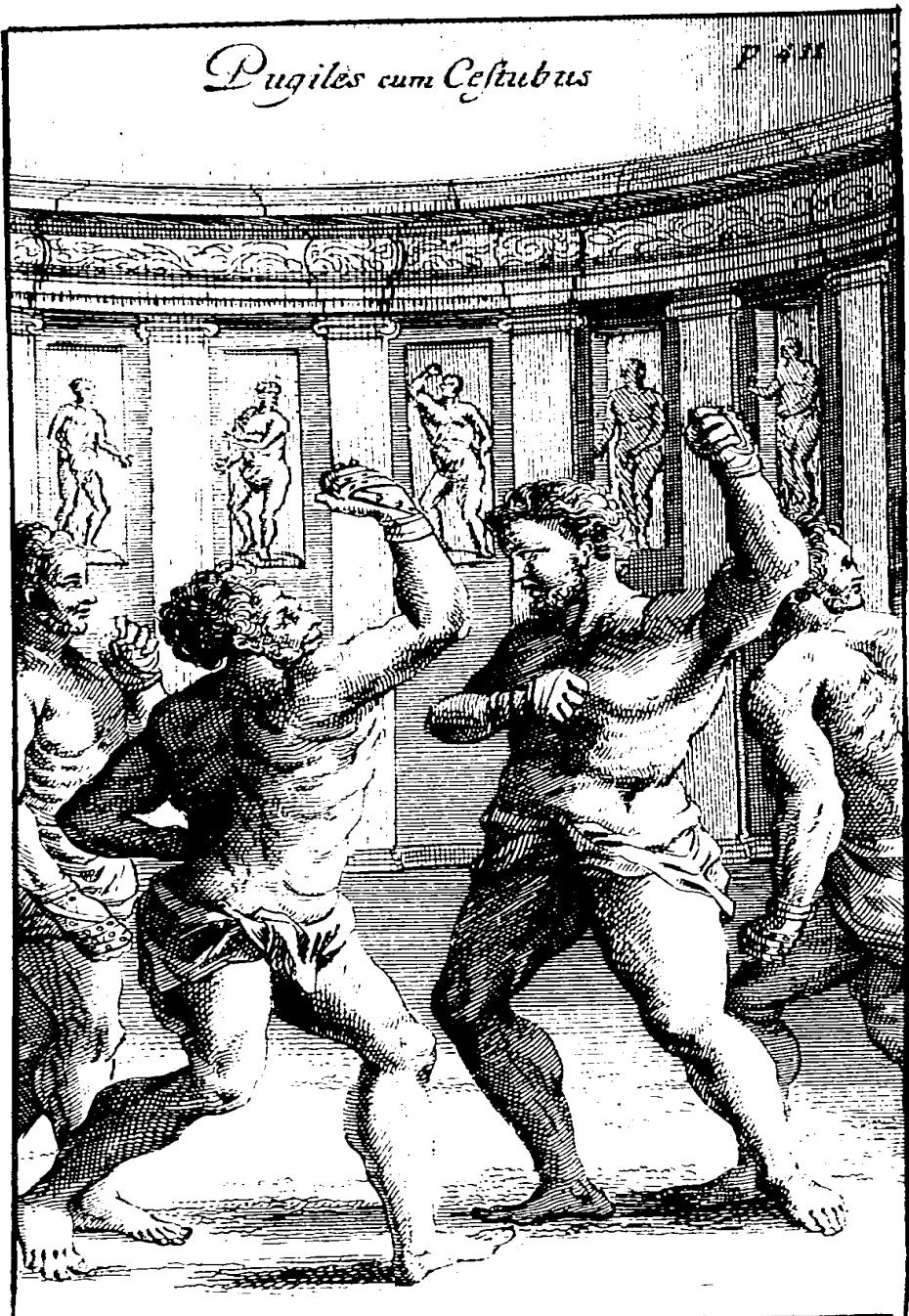
Pugiles cum Cestibus

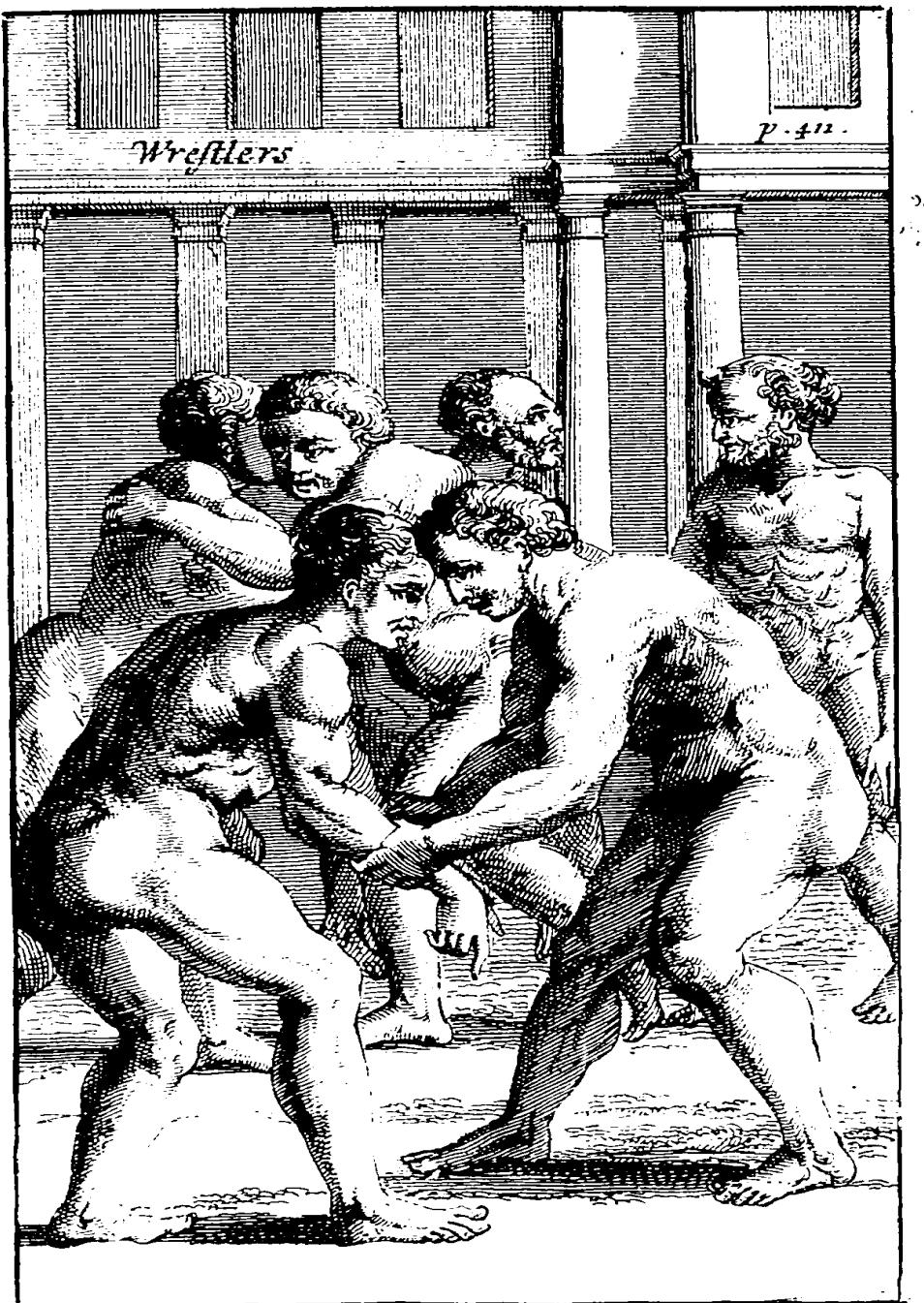
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Pugiles cum Cestibus

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and then it was term'd *σφαγμαξία*. At first, their Hands and Arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with Thongs of Leather call'd *Cestus*, which at the first were short, reaching no higher than the Wrists, but were afterwards enlarg'd, and carry'd up to the Elbow, and sometimes as high as the Shoulder; and in time they came to be us'd not only as defensive Arms, but to annoy the Enemy, being fill'd with plumbets of Lead, and Iron, to add Force to the Blows. Those that prepar'd themselves for this Exercise, us'd all the means they could contrive to render themselves Fat and Fleshy, that so they might be better able to endure Blows, whence corpulent Men, or Women were usually call'd *pugiles*, according to Terence (a),

Siqua est habitor paullo, pugilem esse aiunt. —

Πάλη, or the Exercise of Wrestling, was sometimes call'd *καταβλητή*, because the Combatants endeavour'd to throw each other down, to do which they call'd *πέντε*. They never encountred till all their Joyns, and Members had been soundly rubb'd, fomented, and suppled with Oyl, whereby all Streins were prevented. The Victory was adjudg'd to him that gave his Antagonist three Falls; whence *τειχεῖς*, and *τειχίζειν* signify to conquer; and *τειχθῆναι*, or *Στοργιαχθῆναι*, to be conquer'd; and by *ἀνίκαντος ἄτε* in *Aeschylus* is meant an insuperable Evil; others make the proper signification of these words to belong only to Victors in all the Exercises of the *Πένταθλος* (b); however, the fore-mention'd Custom is sufficiently attested by the Epigram upon *Milo*, who having challeng'd the whole Assembly, and finding none that durst encounter him, claim'd the Crown, but as he was going to receive it, unfortunately fell down, whereat the People cry'd out, that he had forfeited the Prize, then *Milo*

*Ἄνδρος δ' ἐν μέντοισιν δινέκπαγεν, Οὐχὶ τοῦτοί εἰσιν,
Ἐν κεῖμεν, λυπήν ταῦλα με τὶς βαλέτω.*

Arose, and standing in the midst, thus cry'd,
One single Fall cannot the Prize decide,
And who is here can throw me th'other two?

But of Wrestling there were two sorts, viz. one call'd *Ορθία πάλη*, and *Ορθοπάλη*, which is that already describ'd; And another call'd *Ανακλινοπάλη*, because the Combatants us'd voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the Fight upon the Ground, by pinch-

(a) Eunuch. Act. II. Sc. III. (b) Telleus Onomast. lib. III. cap. XXX.

ing, biting, scratching, and all manner of ways annoying their Adversary; whereby it often came to pass, that the weaker Combatant, and who would never have been able to throw his Antagonist, obtain'd the Victory, and forc'd him to yield; for in this Exercise, as in Boxing also, the Victory was never adjudg'd, till one party had fairly yielded; this was sometimes done by words, and often by lifting up a Finger, whence *δακτύλον ἀνατίναχτην* signifies to yield the Victory; for which reason, we are told by *Plutarch*, that the *Lacedæmonians* would not permit any of those Exercises to be practis'd in their City, wherein those that were conquer'd did *δακτύλον ἀνατίναχτην*, i. e. confess themselves overcome by holding up their Finger, because they thought it would derogate from the Temper and Spirit of the *Spartans*, to have any of them tamely yield to any Adversary; tho' that place has been hitherto mistaken by most Interpreters. *Martial* hath taken notice of this Exercise;

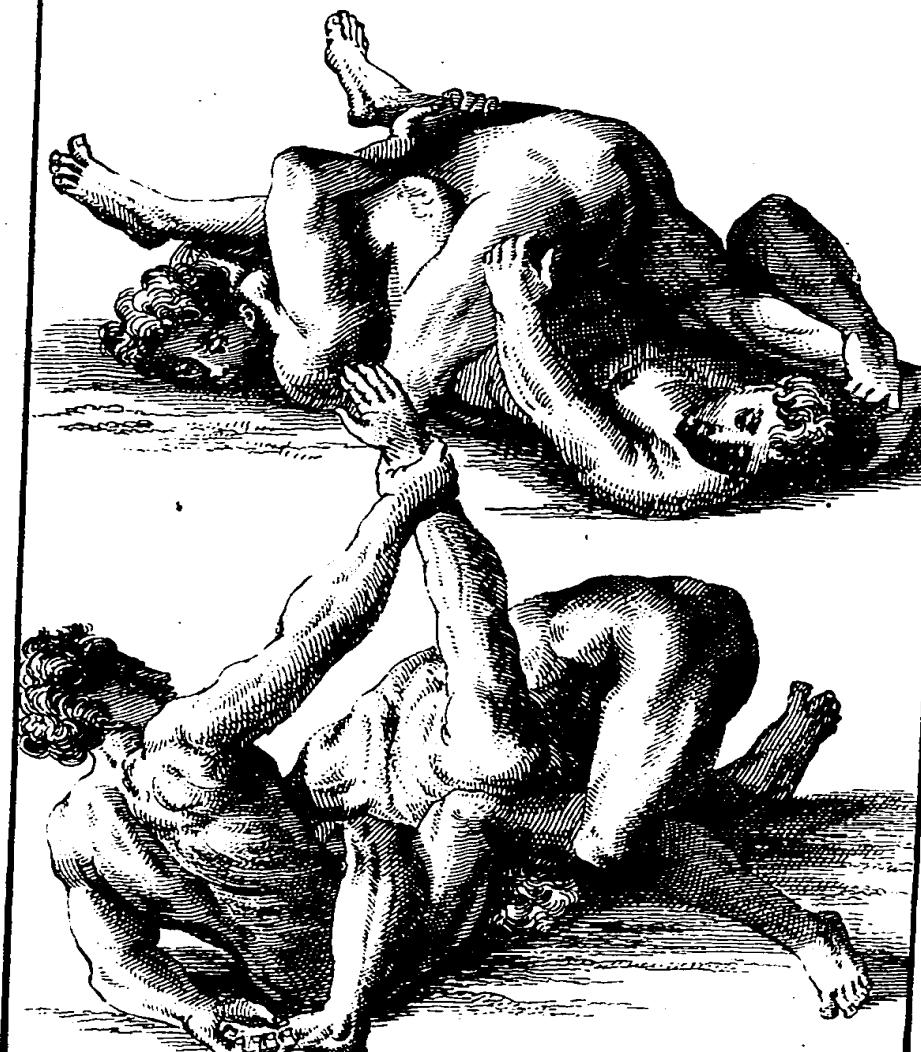
*Hunc amo, qui vincit, sed qui succumbere novit,
Et melius didicit tibi ανατίναχτην.*

It is the very same with what is more commonly call'd *Παγκράτιον*, which consists of the two Exercises of Wrestling, and Boxing; from the former it borrows the custom of throwing down; from the latter, that of beating Adversaries; for Wrestlers never struck, nor did Boxers ever attempt to throw down one another; but the *Παγκρατισταὶ* were permitted to do both, and it was customary for the weaker Party, when he found himself sore press'd by his Adversary, to fall down, and fight *rolling* on the Ground, whence these Combatants were call'd *χωλιστοὶ*, which gave occasion to the mistake of *Hieronymus Mercerialis*, who phansy'd there were two *Pancratia*, one in which the Combatants stood erect; the other, in which they roll'd in the Gravel. This Exercise is sometimes call'd *Παγκράτιον*, and the Combatants *Παγκράτιοι*.

Horse-races were either perform'd by single Horses, which were call'd *χέλαντες*, or *μανδύπυκες*: Or, by two Horses, on one of which they perform'd the Race, and leap'd upon the other at the Goal; these Men were call'd *αράται*, and if it was a Mare they leap'd upon, she was nam'd *χάλπη*: Or, by Horses coupled together in Chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. Horses, whence we read of *δίωει*, *τετράωει*, *τετραδίωει* &c. How great soever the number of Horses might be, they were all plac'd not as now, but in one Front, being coupled together by pairs; afterwards *Clisthenes* the *Sicyonian* brought up a Custom of coupling the two middle Horses only, which are for that reason call'd *ζύζοι*, and governing the rest by Reins, whence they are usually term'd *σειραφεῖ*, *σειράῖς*, *κόρσιροι*,

Pancratium

p. 412.



παρθενοί, πεζοί, ἀρρένες, &c. Sometimes we find Mules us'd instead of Horses; and the Chariots drawn by them call'd *εὐηναί*. The principal part of the Charioteer's Art and Skill consisted in avoiding the *νυσταί*, or Goals, in which if he fail'd, the over-turning of his Chariot, which was a necessary consequence of it, brought him into great Danger, as well as Disgrace.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the Olympian Games.

THE Olympian Games were so call'd from *Olympia*, a City in the Territory of the *Piseans*; or, according to *Stephanus*, the same with *Pisa*. The first Institution of them is by some refer'd to *Jupiter*, after his Victory over the Sons of *Titan* (a); at which time *Mars* is said to have been crown'd for Boxing, and *Apollo* to have been superiour to *Mercury* at Running.

Others will have the first Author of them to be one of the *Dactyli*, nam'd *Hercules*, not the Son of *Alcmena*, but another of far greater Antiquity, that with his four Brethren, *Paoneus*, *Ida*, *Zasius*, and *Epinomes*, left their ancient Seat in *Ida*, a Mountain of *Crete*, and settl'd in *Elis*, where he instituted this Solemnity; the Original of which was only a Race, wherein the four younger Brothers contending for Diversion, the Victor was crown'd by *Hercules* with an Olive-garland, which was not compos'd of the common Olive-branches, nor the natural Production of that Countrey (b), but brought by *Hercules* (so Fables will have it) from the *Hyperborean Scythians*, and planted in the *Pantheum* near *Olympia*, where it flourish'd, tho' not after the manner of other Olive-trees, but spreading out it's Boughs more like a Myrtle; it was call'd *κονιστέρας*, i. e. fit for Crowns, the Garlands given to Victors in these Games, were always compos'd of it, and it was forbidden under a great Penalty to cut it for any other use: These *Dactyli* were five in number, whence it is that the Olympian Games were celebrated once in five Years, tho' others make them to be solemniz'd once in four; wherefore according to the former, an *Olympiad* must consist of five; according to the latter, of four: But neither of these Accounts are exact, for this Solemnity was held indeed every fifth Year, yet not after the term of five Years was quite past, but every fiftieth Month, which is the

(a) *Aristophanes*, ejusque *Scholia*les in *Plato*. (b) *Aristoteles*, & ex eo *Aristophanis* *Kinias*les.

second Month after the completion of four Years (a) : And as these Games were celebrated every fifth Year, so they lasted five Days, for they began upon the eleventh, and ended upon the fifteenth Day of the Lunar Month, when the Moon was at the full.

Others (if we may believe *Julius Scaliger*) report, that these Games were instituted by *Pelops* to the honour of *Neptune*, by whose Assistance he had vanquish'd *Oenomaus*, and marry'd his Daughter *Hippodamia*.

Others say, they were first celebrated by *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, to the honour of *Pelops*, from whom he was descended by the Mother's side (b); but being aiter that discontinu'd for soine Time, they were reviv'd by *Iphitus*, or *Iphiclus*, one of *Hercules*'s Sons.

The most common Opinion is, that the Olympian Games were first instituted by this *Hercules*, to the honour of Olympian *Jupiter*, out of the Spoils taken from *Augeas* King of *Elis*, whom he had dethron'd, and plunder'd, being defrauded of the reward he had promis'd him for cleansing his Stables, as *Pindar* reports (c): *Diodorus the Sicilian* (d) gives the same Relation, and adds that *Hercules* propos'd no other Reward to the Victors, but a Crown, in memory of his own Labours, all which he accomplish'd for the Benefit of Mankind, without designing any Reward to himself, beside the Praise of doing well: At this Institution, it is reported that *Hercules* himself came off Conquerour in all the Exercises, except Wrestling, to which when he had challeng'd all the Field, and could find no Man that durst grapple with him, at length *Jupiter*, having assum'd an Human shape, enter'd the Lists; and when the Contention had remain'd doubtful for a considerable Time, neither party having the Advantage, or being willing to subinit, the God discover'd himself to his Son, and from this Action got the Surname of Πλακτις, or Wrestler, by which He is known in *Lycophron* (e).

All these Stories are rejected by *Strabo*, in his Description of *Elis*, where he reports, that an *Etolian Colony*, together with some of *Hercules*'s Posterity, subdu'd a great many of the *Pisean Towns*, and amongst them *Olympia*, where they first instituted, or, at least, reviv'd, enlarg'd, and augmented these Games, which (as my Author thinks) could not have been omitted by *Homer*, who takes every opportunity to adorn his Poems with Descriptions of such Solemnities, had they been of any Note before the *Trojan War*.

The Care and Management of these Games, belong'd sometimes to the *Piseans*, but for the most part to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Piseans* were destroy'd, and their very Name extinguish'd. Sometimes it happen'd that the *Eleans* could not take Care of them, for the CIVth Olympiad was celebrated by order of the *Arcadians*, by whom the *Eleans* were at that Time reduc'd to a very low Condition;

(a) *Iustinus Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem*, & *Johannes Tzetzes Chiliad*. I. Histor. XXL
(b) *Solinus Polyhist.* & *Statius Theb.* VI. (c) *Olympion*, initio Od. II. (d) *Bibliothec. Histor.* lib. IV. (e) *Cassandra* v. 41.

but

but this, and all those manag'd by the Inhabitans of *Pisa*, the *Eleans* call'd ἀνομάδας, i. e. unlawful *Olympiads*, and left them out of their Annals, wherein the Names of the Victors, and all Occurrences at these Games were recorded. Till the fiftieth Olympiad, a single Person superintended, but then two were appointed to perform that Office. In the CIIId Olympiad that number was increas'd to twelve, according to the number of the *Elean Tribes*, out of every one of which one President was elected: But in the following Olympiad, the *Eleans* having suffer'd great Losses by a War with the *Arcadians*, and being reduc'd to eight Tribes, the Presidents were also lessen'd to that number: In the CVth Olympiad they were increas'd by the addition of one more; and in the CVIth another was joyn'd to them, whereby they were made Ten, which number continu'd till the Reign of *Adrian*, the *Roman Emperour*. These Persons were call'd ἐπιτελοῦσαι, and assembl'd together in a place nam'd ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, in the *Elean Forum*, where they were oblig'd to reside ten Months before the Celebration of the Games, to take care that such as offer'd themselves to contend, perform'd their προεργασία, or Preparatory Exercises, and to be instructed in all the Laws of the Games by certain Men call'd Νομοπόδηται, i. e. Keepers of the Laws: Farther, to prevent all unjust Practises, they were oblig'd to take an Oath, that they would act impartially, would take no Bribes, nor discover the Reason, for which they dislik'd, or approv'd of any of the Contenders: At the Solemnity they sat naked, having before them the Victorial Crown till the Exercises were finish'd, and then it was presented to whomsoever they adjudg'd it.

Women were not allow'd to be present at these Games; nay, so severe were the *Elean Laws*, that if any Woman was found so much as to have pass'd the River *Alpheus* during the time of the Solemnity, she was to be tumbl'd headlong from a Rock (a): But it is reported, that none was ever taken thus offending, except *Callipatera*, whom others call *Pherenice*, who ventur'd to usher her Son *Pisidorus*, call'd by some *Eucleus*, into the Exercises, and being discover'd, was apprehended, and brought before the Presidents, who, notwithstanding the severity of the Laws, acquitted her, out of respect to her Father, Brethren, and Son, who had all won Prizes in the Olympian Games. But my Author reports in another place (b), that *Cynisea*, the Daughter of *Ardidamus*, with manly Courage, and Bravery, contended in the Olympian Games, and was the first of her Sex, that kept Horses, and won a Prize there; but that afterwards several others, especially some of the *Macedonian Women* imitated her Example, and were crown'd at *Olympia*. Perhaps neither of these Reports may be altogether groundless, since innumerable alterations were made in these Games, according to the Exigencies of Times, and change of Circumstances, all which

(a) *Pausanias*. (b) *Iacocicus*.

are set down at large in *Pausanias*, *Natalis Comes*, and other Mythologists.

All such as design'd to contend, were oblig'd to repair to the publick *Gymnasium* at *Elis* ten Months before the Solemnity, where they prepar'd themselves by continual Exercises; we are told indeed by *Phavorinus*, that the Preparatory Exercises were only perform'd thirty Days before the Games; but this must be understood of the Performance of the whole and entire Exercises in the same manner they were practis'd at the Games, which seems to have been only enjoyn'd in the last Month, whereas the nine antecedent Months were spent in more light and easy Preparations. No Man that had omitted to present himself in this manner, was allow'd to put in for any of the Prizes; nor were the accustomed Rewards of Victory given to such Persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their Antagonists: Nor would any Apology, tho' never so seemingly reasonable, serve to excuse their Absence; For in the CCXVIIIth Olympiad *Apollonius* was rejected, and not suffer'd to contend, because he had not presented himself in due time, tho' he was detain'd by contrary Winds in the Islands call'd *Cyclades*, but the Crown was given to *Heracles* without performing any Exercise, because no just and duly qualify'd Adversary appear'd to oppose him. No Person that was himself a notorious Criminal, or nearly related to any such, was permitted to contend. Farther, to prevent underhand Dealings, if any Person was convicted of bribing his Adversary, a severe Fine was laid upon him: Nor was this alone thought a sufficient Guard against evil and dis honourable Contracts, and unjust Practises, but the Contenders were oblig'd to swear, they had spent ten whole Months in Preparatory Exercises: and farther yet, both they, their Fathers, and Brethren took a solemn Oath, that they would not by any sinister, or unlawful means endeavour to stop the fair and just Proceedings of the Games.

The Order of Wrestlers was appointed by Lots, in this manner: A Silver Urn, call'd *γάλης*, being plac'd, into it were put little Pellets, in size about the bigness of Beans, upon every one of which was inscrib'd a Letter, and the same Letter belong'd to every pair; now those, whose Fortune it was to have the same Letters, wrestled together; if the number of the Wrestlers was not even, he that happen'd to light upon the odd Pellet, wrestled last of all with him that had the Mastery; wherefore he was call'd *τερτιός*, as coming after the rest: This was accounted the most fortunate Chance that could be, because the Person that obtain'd it, was to encounter one already weary'd, and spent with conquering his former Antagonist, himself being fresh, and in full Strength (*a*).

(a) *Calius Rhodiginus Antiq. Lest. lib. XXII. cap. XVII. Alexander ab Alexandre Genial Dier. lib. V. cap. VIII.*

The

The most successful in his Undertakings, and magnificent in his Expences of all that ever contended in these Games, was *Alcibiades the Athenian*, as *Plutarch* reports in his Life; "His Expences (saith he) in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the number of his Chariots were very magnificent; for never any one beside, either private Peisothi, of King, sent seven Chariots to the Olympian Games. He obtain'd at one Solemnity the first, second, and fourth Prizes, as *Thucydides*, or third, as *Euripides* reports; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Pythian Games.

THE Pythian Games were celebrated near *Delphi*, and are by some thought to have been first instituted by *Amphyctyon*, the Son of *Deucalion*, or by the Council of *Amphyctyones*. Others refer the first Institution of them to *Agamemnon* (*a*); *Pausanias* (*b*). to *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, who having escap'd a dangerous Tempest as he return'd from *Troy*, dedicated a Temple at *Træzen* to *Apollo* surnam'd *Εμέλαθερος*, and instituted the Pythian Games to his honour: But the most common Opinion is, that *Apollo* himself was the first Author of them, when he had overcome *Python*, a Serpent, or cruel Tyrant: Thus *Ovid* (*c*),

Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas;
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
Pythia perdonatē Serpenti nimis dictos.

Then to preserve the Fame of such a Deed,
For *Python* slain. He Pythian Games decreed.

Mr. Dryden:

At their first Institution, they were only celebrated once in nine Years, but afterwards every fifth Year, according to the number of the *Parianian Nymphs*, that came to congratulate *Apollo*, and brought him Presents after his Victory.

The Rewards were certain Apples consecrated to *Apollo*, according to *Ister* (*d*); and the fore-cited Epigram of *Archid*, in which he has thumerated the Prizes in this, and the other three Sacred Games;

(a) *Etymologici Autor, Phavorinus.* (b) *Corinthiaca.* (c) *Metam. I.* (d) *Libro de Coronis.*

Ἄθλα δὲ τοῦ κόπου, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτους.

Where Brodeus will have μῆλα to signify the *Delphian Laurel*, which, he tells us, brought forth Berries streak'd with red and green, and almost as large as Apples; but this Interpretation is by no means genuine, or natural, since the word μῆλα is never us'd in that sense: However that be, 'tis certain the Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Laurel, as appears from the express words of *Pindar*, who tells us, that *Aristomenes* was crown'd with ἀράτη Παρνασσού, or Laurel that flourish'd upon Mount *Parnassus* (a): Whence some imagine that the Reward was double, consisting both of the sacred Apples, and Garlands of Laurel. But at the first Institution of these Games, the Victors were crown'd with Garlands of Palm, or (according to some) of Beech-leaves, as *Ovid* reports, who immediately after the Verses before cited, adds,

*His juvenum quicumque manus, pedibusve, rotave
Vicerat, esculeæ capiebat frondis honorem,
Nondum Laurus erat.*

Here Noble Youths for Mastership did strive
To Box, to Run, and Steeds, and Chariots drive,
The Prize was Fame; in witness of Renown,
A Beechen Garland did the Victor crown,
The Lawrel was not yet for Triumph born.

Others there are (b) who report, that in the first *Pythiad* the Gods contended, *Castor* obtain'd the Victory by Race-horses, *Pollux* at Boxing, *Calais* at Running, *Zetes* at Fighting in Armour, *Peleus* at throwing the *Discus*, *Telamon* at Wrestling, *Hercules* at the *Pancrenium*, and that all of them were honour'd by *Apollo* with Crowns of Laurel. But others again are of a different Opinion (c), and tell us, that at the first there was nothing but a Musical Contention, wherein he that Sung best the Praises of *Apollo*, obtain'd the Prize, which at first was either Silver, or Gold, or something of value, but afterwards chang'd into a Crown; Here you may observe the different Names given to Games from the diversity of the Prizes; for where the Prize was Money, the Games were call'd ἀγῶνες ἀργυρίου; where only a Crown, ἀγῶνες σερπίνου, σωλήναι, &c. The first that obtain'd Victory by Singing, was *Chrysophemis* a Cretan, by whom *Apollo* was purify'd, after he had kill'd *Python*: The next Prize was won by *Philammon*; the next after that by his Son *Thamyris*. *Orpheus* having rais'd himself

to a pitch of honour almost equal to the Gods by instructing the prophanes and ignorant World in all the Mysteries of Religion, and Ceremonies of Divine Worship, and *Astaeus*, who took *Orpheus* for his example, thought it too great a Condescension, and inconsistent with the high Characters they bore, to enter into the Contention. *Elentheus* is reported to have gain'd a Victory purely upon the account of his Voice, his Song being the composition of another person: *Hesiod* was repuls'd, because he could not play upon the Harp, which all the Candidates were oblig'd to do.

There was likewise another Song, call'd Πυθίκος νόμος, consisting of these five parts, wherein the Fight of *Apollo* and *Python* was delineated; 1. Ανάρχωσις, which contain'd the preparation to the Fight. 2. Απάτης, or the first Essay towards it. 3. Κατακλευσις, which was the Action it self, and the God's exhortation to himself to stand out with Courage. 4. Ιαπεῖσι δάκτυλοι, or the insulting Sarcasms of *Apollo* over vanquish'd *Python*. 5. Σφεγγας, which was an imitation of the Serpents hissing, when he ended his Life. Others make this Song to consist of the six following parts: 1. Πεῖρον, or the preparation. 2. Ιαπεῖσι, wherein *Apollo* dar'd *Python* to engage him by reproaches, for ιαπεῖσι signifies to reproach, and Jambick Verses were the common Form of Invectives. 3. Δάκτυλος, which was to the honour of *Bacchus*, to whom those Numbers were thought most acceptable; this part belong'd to him, because he had (as some say) a share in the *Delphian Oracle*, or possess'd it before *Apollo*. 4. Κεντητικός, to the honour of *Jupiter*, because he was *Apollo*'s Father, and thought to delight most in such Feet, as being educated in *Crete*, where they were us'd. 5. Μητρώον, to the honour of Mother Earth, because the *Delphian Oracle* belong'd to her, before it came into *Apollo*'s hands. 6. Σφεγγας, or the Serpent's hissing.

There was likewise a solemn Dance consisting of five parts, which are by some thus describ'd (a); 1. Πεῖρα, an imitation of *Apollo*, preparing himself for the Fight with all the circumspection of a prudent and cautious Warriour. 2. Κατακλευσις, a Challenge given to the Enemy. 3. Ιαπεῖσις, a representation of the Fight, during which the Trumpets sounded a point of War; it was to call'd from Jambick Verses, which are the most proper to express Passion, and Rage. 4. Σπορδεῖσι, so call'd from the Feet of that name, or from σπορδεῖσι, i.e. to offer a Libation, because it was the celebration of Victory; now after a Victory, it was always customary to return Thanks to the Gods, and offer Sacrifices. 5. Καταχόεσσις, a representation of *Apollo*'s Dancing after his Victory.

(a) *Pythion*. Od. VIII. v. 28. (b) *Natalis Comes Mythol.* lib. V. Cap. II.
(c) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Pausanias Phocicus*,

(a) *Julius Scaliger Poetices lib. I. cap. XXIII.*

Afterwards in the third year of the XLVIIth Olympiad, the *Amphibynes*, who were Presidents of these Games, introduc'd Flutes, which till that time had not been us'd at this Solemnity; the first that won the Prize, was *Sacadas of Argos*; but because they were more proper for Funeral Songs, and Lamentations, than the merry and jocund Airs at Festivals, they were in a short Time laid aside. They added likewise all the Gymnical Exercises us'd in the Olympian Games, and made a Law, that none shold contend in running, but Boys. At, or near, the same time they chang'd the Prizes, which had before been of value, into Crowns, or Garlands; and gave these Games the name of *Pythia*, from *Pythian Apollo*, whereas till that time (as some say) they had either another Name, or no peculiar Name at all. Horse-races also, or Chariot-races were introduc'd about the Time of *Cleisthenes*, King of *Argos*, who obtain'd the first Victory in them, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horses; and several other changes were by degrees made in these Games, which I shall not trouble you with.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Nemean Games.

THE Nemean Games (a) were so call'd from *Nemea*, a Village, and Grove between the Cities *Cleone* and *Phlius*, where they were celebrated every third year upon the twelfth of the Corinthian Month *Πτέρυξ*, call'd sometimes *Iegeulwia*, which is the same with the Athenian *Boedromion*. The Exercises were Chariot-races, and all the parts of the *Pentathlum*. The Presidents were elected out of *Corinth*, *Argos*, and *Cleone*, and apparell'd in black Cloaths, the Habit of Mourners, because these Games were a Funeral-solemnity instituted in memory of *Opheltes*, otherwise call'd *Archemorus* from *ἀρχὴ*, i.e. a beginning, and *μῆτης*, i.e. Fate, or Death, because *Amphiaraus* fore-told his Death soon after he began to live: Or, according to *Sextius* (b), because that Misfortune was a *Prelude* to all the bad Success, that befell the Theban Champions; for *Archemorus* was the Son of *Euphates* and *Creis*, or *Lyctarus*, a King of *Nemea*, or *Thebes*, and *Eurydice*, and nurs'd by *Hypsipyle*, who leaving the Child in a Meadow whilst she went to shew the besiegers of *Thebes* a Fountain, at her return found him dead, and a Serpent folded about his Neck; whence the

(a) *Strabo lib. VIII. Pausanias Corinþ. Eliac. C. Tindari Schol. Nemeon.* (b) *Thibid. lib. V.*

Fountain before call'd *Langia*, was nam'd *Archemorus*; and the Captains to comfort *Hypsipyle* for her Loss, instituted these Games (c).

*Una tamen tacitas, sed jussu Numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta miris Langia sub umbra,
Nondum illi rapus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ; ramen ævia servat
Et nemus, & fluvium; manet ingens gloria Nympham,
Cum tristem Hypsipylem ducibus sudatus Achæis
Ludus, & atra sacrum recolit Trieteris Opheltem.*

Langia alone, and she securely hid
Lurk'd in a dark, and unfrequented shade,
Her silent streams by some Divine command
To feed the circumjacent pools retain'd.
Before *Hypsipyle* was known to Fame
Before the Serpent had *Archemorus* slain,
And to the Spring bequeath'd his dreadful name;
Yet in the lonesome Desart tho' it lies,
A Grove, and Riv'let it alone supplies;
Whilst endless Glory on the Nymph shall wait,
And Grecian Cheifs shall eternize her Fate,
When they shall sad Triennial Games ordain
To after-ages to transmit her Name,
And dismal story of *Opheltes* slain.

Mr. Hutchin.

Others are of opinion, that these Games were instituted by *Hercules* after his Victory over the *Nemean Lyon* (d), in honour of *Jupiter*, who, as *Pausanias* tells us, had a magnificent Temple at *Nemea*, where he was honour'd with solemn Games, in which Men ran Races in Armour; but perhaps these might be distinct from the solemnity, I am now speaking of. Lastly, others grant indeed, they were first instituted in memory of *Archemorus*, but will have them to have been intermitting, and reviv'd again by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter*.

The Victors were crown'd with Parsley, which was an Herb us'd at Funerals, and feign'd to have sprung out of *Archemorus's* Blood; Concerning it, *Plutarch* relates a remarkable Story (e), with which it will not be unproper to conclude this Chapter; "As Timoleon (faith he) was marching up an Ascent, from the Top of which they might take a view of the Army and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance a company of Mules loaden with Parsley, which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ill-boding Omen, because this is the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulcres of the dead, which custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one

(a) *Statius Thibaid. lib. IV. (b) Pindari Schol. (c) Timoleonse.*

"that is dangerously sick, that he does δεῖδε στέλνειν, i. e. need nothing but Parsley, which is in effect to say, he is a dead Man, just dropping into the Grave : Now, that Timoleon might ease their minds, and free them from those superstitious thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put a stop to his March, and, having alledged many other things in a discourse suitable to the occasion, he concluded it by saying, that a Garland of Triumph had luckily fald into their hands of it's own accord, as an anticipation of Victory ; inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown those that get the better in their *Isthmian* Games with Chaplets of Parsley, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to their Countrey ; for Parsley was ever the conquering Ornament of the *Isthmian* Sports, as it is now also of the *Nemean* ; it is not very long since Branches of the Pine-tree came to succeed, and to be made use of for that purpose : Timoleon therefore, having thus bespoken his Souldiers, took part of the Parsley, wherewith he first made himself a Chaplet, and then his Captains with their Companies did all crown themselves with it in imitation of their General.

CHAPTER. XXV.

Of the *Isthmian Games*.

THE *Isthmian Games* were so call'd from the place where they were celebrated viz. the *Corinthian Isthmus*, a neck of Land by which *Peloponnesus* is joyn'd to the Continent ; they were instituted in honour of *Palæmon*, or *Melicerta*, the Son of *Athamas* King of *Thebes*, and *Ino*, who, for fear of her Husband (who had kill'd her other Son *Learchus* in a Fit of madnes) cast her self, with *Melicerta* in her Arms, into the Sea, where they were receiv'd by *Neptune* into the number of the Divinities of his Train, out of compliment to *Bacchus* nurs'd by *Ino*. At the change of their condition, they alter'd their Names, *Ino* was call'd *Leucothea*, and her Son, *Palenion* ; however *Palæmon's* Divinity could not preserve his Body from being toss'd about the Sea, till at length it was taken up by a Dolphin, and carried to the *Corinthian* Shore, where it was found by *Sisyphus* at that time King of *Corinth*, who gave it an honorable interment, and instituted these Funeral Games to his honour ; thus *Pausanias* (a). Others report that *Melicerta's* Body was cast upon the *Isthmus*, and lay there some time unburied, whereupon a grievous Pestilence began to rage in those parts, and the Oracles gave out, that

(a) *Initio Corinthiac.*

the only remedy for it, was to interr the Body with the usual solemnities, and celebrate Games in memory of the Boy ; upon the performance of these Commands the Distemper ceas'd, but afterwards when the Games were neglected, broke out again, and the Oracles being consulted, gave Answer, that they must pay perpetual Honours to *Melicerta's* memory, which they did accordingly, erecting an Altar to him, and enacting a Law for the perpetual celebration of these Games.

Others report that they were instituted by *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune* ; others are of opinion that there were two distinct Solemnities observ'd in the *Isthmus*, one to *Melicerta*, and another to *Neptune* ; which report is grounded upon the authority of *Museus*, who wrote a Treatise about the *Isthmian Games*. *Phavorinus* reports that these Games were first instituted in honour of *Neptune*, and afterwards celebrated in memory of *Palæmon*. *Plutarch* on the contrary tells us, that the first institution of them was in honour of *Melicerta*, but afterwards they were alter'd, enlarg'd, and re-instituted to *Neptune* by *Theseus* ; he gives also several other Opinions concerning the Original of them ; his words are these in the Life of *Theseus* ; " *Theseus* instituted Games in emulation of *Hercules*, being ambitious that as the *Greeks* by that Herro's appointment celebrated the *Olympian Games* to the honour of *Jupiter*, so by his institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian Games* to the honour of *Neptune* ; for those that were before dedicated to *Melicerta*, were celebrated privately in the Night, and consisted rather of religious Ceremonies, than of any open spectacle, or publick Festival. But some there are, who say that the *Isthmian Games* were first instituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theseus* made for his Murther, upon the account of the nearnes of Kindred between them, *Sciron* being the Son of *Carethus* and *Heniocla*, the Daughter of *Pitheus* : tho' others write that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to his honour, and not to *Sciron's*, these Games were ordain'd by *Theseus*. *Hellenicus* and *Andro of Halicarnassus* write, that at the same time he made an agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they should allow them that came from *Athens* to the celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, as much space to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the Ship that brought them thither, stretched to it's full extent could cover, and that in the first and most honourable place : thus *Plutarch*.

The *Eleans* were the only people of *Greece* that absented themselves from this solemnity, which they did for this reason, as *Pausanias* (a) relates ; The *Corinthians* having appointed the *Isthmian Games*, the Sons of *Aetor* came to the celebration of them, but were surpriz'd and slain by *Hercules*, near the City *Cleonæ* : The Author of the Murder was at the first unknown, but being at length discover'd by the industry of *Molione* the Wife of *Aetor*, the *Eleans* went to *Argos* and

(a) *Eliac. a.*

demanded satisfaction, because Hercules at that time dwell'd at *Tiryns*, a Village in the Argian Territories : Being repuls'd at *Argos* they apply'd themselves to the *Corinthians*, desiring of them, that all the Inhabitants and Subjects of *Argos* might be forbidden the *Isthmian Games*, as disturbers of the publick Peace ; but meeting with no better success in this place, than they had done at *Argos*, Molione forbade them to go to the *Isthmian Games*, and denounc'd a dreadful execration against any of the *Eleans* that should ever be present at the celebration of them ; which command was so religiously observ'd, that none of the *Eleans* dare venture to go to the *Isthmian Games* to this Day, (saith my Author) for fear Molione's Curses should fall heavy upon them.

These Games (a) were observ'd every fifth year, and held so sacred and inviolable, that when they had been intermitted for soine time through the Oppression and Tyranny of *Cypselus*, King of *Corinth*, after the Tyrant's Death the *Corinthians*, to renew the memory of them which was almost decay'd, employ'd the utmost Power and Industry they were able in reviving them, and celebrated them with such splendor and magnificence as was never practis'd in former Ages. When *Corinth* was sack'd and totally demolish'd by *Mummius*, the Roman General, these Games were not discontinu'd, but the care of them committed to the *Sicyonians* till the rebuilding of *Corinth*, and then restor'd to the Inhabitants of that City, as *Pausanias* reports (b).

The Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Pine-leaves ; afterwards Parsley was given them, which was also the Reward of the Nemean Conquerours, but with this difference, that there it was fresh and green, whereas in the *Isthmian Games* it was dry and wither'd. Afterwards the use of Parsley was left off, and the Pine-tree came again into request, which alterations *Plutarch* hath accounted for in the Fifth of his *Symposacks*.

(a) Alex. ab *Alexandro Gen. Dier.* lib. V. cap. VIII. (b) *Initio Corinthiac.*
(c) Quæst. III.

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